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Oba su broja *Medijskih studija* iz 2015. godine tematska: lipanjski smo broj posvetili razvoju medijskih sustava i promjeni uloge medija u demokratskim društvima poslije revolucija u Europi 1989. godine, a ovaj prosinački posvećen je javnom medijskom servisu i izazovima s kojima se susreće u 21. stoljeću.

Javni medijski servis (JMS) u svom je devetom desetljeću života i zasigurno će „doživjeti stotu“. Međutim, zahtjevni izazovi i negativne kritike pred kojima se nalazi nadmeću se s argumentima koji zagovaraju opstanak državne intervencije kada je u pitanju upravljanje JMS-om. Kritičari smatraju da bi i JMS trebao biti tržišno reguliran, zato što kvaliteta njegovih programa i usluga ne zavređuje zakonom zajamčena sredstva od pristojbe, bez kojih JMS ne bi preživio.

Ovaj tematski broj „Nove perspektive javnog medijskog servisa“ (engl. *New Perspectives on Public Service Media*) uredila sam zajedno s Minnom Aslamom Horowitz koja je doktorirala na Sveučilištu u Helsinkiju. Njezine su aktivnosti u nekoliko znanstveno-istraživačkih mreža, a posebno u RIPE-u (<http://ripeat.org/>), bile presudne za odaziv na suradnju u ovom broju uglednih inozemnih autorica i autora čija je znanstvena ekspertiza upravo javni medijski servis. Poslije našeg uvodnog članka, broj otvara intrigantan članak Michaela Traceyja koji se pita može li se uopće mjeriti čovjeka i uz njega vezana javna vrijednost, odnosno ima li uopće smisla test javne vrijednosti kojim se vrednuju programi i usluge JMS-a. I Ivana Andrijašević bavi se filozofskim propitivanjem definiranja javne radio-televizije kao javnog dobra prema definiciji iz ekonomske teorije – autorica pita može li se i u digitalnoj eri JMS definirati kao javno dobro ili to ovisi isključivo o tome zadovoljavaju li platforme na kojima se nude programi i usluge JMS-a kriterije javnog dobra. O vrijednostima JMS-a kroz rodnu perspektivu govori osvrt autorice Tuije Parikka. Dva članka donose pregled literature, medijskih politika i strategija vezanih za JMS – prvi komparativno u flamanskom dijelu Belgije, Nizozemskoj, Francuskoj i Velikoj Britaniji, a drugi u Indiji. Taj drugi članak koji donosi azijsku perspektivu prvi je članak s tog kontinenta u našem časopisu. Posljednja dva članka gledaju u budućnost pa tako Minna Aslama Horowitz donosi prijedlog novih modela JMS-a u multimedijском okruženju, a Gregory Ferrell Lowe napisao je osvrt o 15 godina rada RIPE-a i njegovim budućim aktivnostima.

O JMS-u se svake godine objavi na tisuće stranica. Međutim, budući da je riječ o javnom dobru i socijalnom kapitalu koje vrijedi uvijek iznova zagovarati, vjerujem da će i ovaj tematski broj tome pridonijeti.

Na kraju ovog Uvodnika treba dodati i da će Uredništvo *Medijskih studija* 2015. godinu pamtiti i po tome što je, nakon gotovo trogodišnje evaluacije, časopis prihvaćen za indeksiranje u bazu *Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI) – Web of Science*. Poticaj je to da i dalje nastavimo unaprjeđivati izvrsnost časopisa i njegovu međunarodnu vidljivost. Zahvaljujemo svima koji su od prvog broja na bilo koji način tome doprinijeli!

Viktorija Car
glavna urednica

THE FUTURE OF PUBLIC SERVICE MEDIA

Special Issue Editors

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The future of *public service broadcasting* (PSB), or *public service media* (PSM) as it has come to be known with the increasing use of multimedia platforms, is more uncertain, and unchartered, than perhaps ever before.

With the emergence of networked issue communities, citizen journalist blogs, non-profit news sites, and the spontaneous viral sharing of information and campaigns, one could claim that there already exists public media *de facto*, complementing and perhaps even duplicating some functions of institutional public media *de jure*. In many mature PSM countries, the debate about public service media entails claims how those institutions now distort free media markets. In addition, the commercialization of the legacy and online media landscape is diminishing the original public service ethos of serving the citizens. And yet, given the viral disinformation, as well as both government and corporate control of the media, it would seem that the role of public service media is ever more important, both for existing countries with public service institutions, and for nations building their democratic media systems.

Defined as a public good, in the first half of the 20th century (see in this issue Andrijašević, pp. 23-40), public service broadcasting kept its legitimacy through national legislatures at first, and later through the directives of the European Commission. According to Tyler Cowen (1992) public goods have two aspects: nonexcludability and nonrivalrous consumption. Especially today, because of digital technology and the digital switchover that was applied to majority of PSM televisions in Europe, there are many ways to consume PSM services as a 'free rider' – without paying the license fee. On the other hand, because of the 'digital divide,' a large number of citizens do not have access to PSM services online. Therefore, the relevance of the argument for PSM as a public good is in question, and can no longer be used to advocate the state's protection of PSM by the law and through the right of licensing fees.

However, there is another argument that still works when advocating the importance of PSM – the argument that PSM is a form of social capital. Pierre Bourdieu defines social capital as "the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 119). James S. Coleman sees social capital as the aftereffect of relationships between individuals. Unlike other forms of capital (physical, economic or human) social capital can be found in the structure of relations among different social actors (Coleman, 1988).

Programming and services of PSM are a result of complex relationships between journalists, editors and other media professionals on one side, and people active in political, economic and social processes in the society, and the public and audiences on the other side (Car, 2012). It is about communication and activities among people whose actions resulted in the publication of media content which permanently, except in exceptional cases, remain in the analog or digital archives as 'witnesses of time' – a data baseline that allows us to chronologically or thematically view the development of society

at the local, national, regional or global level. It is the kind of 'base of knowledge' that is often used not only by media, but also by artists, and scientists in their research.

Because PSM programming archives are a real form of social capital with an enormous value for social development, it is the citizens' role to support the funding models which guarantee the existence of independent PSM and its production of quality programming and services in the public interest.

Another argument towards advocating PSM is the idea that access to information is a human right. By the definition, PSM is programming and service

made, financed and controlled by the public, for the public. It is neither commercial nor state-owned, free from political interference and pressure from commercial forces. Through PSB, citizens are informed, educated and also entertained. When guaranteed with pluralism, programming diversity, editorial independence, appropriate funding, accountability and transparency, public service broadcasting can serve as a cornerstone of democracy. (UNESCO, 2011)

Only politically and economically independent media can provide the public with non-biased information, without hiding any important information from the public (what can be in the interest of corporations or political elites, or other power-centers). That should be the main difference between PSM on one side, and state media and commercial media on the other.

One of the first countries to disregard the public service ideal of independence and plurality was Italy, a country with PSB by long tradition. During Silvio Berlusconi's four mandates, he, as the Prime Minister, had power over both his commercial media conglomerate as well as the public service broadcaster RAI.

Unfortunately, just before the conclusion of this special issue, news concerning the political takeover of PSM in Poland broke. A member of the Polish government – the Treasury Minister appointed a former ruling-party lawmaker and election strategist – Mr. Jacek Kurski – to run Polish public service radio-television. A similar back step from public service to state media started in Hungary in 2010, when Hungary's media laws changed after Viktor Orban became Prime Minister (Dunai, 2014). The situation is not promising in other European countries, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Macedonia (SEEmediaobservatory, 2015). It was in June 2013 when the Greek Government decided to close down ERT – Greek PSM, because of a "unique lack of transparency and incredible waste" (cf. Berka and Tretter, 2013: 6) and after two years in June 2015 ERT was back on the air while more than 2.600 staff members, made redundant in 2013, had been offered jobs by the station (BBC, 2015). National PSMs are in a constant struggle to survive, financially or independently.

In Iceland, the center-right Independence Party proposed "selling certain State assets", including the State's share in Iceland's national television and radio broadcaster, RÚV (Iceland Monitor, 2015). A serious re-envisioning about the possible future of public service media is happening in mature public service countries such as Finland. While a

parliamentary working group will announce their vision around mid 2016, a ministerial working group on media markets has recently suggested that the Finnish public broadcaster YLE should mainly act as a distributor and purchaser of Finnish productions (LVM, 2015).

According to the watchdog organization Freedom House (2015), already six EU countries – Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Hungary, Italy and Romania – rank as merely ‘partly free’ in terms of press freedom. Is it that, while proponents of independent media and scholars of democracy happily continue to believe in the sanctity and eternal life of PSB, political and other powers-that-be have no nostalgic love to spare for such ideals. The worst scenario is that not only public broadcasting is in decline, but that broader journalistic rights are also slowly making a quiet exit through the back door.

All these broad concerns about the future of public service media are echoed in a project seeking to capture expert insights on PSM, called the Global Public Service Media Expert Roster, by the RIPE Network¹ and supported by the Open Society Foundations.² This pilot project (2015) was designed to create a world-wide network of PSM scholars. The project created a database of experts,³ but also asked the participants to reflect on the most burning issues and research needs in the field. By the end of the pilot, 180 scholars from all around the world had joined the network.

What does PSM need in order to develop in the future?

The questionnaire for joining the network included an open-ended query about the three main issues relevant to PSM development in the experts’ respective countries. Some recurring themes can be identified. The two most often mentioned issues, perhaps unsurprisingly, were the funding and the independence of PSM from government pressures. The urgent need to re-define and clarify the remit, mission, values and visions of what public service means today, and in various societies, was deemed important. The relationship with audiences was mentioned by less than one-third of the respondents (corresponding to the main areas of research interests of the network). The same applies to digitalization in terms of multi-platform, cross-media presence. Other notable themes were: supporting talent, innovation, professionals of PSM; and re-thinking management and organizational structures of PSM. The individual, specific issues mentioned ranged from PSM and migration to PSM and alternative media.

What should we research?

In addition, the Network members were asked: “What research questions should this global PSM network address as top priorities in the next three to five years?” The open-ended question resulted in a rich variety of responses, many of these reflecting the research interests the Network members already described.

¹ <http://ripeat.org/>

² <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/>

³ See the database here: <http://ripeat.org/get-involved/>

One prominent forward-looking theme, perhaps partly prompted by the focus of the project, was today's globalizing media landscape and the opportunities and challenges this presents. Many noted the need to examine the relevance of PSM in a globalizing world, as well as related questions that include:

- >A clarification of the concept of public service media, *vis-a-vis* state-administered broadcasting, and related to the variety of PSB/PSM models around the world;
- >The transitioning from a legacy of state media to public service media;
- >Comparative examples of successful and declining public service provision;
- >The role of global conglomerates and their impact on the PSM 'ethos';
- >The de-Westernization of the PSM model (the need for);
- >The need to safeguard quality journalism as well as the safety of journalists;
- >Freedom of expression.

Values, policies, and international vistas

The above views indicate that, at least from the perspective of scholar-experts, the main future challenges pertain to redefining public service values, understanding changing policy issues and contexts, and mapping concerns that are shared over national borders. This special issue of *Media Studies* includes articles as well as short commentaries on these themes. The opening essay, by Michael Tracey, is a passionate and poignant call to re-examine our notions of public service media values. Ivana Andrijašević gives an overview of public goods theory applied to the concept of PSM and reexamines it within the contemporary PSM digital environment. This is followed by Tuija Parikka's commentary of the question of gender and public values. Anne-Sofie Vanhaeght and Karen Donders discuss a particular European context in terms of how ideas and concepts are actually translated in policies – or are they? Vibodh Parthasarathi recounts the process of digitalization and related policies in India, in terms of the role of, and effects on, public service media. Taking an international approach, Minna Aslama Horowitz discusses the core challenges of public media institutions around the world, and assesses several models that have been proposed for realizing public media. Finally, Gregory Ferrell Lowe concludes with an account on how an international network can be built to support a re-thinking of PSM and its shared challenges.

We hope these texts will provoke more debate and thinking in this time of challenges and opportunities.

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PREISPITIVANJE

VRIJEDNOSTI

JAVNOG

MEDIJSKOG

SERVISA

RE-ASSESSING

PUBLIC SERVICE

MEDIA VALUES

LIKE LOOKING FOR THE SOUL IN A TEST TUBE: THE BANAL CORRUPTIONS OF 'MEASURING MAN' IN THE NEW AGE OF PUBLIC MEDIA

Michael Tracey

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / UDK 654.1:316.42, 008:316.7(82-4) / PRIMLJENO: 09.07.2015.

ABSTRACT *It has become common place to suggest that the concept and institutions of public service broadcasting (PSB) are being fundamentally challenged by new technologies, new politics and new economics. Out of these challenges, in a kind of noble optimism, has emerged the idea that PSB can be reimagined as public service media, the worth of which can be made measurable and therefore 'accountable.' This article suggests that not only is this likely misplaced, it also masks the fact that what is actually in play is a historically defined struggle over the values that will constitute modernity.*

KEY WORDS

THE PUBLIC, SERVICE, THEORY, MODERNITY, SOUL, HUMAN

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THE BANAL DEMANDS OF MODERNITY

It occurs to me that modernity, and in particular capitalist modernity in an age of *laissez faire* economics and deregulation, has all the hallmarks of the sociopath, not just in the sense that it more often than not evidences no sense of empathy for the human consequences of its inhuman actions, but that it also reduces human beings to an 'it', a cipher, a statistic inhabiting a skin, 'things' to be used, abused, manipulated. It is also clear that this is a part of a long, historical process that responds to the demands and needs of the material over those of the nonmaterial, the spiritual, the human. (When the serial killer Dennis Rader, aka BTK for Bind Torture Kill, was asked in his 2005 trial in Kansas City how he went about his craft, he said that he would get in his car, drive around until he saw 'it', a woman he would then choose to stalk and, in his mind, hopefully kill. I am of course grossly exaggerating. No serial killer ever caused the level of mayhem and misery that one can adduce to the global capitalist enterprise.)

Obviously one has in the end to recognize that 'capitalism' is reification, a conceptualization of the multiple acts, of multiple actors. The unfortunate corollary, if the metaphor has any substance to it, is therefore, and unfortunately, that those who attend to its needs and purpose are, whether we wish to or not, whether we are aware or not, whether we care or not, complicit in its acts.

In this essay I am therefore going to suggest that the rise of what have become known as Public Service Media, the latest iteration of what we used to call Public Service Broadcasting, along with the process of 'measuring' culture and cultural performance – a fundamentally dehumanized concept, even if on first blush it seems so innocuous – need to be placed within the context of the arc of a history which, unfortunately contrary to Dr. King, does not always bend towards justice and the benign. Think of wars over resources, the blood-dappled sands of the Middle East, blood diamonds, so emblematic of the ravaging of the lands of sub-Saharan Africa, the exploitation of child labor in south Asia so that we might indulge our whims for cheap fashion, the environmental degradation and cheap labor in the extractions of rare earth minerals that go into the technical gadgets that so consume us. Think of the grotesque greed and concentrations of wealth (according to an Oxfam report the 85 richest people have as much wealth as the poorest half of the world's population.) Think of global poverty. Avert your gaze from these, and so much more blight, and modernity can seem 'likable enough'.

However, I understand that the inherent needs and character of a socio-economic order may not, almost certainly will not, always 'present' – I use the term with its medical connotations, that is, the surface expression of an underlying malignancy – in such dramatic manner, brash and brutal. Rather it will do so in some obvious, even simple and commonsensical way, a moment here, a process there with which no reasonable person could possibly *disagree*. We are seduced by the *obvious* need for some new policy, in the context of this essay, the transformation of one way of thinking about the place and purpose of broadcasting – the shift away from a humanistic perspective – to one which is instrumental and managerial, mechanistic and bureaucratic. One that inevitably demands

that 'worth' and 'value' be calculated, made 'apparent' and, therefore 'accountable', an appropriate term since what is underway is a making of accounts, a balancing of the public check book so that nothing is to go to waste, that there is a demonstrable 'public value', that there are no 'unnecessary' expenditures, all in the making of an actuarial world. It is a kind of barbarism dressed up in a business suit, written down in a managerial manual of 'how to', that makes the world safe for algorithms.

Much of the recent literature about PSB, whether from scholars, broadcasters or in public policy documents engages one very basic question: how to re-imagine PSB in an age which in terms of technologies, political and economic practices and cultural appetites is so very different from that moment in the 1920s that gave birth to what would become the most significant global idea about the nature and purpose broadcasting and the largest set of broadcast institutions. This was inevitable since broadcasting is but one institution and practice within a larger reimagining of global life amid an effort to make it, and every other institution, comport to the needs of 'the market'. No nook, no cranny, no-one can escape the flood.

One of the singular consequences of that reimagining, has been the rise of the concept of Public Service Media along with a sense, usually emanating from individuals and governments who in reality were, and are, less than enamored with the very concept of 'public service', that the worth of such institutions was not self-evident, that indeed they should 'prove' their right to *be*. I suspect that it is the latter demand that in the long term will prove to be the most critical. It is not uninteresting in this vein that the volume of papers from the 2012 RIPE (Re-visionary Interpretations of the Public Enterprise) conference were published in a book with the title, *The Value of Public Service Media* (Lowe and Martin, 2014). The editors describe on the dust cover the theme of the book this way:

The worth of public service media is under increasing scrutiny in the 21st century as governments consider whether the institution is a good investment and a fair player in media markets... (The institution) must evidence its economic value, a concept defined by commercial logic, while delivering social value in fulfilling its largely not-for-profit public service mission and functions. (Lowe and Martin, 2014)

It is important to note that the idea of PSM, and the proof of worth, applies not just to new digital platforms, but also, perhaps most importantly, directly to the doings of the major public service broadcasters who – it is claimed by some – are not a 'fair player in media markets.' It is equally clear that the traditional public broadcasters are in the cross-hairs precisely because they embody in their very existence and practice a way of thinking about the place of communication within society that political and economic elites believe is redundant in a *Laissez Faire* Age or, and this is a fascinating contradiction because if they were redundant they would not be a problem, are dangerous behemoths who stand in the way of the final triumph of the LFA.

This is not lost on many senior figures in public broadcasting who emerged in the 1990s and beyond as managerial shape-shifters. In (telling and always reusable) comments in a speech in January 2003, Mark Thompson, who at the time was chief executive of Channel

Four in the UK and would become Director General of the BBC in May 2004, asked whether the old song that had traditionally sung the virtues of public service broadcasting would be able to “work its magic again?” In answering his own question, he said:

...to me, the (Communications) Bill and the arrival of Ofcom (the new UK regulator) have crystallized something which has been apparent for some time now: which is that regulators and policy-makers are increasingly finding themselves having to weigh the benefits and dis-benefits (sic) of public service provision quite forensically, almost numerically, against the interests – and pressures – of the private sector. (Thompson, 2003)

This is an interesting, though extraordinarily troubling, point. He is suggesting that what is happening – and I do not disagree – is that an institution which everyone accepts is imbued with values that are hard, if not impossible, to pin down in language, let alone an algorithm, is nevertheless faced with the need to articulate itself numerically. Would it be a stretch to suggest that the logic which is unfolding here is that if there is something – a value, a principle, a moral commitment, a creative idea – that cannot be represented numerically then its continued viability will be called into question?

Thompson continued in his address:

The problem with the traditional public service song is that, no matter how much passion and conviction you bring to the performance, it's just too woolly and abstract to be measured against anything else. And if it can't be weighed properly, in the end it won't be valued properly. The dominant language of the new regulators is going to be the language of economics, competition and public policy rather than the historic language of public service broadcasting, which is the language of culture and high culture at that. If we want to develop public service broadcasting as a cultural force in this environment, we have to find arguments and evidence which make sense in this new language... (Thompson, 2003)

It is in this context that societies now seek to evaluate the ‘performance’ of public broadcasters and public service media with such concepts as ‘public value’, ‘ex-ante tests’, and the ‘three-step test’ and that we see the sometimes tortured efforts of scholar and policy maker alike to make them meaningful. This is perhaps a more radical departure from traditional practices than is immediately apparent. In his 1924 book John Reith had this to say – I’ve used this before and I do so again because it is profound, utterly relevant and profoundly expressive of what might be called original intent:

In almost all other lines of business it is possible to tell pretty accurately whether one's efforts are meeting with success or not. There is usually some unit of measurement available. It may be tonnage output per week, or comparative weekly costs, or a dozen other equally satisfactory tests, around which one can build one's comments, complimentary or otherwise, at the weekly staff conference. I should be grateful to anyone who would suggest a really reliable criterion for this business. I cannot find one. (Reith, 1924: 205)

The mood today, as PSBers face the digital revolution, the dominance of market economics and the attendant sense of the need for accountability, especially when public funds are in play, has less and less tolerance for such attitudes which are seen as lofty and elitist, as exemplified by Thompson’s comments. The demand now is for some kind of metric that will justify continued support for PSB/PSM. Of particular significance has been the emergence of the idea of ‘public value’ (PV), not exactly the most exquisitely

defined concept. Richard Collins, who has written at great length about this new age of 'accountability' observed: "'Public value' can mean many things ranging from a user centered 'what the public values,' to a producer centered 'what's good for the public?'" This includes both the competition and value for money centered doctrine of the 'father' of public value management, Mark Moore" (Collins, undated). The latter reference is to Mark Moore's 1995 book, *Creating Public Value* which Collins defines as "canonical." Given the definitional uncertainties the Grail of those, who bow to the new objective realities, is to seek a means by which one can measure performance and sustain something of the historical purpose of public service broadcasting. Of that uncertainty, however, one might conclude that if a concept can mean different things to different people it probably is not much of a concept.

There is perhaps a sense that all this is relatively new and, in a way, it is given relatively recent public policy and scholarly interest in the concepts of PSM, PV and 'performance measures.' The most developed and energetic organization engaging these issues, RIPE (www.ripe.org), held its first conference in only 2002. By the end of 2015 the organization will have published seven volumes, with articles chosen from many more papers presented at its biannual conference, with multiple iterations on PSB/PSM and performance measures. There are numerous other works that can be cited, all in their own way grappling with new demands made of public media (to name a few: Born, 2003; Collins, 2006; Coppens and Saeys, 2006; Donders and Pauwels, 2010; Hargreaves-Heap, 2005; Hastings, 2004; Radoslavov and Thomass, 2010).

What I want to argue here, however, is that while specific policy articulations may be relatively new, the ideology within which those policies are embedded is not. In fact, when one looks at the policy developments around PSB/PSM over, say, the past two decades what can be seen is the breaking through of forces which had been held at bay for decades. This is why I find the constant need to return to Reith, not because of some rheumy-eyed nostalgia, but because within him and his creation was and is the very essence of the debate which is now in play.

In Reith's view, indeed in the view of many commentators, an appropriate aesthetic of life could only be achieved if certain modern tendencies were held at bay. It is for this reason that he was brutal in his denunciation of the idea that economics, profit, materialism should drive broadcasting because of his conviction that not only would they debase standards, they would undermine the core project of using broadcasting to better human ends. On 15 June 1952, he wrote an article for *The Observer* called "The Force of Money," which was an attack on the idea of commercial broadcasting in which he declared: "It is the BBC and its friends who are fighting to preserve the freedom of the ether; Lord Wooton, the lord chancellor, Mr. Profumo (they were calling for the creation of commercial television) and his associates surrender to the brute force of money." Towards the end of 1953 the government had published its proposals for commercial television. In another piece in *The Observer*, 22 November 1953, responding to the government's plans for commercial television, called "The Precedence of England" he argued that the

champions of commercial television were “trying to promote commercial interests under the guise of Miltonic precepts and at the cost of the country’s precedence.”

In a House of Lords debate about the introduction of commercial television into Britain he denounced it “as one of the most deplorable, shocking and subversive actions in British political history...” and referred to “the incredible evil (...) of putting the ether at the power of money (...)” and, seeing it as pestilential threat, compared the introduction of commercial television to the introduction into Britain of “smallpox, the bubonic plague, the Black Death (...)” (Reith, 1962, column: 227).

So here is the rub. I am suggesting that public service broadcasting was historically, and consciously so, a buttress against the calculative and material forces of modernity. It is that battle which is being waged and lost right now. This not a new battle, however, in that the central concern of 19th century social theory and of many thinkers in the 20th was precisely about the intrusiveness of the calculative nature of *Kapital* in human affairs and a mechanistic and materialistic interpretation of the imperatives of modernity. All else is shoved aside, filed away, placed in the closet.

Max Weber, for example, wrote: “Man is dominated by making of money, by acquisition as the ultimate purpose of his life. Economic acquisition is no longer subordinated to man as the means for the satisfaction of his material needs.” (cf. Gerth and Mills, 1946: 112) He was saying that we had confused a social practice, work, which should properly be used to help us be human, that is as means, with something that was an end in itself, as the world of material smothered the human.

In his study of suicide and modernity Emile Durkheim wrote of how by the late 19th century economic activity, rather than being a means to an end had become the *only* end of individuals and society (Durkheim, 1897).

In his 1903 essay, *The Metropolis and Mental Life* Georg Simmel writes that at the heart of the “metropolis” – a simile for modernity – is the money economy, exchange value. He argued, somewhat presciently, that as capitalism matured – not in an emotional or moral sense, but as an economic formation – and as urban environments metastasized, everything, all modes of living and being, would be reduced to one question: “How much? (...) Man is reckoned with like a number, like an element which is in itself indifferent.” The result is that the modern mind has become ever more calculating: “The calculative exactness of practical life which the money economy has brought about corresponds to the ideal of natural science: to transform the world into an arithmetic problem, to fix every part of the world by mathematical formulas.” (Simmel, 1950: 411-412) This, he suggests, is no more exemplified than by the precision offered life by the growing use of pocket-watches: “Punctuality, calculability, exactness are forced upon life by the complexity and extension of metropolitan existence.” (Simmel, 1950: 413) He writes that the defining characteristic of modern culture is the preponderance of the “‘objective spirit’ over the ‘subjective spirit’” which leaves the individual “a mere cog in an enormous organization

of things and powers which tear from his hands all progress, spirituality, and value in order to transform them from their subjective form into the form of a purely objective life" a condition he terms the "atrophy of individual culture through the hypertrophy of objective culture" (Simmel, 1950: 422).

In an essay on the rise of what has become known as AmaGoogle, Nicholas Carr writes:

In Technics and Civilization, the historian and social critic Lewis Mumford described how the clock 'disassociated time from human events and helped create the belief in an independent world of mathematically measured sequences.' The 'abstract framework of divided time became the point of reference for both action and thought.' The clock's methodical ticking helped bring into being the scientific mind and the scientific man. But it also took something away. As the late MIT computer scientist Joseph Weizenbaum observed (...) the conception of the world that emerged from the widespread use of timekeeping instruments 'remains an impoverished version of the older one, for it rests on a rejection of those direct experiences that formed the basis for, and indeed constituted, the old reality.' In deciding when to eat, to work, to sleep, to rise, we stopped listening to our senses and started obeying the clock. (2007: 5)

In his book, *The Measure of Man* Joseph Wood Krutch (1954) takes to task the mechanistic worldview that he suggests rode in on the back of Darwin, Marx and Freud and, latterly the behaviorist utopianism of B.F Skinner. He claims that each of them saw Man as "nothing but" the product of external forces" (Krutch, 1954: 94). What troubles him is that in this triumph of the notion of externalities something is being lost, what Krutch (1954) calls "moral discourse" values that are vitally important to being human but that cannot be captured by a mechanistic worldview. Krutch (1954) raises the question of how, in a mechanistic/scientific world, one can arrive at value judgments – the conclusion often being that you can't.

He writes that within modernity there

...is an Idol of the Laboratory as well as of the Market Place. And we can escape from the errors which it fosters only if we cease to believe that a thing is obviously an illusion unless it can be measured and experimented with by the same methods which have proved useful in dealing with mechanical phenomena. All we really need to do is recognize and attend to the phenomena of a different sort and among them, especially, the most indubitable of all: namely, to that consciousness and awareness of self which exists vividly and indisputably in each of us, even though attempts to explain and evaluate them baffle the laboratory technician. (Krutch, 1962: 118)

He goes on to argue that the humanists lost the debate to the mechanists in the second half of the 19th century because they insisted on "the existence of the soul," which is manifestly beyond apprehension rather than insisting "on the existence of consciousness" which every waking day we all have a sense of even though it is equally beyond apprehension (Krutch, 1962). He continues:

Tactically, the error thus consisted in resting the case on the maximum rather than the minimum requirements of the debate. It permitted the chemist to say, 'I cannot find the soul in my test tube,' without exposing clearly the fallacy of his argument. If he had been compelled to say instead, 'I cannot find consciousness in my test tube,' the reply would be simple: 'I don't care whether you can find it there or

not. I can find it in my head. Chemistry, by failing to find it, demonstrates nothing except the limitations of its methods... The subjective may be suspect, but it furnishes at least the only possible entry into a realm which may exist only in the mind but which certainly does exist there. (Krutch, 1962: 120-121)

Later in the book he develops this in a way which is directly relevant to the critique here of performance measures or capturing in a metric the 'value' of this or that cultural product:

All the great novels and poems take place in a universe which cannot be understood in 'objective terms' and is meaningful only in the light of preferences based on the assumption that value judgments are valid... the arts represent an attempt to organize human experience in terms foreign to the physical or, for that matter, to all the would be objective sciences, but peculiarly appropriate to the human experiences which elude these sciences. (Krutch, 1962: 225-226)

He might have added here Max Frisch's definition of technology as "...the knack of so arranging the world that we don't have to experience it" (Giraldi, 2015: 9). In short, to say that *something* cannot be apprehended through the scientific method, for example in a 'measurement,' does not inevitably provide a rational basis to claim that it therefore does not exist. In other words, because one cannot find 'the soul', 'consciousness', 'humanity', 'humanness', 'me', 'I', a 'moving experience', in a test tube – an obvious metaphor for realities that can be captured in a calculation – does not make them meaningless mental illusions to be discarded.

This is precisely the flaw in the comments by Mark Thompson earlier, indeed in the whole project of performance measures for PSB/PSM. So I am going to argue that the more ineffable, subtle, felt, implicit, intangible, deep a cultural product or experience the more trying to find a metric for it is precisely like looking for the soul in a test tube.

This is no new debate, no better exemplified than in the collision between the Romantics and the Philosophes of the Enlightenment. The Romantic tradition was that loosely defined period, and mood, in the half century between about 1780 to 1830, and attacked the Enlightenment because it blocked the free play of the emotions and creativity. The philosophe

had turned man into a soulless, thinking machine – a robot... Christianity had formed a matrix into which medieval man situated himself. The Enlightenment replaced the Christian matrix with the mechanical matrix of Newtonian natural philosophy. For the Romantic, the result was nothing less than the demotion of the individual. Imagination, sensitivity, feelings, spontaneity and freedom were stifled – choked to death. Man must liberate himself from these intellectual chains. (Kreiss, 2006)

He adds:

The Romantics concentrated their attack on the heartlessness of bourgeois liberalism as well as the nature of urban industrial society. Industrial society brought new problems: soulless individualism, economic egoism, utilitarianism, materialism and the cash nexus... Higher virtues and social concerns were subsumed by the cash nexus and crude materialism of an industrial society. Artists and intellectuals attacked the philistinism of the bourgeoisie for their lack of taste and their lack of a higher morality. (Kreiss, 2006)

The point is essentially that in thinking about contemporary narratives about public institutions, including broadcasting and new digital platforms, narratives defined by mechanical calculation, we are in effect returning to a very old debate about the relationships between the instrumental reason of modernity and humanistic modernity which sees that we are not 'robots'. The premise is that it is the former that is triumphant and that as a consequence we are losing sight of what it is to be human. So the debate over the reimagining of PSB, the rise of PSM and the urgent demands of political, bureaucratic and managerial elites is not trivial. It is the continuance of a debate that has been ongoing for centuries.

If the argument here is that communication is being refashioned, reimagined, by the continually unfolding social and ideological formations of capitalist modernity it is perhaps incumbent to make the fairly obvious point that it is not the only institution that is so afflicted. In education for example, at every level, there is a growing demand that performance be encapsulated by a metric. In the United States there is an almost pathological demand for 'standardized testing' in which children are subject to many tests during their entire school life – the results of which can be highly determinative of school funding and teacher salary. The obviously problem is that it conceptually means that curriculum has to be devised so that it can be so tested with multiple choice and True/False questionnaires, with the attendant problem of what to do with subject matter – say art, philosophy, critical thinking, literature – that cannot be so readily tested?

In the United Kingdom there has been consternation for some years about the whole direction of higher education and in particular of the way in which it is dominated by technocrats and managerial speak. Writing in the *London Review of Books* the author Marian Warner, who also taught creative writing at the University of Essex – before she was fired – comments: "What have I learned (is) that something has gone wrong with the way universities are being run. Above all I have learned that not everything that is valuable can be measured." (Warner, 2015: 5) She describes how humanistic education

is beginning to look like an antique romance (...) As universities are beaten into the shapes dictated by business, so language is suborned to its ends... We have all heard the robotic idiom of management, as if a button had activated a digitally generated voice... business-speak is an instance of magical naming, superimposing the idea of the market on the idea of a university – through 'targets', 'benchmarks', time charts, league tables, 'vision statements', 'content providers'... thickets of TLAs – three letter acronyms... accumulate like dental plaque. Such acronyms now pepper every document circulating in every institution, not just universities (emphasis added)... they swallow everything up and deaden it. The code conceals aggression: actions are undertaken in its name and justified by its rules; it pushes responsibility from persons to systems. It pushes individuals to one side and replaces them with columns, boxes, numbers, rubrics, often meaningless tautologies (a form will ask for 'aims', and then for 'objectives'). 'When I use a word,' Humpty Dumpty says, 'it means just what I choose it to mean, neither more nor less.' Alice is puzzled by this, but Humpty explains: 'The question is... which is to be master – that's all.' The term that is successfully imposed will occupy the field of meaning: calling the work of writing a book 'generating an output' or a university 'a knowledge delivery solution' has a cryokinetic effect: it freezes the infinite differences that writing and research make possible, and sets them hard in the mould of market ideology, as sales items. (Warner, 2015: 6)

There is a brilliant articulation of this problem in Alan Bennett's play (2004), *The History Boys*. The play, a comedy with very serious intent, is about two different ways of thinking about the nature and purpose of education, centered around two teachers, the wonderful Hector who believes that education is about learning, cultivating the young mind and Irwin, who has been brought in by the odiously ambitious headmaster, to train pupils in the mechanics of passing exams. At one point the headmaster, Felix, says to another teacher:

"Shall I tell you what is wrong with Hector as a teacher? And it isn't that he doesn't produce results – he does. But they're unpredictable and unquantifiable. And in the current educational climate, that is of no use. I mean, there's inspiration, certainly. But how do I quantify that?"

There is another description of these processes by Bennett (2007). He is a Trustee of the National Gallery in London:

Like most public institutions today the Gallery is required not merely to do its job but also to prove that it is doing its job... Necessary to this merry-go-round is another misapprehension, namely that everything is quantifiable, that what visitors to the Gallery came with can be assessed by means of questionnaires and so on. Well maybe 20% of it can, and maybe 20% of all these efficiency inducing exercises are worthwhile... And yes, one can gauge from a questionnaire how quick the service is in the café and how clean the lavatories are, but it cannot be said too often that the heart of what goes on here, the experience of someone in front of a painting, cannot be assessed and remains a mystery even, very often, to them. (Bennett, 2007: 475-6)

Communication, education, the arts, capitalist modernity has each by the throat.

AN END NOTE

Let me try and get at the point of this essay in an admittedly personal, even quixotic, manner. I have long thought that those of us who script away in the realm of the humanities, and in social and cultural theory, might reasonably be allowed in our work a certain 'voice'. Of course we need to follow the proper protocols of scholarly inquiry but there is also something inside – that would be the voice, 'this is important, that isn't, this is right, that is wrong' – guiding, nudging, nagging, a kind of moral compass, but understanding that a compass can point you in the right direction, it cannot take you there, that is the role of scholarship. I say this simply as a means of recognizing that the voice is always, and properly, there. I know of no social, cultural or humanist theorists, including, indeed especially, the truly great and influential thinkers, who were, or are, not in the first instance impelled by certain normative, even moral, moods, who did not at the outset see the world, modernity, as a wicked place that had to be understood in order to be redeemed. Their starting and end-point is, essentially, the question of what it is to be fully human and that of how to get there? That we are still, or should be, pursuing answers to these questions, and may do so until the sun goes cold, does not, should not, cannot diminish their significance.

In this context it does not rest easily to imagine that some of the more assumed sublime aspects of being human – loving, feeling, being moved to tears by the beautiful and the sad and the horrific, believing in rights, having a sense of 'me' and 'you' – are 'no more' than biology or *things* that can be measured, reduced to some statistic or algorithm.

A personal example. I've long liked classical music, especially Italian. Quite late in life I fell in love with the music of Mahler, a composer I had avoided on the rather stupidly prejudiced basis that I sensed, utterly irrationally, that he would be too dull, heavy. Then when I did start to listen something curious happened. When I listen to Mahler, particularly the 3rd and 8th symphonies, the same image comes into my 'mind' not because I have hailed it but because it is simply there, unbeckoned but deeply affecting. It is of a small boy. He is standing on the edge of a cliff. He wears a woolen shirt, buttoned at the collar, a woolen jacket with three buttons, short woolen trousers, socks that hang over shoes that were once patent, shiny black but are now scuffed, and a peaked cap. His hands hang by his side almost as if he is standing to attention. His face is so expressionless that it is deeply expressive, of what I barely know, and through green eyes he stares out over the ocean to the far horizon where a twelve-masted schooner is silhouetted against the giant, orange orb of the setting sun. I wrote this for an essay I have been working on about the need for the humanities to begin to engage developments in neuroscience, on the basis of the fearful thought that I would hate for that image to be 'no more' than the firing of neurons. What I equally understand is that however deep, if somewhat mysterious, the feeling, brought forth by the genius of Mahler, in that moment is something that no calculable measure can, or should, capture. It cannot be measured, only felt.

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POPUT TRAŽENJA DUŠE U EPRUVETI: BANALNE ZLOUPOTREBE „ČOVJEKA KOJEGA SE MJERI” U NOVOJ ERI JAVNOG MEDIJSKOG SERVISA

Michael Tracey

SAŽETAK *Postalo je gotovo uobičajeno sugerirati kako nove tehnologije, nove politike i nove ekonomije donose mnoge izazove koji ugrožavaju opstojnost koncepta javne radio-televizije (engl. public service broadcasting) i institucija javnih radio-televizija. Iz tih izazova, u duhu plemenitog optimizma, proizišla je ideja kako javne radio-televizije mogu biti redefinirane u javne medijske servise i kako njihova vrijednost može biti mjerljiva pa samim time i „vjerodostojna”. Ovaj pak članak sugerira ne samo da je to vjerojatno pogrešno nego i da je ono što je zapravo na stvari povijesno određena borba oko vrijednosti koje će modernitet prihvatiti.*

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

JAVNOST, USLUGA, TEORIJA, MODERNITET, DUŠA, ČOVJEK

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PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTING AS A PUBLIC GOOD: CHALLENGES IN THE DIGITAL ERA

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ABSTRACT *This article presents a summary of the most important standpoints of the economic debate about public service broadcasting as a public good, and its provision in both the analogue and digital age of broadcasting. Due to frequent technological developments, which heavily influence the broadcasting sector, this debate, initiated in 1958 by American economist Paul A. Samuelson, has continued up to the present day. It also reflects on the concept of PSM as a public good in a globalizing, multi-platform, user-generated content infused media landscape. Finally, it ponders the future developments of PSM as a public good in the digital era of broadcasting.*

KEY WORDS

PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTING, PUBLIC SERVICE MEDIA, PUBLIC GOOD, DIGITAL ERA

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INTRODUCTION

Since its establishment in the 1920s, public television broadcasting (PSB) has been considered a public good. In terms of public goods theory, it is both non-rivalrous and non-excludable in consumption. Namely, watching a PSB program does not reduce its availability to additional users and once its program is broadcast no viewer can be excluded from watching them.

In the early days of broadcasting, due to the lack of a television market and the presence of radio spectrum scarcity, "broadcasting and other sectors such as telecommunications were seen as natural monopolies in which government intervention accounted for optimal outcomes" (Donders, 2012: 9). As a result, PSB monopolies were created. Unlike the European monopolistic model developed under the patronage of the state, "development of radio and television in the US was given over to the private sector, in which television was initially based as a commercial project." (Car, 2007: 114)

Deregulation of the media market in Europe, which occurred in the early 1980s ended the era of monopolies granted to PSBs (see Donders, 2012). Since then the number of television channels has rapidly risen, and new conditional access television platforms – cable and satellite television – have been introduced. New technologies, most importantly the innovation of conditional access which has enabled the exclusion of non-payers from the consumption of television programming, have posed a threat to the notion of PSB as a public good. Furthermore, the development of the television market and the end of spectrum scarcity has made the previous arguments for the governmental intervention in PSB obsolete.

In spite of gloomy prophecies and serious challenges from the television market's liberalization, multi-channel environment, market fragmentation and finally, questioning the justification of its existence in the new environment PSB has evolved towards public service media (PSM) and managed to survive in the digital era of broadcasting. Today, "public broadcasters are delivering programs online, deliver generalist and niche services, experiment with new sorts of services, explore the possibilities of interactivity, and continue to cut costs and diversify revenue streams." (Donders, 2012: 23)

However, in today's globalizing, multi-platform, user-generated content infused media landscape, can we still consider PSM to be a public good? Is it still non-rivalrous, meaning that it is enjoyed simultaneously by an unlimited number of consumers and has it remained non-excludable in the world where Internet access is the privilege of many, but not all?

This article presents a summary of the most important standpoints of the economic debate on PSB as a public good, initiated in 1958 by American economist Paul A. Samuelson. Due to frequent technological developments, which heavily influence the broadcasting sector, this debate has continued up to the present days, continuously challenging the notion that PSB is a public good. It also reflects on the concept of PSM as

a public good in today's digital, multi-platform environment. Finally, this article ponders the future developments of PSM as a public good in the digital era of broadcasting.

THE NATURE AND PROVISION OF PUBLIC GOODS

Over the last two millenniums, the concept of the public goods and their optimal provision concerned the attention of scholars. This debate was initiated by the ancient Greek philosopher Plato in his masterpiece *The Republic* (Mansbridge, 1998; Petak, 2000; Heinaman, 2002; Pauletić, 2008; Etzioni, 2015). At the beginning of Book II, Plato distinguishes three classes of goods: (1) goods which we welcome for their own sake and independently of their consequences; (2) goods which are desirable not only in themselves, but also for their results; and (3) goods which no one would choose for their own sake, but only for the sake of some reward or result which flows from them (Plato, 2002). This classification provoked "multiple understandings about the concept of the public good that persists to this day." (Tierney, 2012: 13)

The foundation of modern public goods theory, "as the basis for a rationale for the productive state" (Brennan, 2012: 138), is often attributed to American economist Paul A. Samuelson. However, Katharina Holzinger (2008) argues that several elements of this theory – such as the existence of externalities and their undesirable effects on collective welfare, taxes or subsidies advocated to correct the inefficiencies induced by externalities, and the problem of 'just taxation' for the provision of public goods provided by governments – were developed earlier. "Borrowing from earlier writings of Wicksell (1896) and Lindahl (1919) and an early paper of Musgrave's (1939), the theory of public goods was an attempt to provide a systematic account of 'market failure.'" (Brennan, 2012: 138) Nevertheless, "it was the contribution of Samuelson (1954), which finally launched the discipline of public good theory" (Holzinger, 2008: 12). To quote Richard Musgrave (1983: 141) "the modern theory of public goods may be dated from June 1954, when Samuelson's 'Pure Theory of Public Expenditures' appeared. Never have three pages had so great impact on the theory of public finance."

Public goods, as defined in economic theory, are goods which have two distinguishing characteristics. The first characteristic of a public good is jointness in consumption/non-rivalness, which "means that once the public good is produced additional consumers can consume it without reducing the consumption of others." (Holcombe, 2000: 201) Lighthouses, public roads, public parks and television broadcasting, to mention just a few, are examples of public goods.

This implies that the marginal cost of supplying the good to successive individuals is effectively zero, once the original costs of production have been incurred. Furthermore, it implies that the price charged for the service should also be zero, since any positive charge will prevent some consumers from enjoying a product which could be supplied to them for nothing. (Davies, 2004: 13-14)

Non-excludability, as the second characteristic of public goods, "means that once a good is produced, the producer cannot prevent consumers from consuming it."

(Holcombe, 2000: 201) Since “everyone – whether they are old or young, hawk or pacifist, tax payer or tax evader – is said to be protected by it” (Malkin and Wildavsky, 1991: 358) national defense is recognized as non-excludable.

On the basis of a good’s jointness in consumption and non-excludability, such goods can be classified into four broad categories: private goods, common-pool resources, club goods and public goods (Table 1).

Table 1. Classification of Goods

	Excludable	Nonexcludable
Rivalrous	Private goods (food, clothes, automobile)	Common-pool goods (underground water)
Nonrivalrous	Club goods (cable TV, electric power)	Public goods (national defense, lighthouse)

Source: F. Kartal, 2010: 155.

As Filiz Kartal (2010) argues, this twofold classification of goods – originating from Richard A. Musgrave and Peggy B. Musgrave (1973) and Vicent and Elinor Ostrom (1977) – is helpful for the conceptualization of public goods. Nevertheless, due to the changing social and technological conditions, it is not strictly determinate. He gives an example of a television signal, explaining that “Almost a half-century ago, a television signal was a pure public good as it was non-excludable and supplied at no charge. With the development of a technology that enables exclusion; a price for the provision of the good can be charged.” (Kartal, 2010: 156)

While the market represents the optimal institution for the production of private goods, argues Elinor Ostrom (2009), public goods can only be provided by the government. Namely,

For non-private goods, on the other hand, one needed “the” government to impose rules and taxes to force self-interested individuals to contribute necessary resources and refrain from self-seeking activities. Without a hierarchical government to induce compliance, self-seeking citizens and officials would fail to generate efficient levels of public goods, such as peace and security, at multiple scales (Hobbes [1651] 1960; W. Wilson 1885). (cf. Ostrom, 2009: 409)

There are two reasons for the intervention of government in this regard. On the one hand, “the marginal cost of public goods provision to a new users is zero, thus, the charge for the goods should be zero. For this reason, the private sector is unwilling to provide pure public goods” (Kartal, 2010: 156). As a result, public goods will be under-produced in the market. On the other hand, since public goods are freely available to all, regardless of their contribution, consumers will have the tendency to free ride. To quote Samuelson “it is in the selfish interest of each person to give false signals, to pretend to have less interest in a given collective consumption activity than he really has.” (1954: 388-389) Since fewer consumers will be willing to pay for the production of a public good, less of the good

will is produced. In this situation of market failure, a government is seen as the only actor who is, using some form of enforcement (such as revenues collected by taxes) capable of public goods provision.

The existence of externalities represents another aspect of market failure in provision of public goods.

According to Baumol and Oates (1988), an externality is an unintentional effect on an economic decision made by persons, corporations, or governments on the consumption or production by an outside party (person, corporation, or government) who is not part of the original decision. (Ganapati Bhat, 2010: 228)

If this “unintended ‘spill over’ of any good” (Baumol and Oates, 1975) is positive and benefits others, it is referred to as a positive externality. The examples of positive externalities are education, national security and law enforcement, which all benefit the whole society. However, if it is negative and results with costs to the third parties, they are referred to as negative externalities. The example of a negative externality is pollution, which imposes health problems and costs to the community within its range.

In sum, the free riding and the existence of externalities in the provision of public goods legitimizes the need for governmental action in order to ensure free provision of these goods to the society.

TELEVISION BROADCASTING IN THE CONTEXT OF PUBLIC GOODS

Since the mid 1950s economic literature, television broadcasting has been given as an example of a pure public good – a good which is both non-rival and non-exclusive in consumption (Samuelson, 1958, 1964, 1967; Minasian, 1964, 1967; Buchanan, 1967; Long, 1994; Holcombe, 1997; Pindyck and Rubinfeld, 1989; Anderson and Coate, 2000; Kartal, 2010; Davies, 2004, 2013; Levy, 2013; Graham, 2013; Helm, 2013). Barwise and Pickard (2012) explain broadcasting as a public good:

Because (a) those who would not pay could not be excluded from receiving broadcasts and (b) everyone could receive broadcasts without reducing its availability to others, broadcasting before the advent of conditional access technology was what economists call a public good, that is, a good which is both ‘non-excludable’ and ‘non-rivalrous’. This meant that the development and effective operation of a commercial broadcast marketplace would be constrained by ‘free-riding’, with those who did not pay enjoying the benefits of others’ expenditure, like someone riding a bus or train without paying. (Barwise and Pickard, 2012: 11)

However, during the nearly hundred years long history of broadcasting, changes in technology have influenced and changed the very nature of this public good. For example, in the context of public goods theory, it is possible to distinguish between three notions of the television broadcasting (Table 2), coinciding with the history of broadcasting phases introduced by Karin Donders (2012). Using this analogy, similar division could be used for radio broadcasting or PSM services.

Table 2. Television broadcasting in the context of public goods theory (1920s-onwards)

1920s-1980s			
	Subtractability of Use	High	Low
Difficulty of Excluding Potential Beneficiaries	High	Common-pool Resource	Public Good Free-To-Air Terrestrial TV
	Low	Private Good	Toll Good
1980s-2000s			
	Subtractability of Use	High	Low
Difficulty of Excluding Potential Beneficiaries	High	Common-pool Resource	Public Good Free-To-Air Terrestrial TV
	Low	Private Good	Toll Good Satellite TV Cable TV
2000s-onwards			
	Subtractability of Use	High	Low
Difficulty of Excluding Potential Beneficiaries	High	Common-pool Resource	Public Good Free-To-Air Terrestrial TV
	Low	Private Good TV Internet services (TV on demand, i-TV services, etc.) mobile application services	Toll Good Satellite TV Cable TV IPTV Pay-Per-View Terrestrial TV

Source: Adapted from E. Ostrom, 2005: 24.

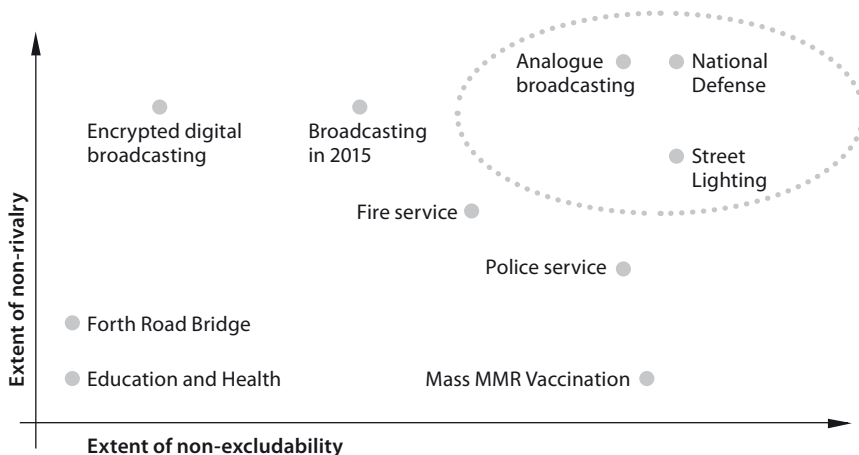
According to the first notion, which refers to the period from the 1920s to the 1980s, television broadcasting is considered to be a public good. Namely, in the early decades of broadcasting, television signals were broadcasted exclusively ‘over the air’ (that is over the terrestrial analogue free-to-air television platform). The television market did not exist and only public broadcasters were licensed to broadcast on the terrestrial analogue free-to-air television platform. As Gavyn Davies (2004: 14) argues, traditional analogue broadcasting represents “almost the perfect textbook example of a public good”. Namely,

once the analogue signal has been provided for a single user, there is no extra cost for providing it to everyone in the same locality, so the product is clearly non-rivalrous. Furthermore, once you have provided the signal for any household, you cannot exclude all other households, so it is also non-excludable. (Davies, 2004: 14)

The arrival of cable and satellite transmissions of TV signals in the 1980s, which unlike terrestrial television, use the scrambling technology to exclude non-payers from

the consumption of the broadcast, has altered the nature of television broadcasting as a public good. Since it became technologically possible to produce a television signal from which non-payers are excluded, broadcasting over cable and satellite television platforms became a club good. "Once exclusion can be practiced, the private sector can provide the good, charge a price for it, and earn a normal rate of return on its investment." (Batina and Ithori, 2005: 2) However, broadcasts over the terrestrial television platform have remained non-rivalrous and non-excludable, thus retaining the properties of a public good.

Finally, according to the third notion, which refers to the period from the 2000s onward, terrestrial television broadcasting became a dual good: both a public and a club good. Another technological innovation, the digital terrestrial television switchover, opened the possibility of scrambling technology to exclude non-payers from the consumption of television broadcasts, even on the terrestrial television platform. As a result of the digital switchover, terrestrial television broadcasting became a dual good. On the one hand, by encoding TV channels broadcasted over the digital terrestrial platform and introducing Pay-Per-View terrestrial TV, technology has allowed for the exclusion of non-payers from the jointly enjoyed good. Hence, television terrestrial broadcasting became a club good. On the other hand, a part of broadcasting over the terrestrial television platform remained non-rival and non-excludable in consumption, thus remaining a public good in the digital era of broadcasting as well. Finally, the evolution of PSB towards PSM has introduced new platforms to deliver public service programming and services, such as PSM online radio, TV on demand, i-services, and PSM mobile application services. On the basis of their public good's characteristics, these services are defined as private or public goods. In this context, it is interesting to present the comparison between three types of broadcasting (encrypted digital broadcasting, broadcasting in 2015 and analogue broadcasting) and other public goods (Figure 1).



▲ Figure 1. Television broadcasting compared with other public goods
Source: Davies, 2004: 15.

Based on the extent to which public service media exhibits the characteristics of non-rivalry and non-excludability, Davies (2004) observed that analogue broadcasting is almost a pure public good, since both its extent of non-rivalry and non-excludability are high. On the other hand, encrypted digital broadcasting, due to the possibility of excluding non-payers, is positioned at the top left and estimation of broadcasting market in 2015 in the middle top.¹ Davies concludes that these findings “would leave broadcasting at the end of the next charter period exhibiting far more of the characteristics of a public good than many other services provided by the public sector” (2004: 15).

PSB AS A PUBLIC GOOD

Unlike television broadcasting, whose nature in the context of public goods theory has been altered during its history, PSB has retained its characteristics of a public good. Namely, from its establishment, in the 1920s until the 2000s PSB was considered to be a public good (Campbell and Campbell, 1978; Andreoni, 1995; Shankar and Pavitt, 2002; Balnaves et al., 2008; Besanko and Braeutigam, 2010; Parks et al., 2013). It was non-rival since “when one viewer watches a public television program, no other viewer is prevented from watching it (to put another way, the marginal costs of serving an additional viewer is zero)” and non-excludable since “once the television programme is broadcast, no viewer can be excluded from watching it” (Besanko and Braeutigam, 2010: 699). As Mike Feintuck and Mike Varney suggest, “it is evident that my watching of BBC1 at a particular time does not prevent my neighbour from doing so, and, furthermore, if I have a television set then I may watch television regardless of whether I have purchased a television licence” (2006: 91).

It should be noted that PSBs have historically used the terrestrial analogue television transmission platform (free-to-air), which was the only available television platform at that time. “Free-to-air refers to a delivery model where PSB services are available to all viewers and listeners without recurring charges.” (European Broadcasting Union, 2014: 2) Thus, everyone who possessed a TV set and antenna could (and still can) watch PSB’s programs regardless of paying subscription fee. Furthermore, “in many countries there is a legal or licensing obligation for DTT² to be available to a large proportion of the population (e.g. more than 98 %).” (European Broadcasting Union, 2014: 3) Thus the terrestrial television platform, allows for universal and free access of public service broadcasters. This is of utmost importance since “the social cohesion function of PSB only works if everyone can receive it, and in many countries including the United Kingdom, Spain and Italy, terrestrial television has been the way of meeting this universal service obligation.” (Sims et al., 2015: 80)

It is the inability to exclude non-payers from the consumption of PSB’s program – broadcasted via free-to-air television platform – that creates a social dilemma for their

¹ The analogue transmission of terrestrial television signal in the UK ceased on 24 October 2012. Thus instead of analogue broadcasting service there is free-to-air digital terrestrial broadcasting. Due to the high extent of non-rivalry and non-excludability it would still be positioned at the top left corner of Figure 1.

² DTT is abbreviation for the Digital Terrestrial Television.

viewers: since they can watch PSB program without paying for it, they tend to free-ride, i.e. to enjoy PSB program without contributing for its production. This results with a conflict between individual and collective rationality. As Anisha Shankar and Charles Pavitt indicate

although one person's decision to not contribute does not have a significant impact on the quality or quantity of programming that is broadcast, if too many acted in this way, the television station would not have the funds to continue broadcasting and would eventually have to shut down. Although in the short term all non-paying viewers would have benefited, everyone would suffer in the end. (2002: 255)

For example, if we compare data on the number of households, individual public service television subscribers and the number of private households in Croatia who owned a TV set in 2014, we will notice that 21.4 % of households who own a TV set do not pay the PSB subscription fee, thus not contributing to the production of PSB programs. The direct consequence of this problem is reduced funding for the provision of this public good. However, although the Croatian Radio-Television Act (OG 137/10, 76/12) anticipates penalties for natural and legal persons who do not register their radio-television receiver or use an unregistered one to watch television programs (Article 47 and Article 48), due to the absence of technological prerequisites, it cannot prevent any person who does not pay their subscription fee from consuming television programs.³ "Even in countries like Britain and Japan, where fee collection is authorized, there is no way of excluding people who do not pay the fee short of seizing their TV receivers." (Hart, 2007: 18)

During the first decades of broadcasting, market failures were a common argument for encouraging the provision of PSB. The main reasons for market failure in broadcasting were: spectrum scarcity, monopoly, public good, externalities and merit good (Davies, 2004; Feintuck and Varney, 2006; Armstrong and Weeds, 2007; Brevini, 2013; Levy, 2013). "These represent clear deviations from the assumptions which are required in welfare economics to ensure that the free market produces a socially optimum result." (Davies, 2004: 12-13)

The Spectrum scarcity argument. During the first decades of broadcasting "spectrum constraints required that just a few television channels could broadcast simultaneously" (Armstrong, 2005: 284), thus limiting market competition.

Scarcity stems from the fact that at any given point in time and place the use of a specific slice of the spectrum (i.e., a specific frequency range) typically precludes alternative uses. Without coordination, interference can distort transmissions to a point that effectively prevents reliable communication. (Galperin, 2004: 43-44)

Consequently, the need for the establishment of a coordination mechanism legitimized the government allocation of radio spectrum.

The Monopoly argument. Due to the existence of spectrum scarcity since the 1920s governments established public broadcasting monopolies throughout Europe. It was a

³ More on overview of the digital television switchover process in Croatia in Car and Andrijašević, 2012; Andrijašević and Car, 2013.

general expectation “that the commercial broadcasting market will fail to meet viewers’ demands in a number of important respects. Advertising funded broadcasters will produce a bland diet of low quality programmes, appealing to mass market tastes and ignoring niche interests.” (Armstrong and Weeds, 2007: 1) Thus, the historical and institutional role of PSB was, argue Nakamura and Yonekura (2008: 109), “to compensate for ‘market failure’ by the commercial stations that predated it”.

The Public good argument. Since PSB has both the non-rivalry and non-excludability characteristics of a public good, as previously described, the market will tend to under-produce this good.

The Externalities argument. PSB generates mostly positive externalities, such as “more knowledgeable citizens benefits fellow citizens; expression of shared cultural values can strengthen social cohesion and national identity” (Levy, 2013: 33). Furthermore, it advances the non-economic goals of society, such as the diversity of viewpoint and media plurality, which empowers citizens with information and promotes civic engagement, and preservation of domestic culture, primarily in the European Union. According to microeconomic theory, Helen Weeds (2013: 16) argues:

in the presence of positive externalities goods tend to be underprovided by the market, because the transaction between buyer and seller takes no account of benefits to other parties. If externalities cannot be internalised then there is a case for public intervention to increase the supply of socially beneficial programmes (and to limit harmful ones). This rationale for intervention would call for a targeted approach in which public funds are used to produce programming which confers social benefits and to distribute this material as widely as possible.

The Merit good argument. In economic theory, merit goods are defined as “goods the consumption of which is beneficial rather than enjoyable (Robinson, Ravel and Low, 2005: 108).” (cf. Brevini, 2013: 159) Leaving the production of such goods to the market could result with their inadequate provision. In this regard,

PSBs have been considered a suitable means of generating programming that has merit good attributes (equal programming, programming of national political or cultural significance, programmes aimed at minority communities or interests, educational programming), as they are not beholden to shareholders to make a profit, or obliged to maximise advertiser revenues or audience share across the programming schedule. (Cunningham et al., 2015: 130)

The deregulation of the media market in Europe, which occurred in the early 1980s ended the era of monopolies granted to PSBs (see Donders, 2012). A dark shadow of pessimistic prophesies has loomed over the PSBs since. In the 1980s and 1990s influential media and communications scholars, such as Karol Jakubowicz, Robert McChesney and Peter Dahlgren anticipated a reduction in its social impact. More radical was Michael Tracey, who in 1998, expressed skepticism about the future of PSB in Europe. Tracey argued that it became nothing more than the “corpse on leave” whose preservation “will be more akin to the preservation of primeval bugs in amber than the continuance of any vibrant cultural species.” (1998: 33)

The introduction of conditional access to television programming, i.e., the possibility of excluding non-payers from the consumption of television programming, has challenged the notion of PSB as a public good. However, its traditional bond with the free-to-air terrestrial television platform which continued in the digital era of broadcasting allowed for the preservation of its characteristics of a public good as it remained both non-rivalrous and non-excludable until the 2000s.

CONTEMPORARY PSM AND ITS FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

Since its establishment in the 1920s, PSB ensured the provision of free-to-air broadcasting that did “not exclude people on the basis of ability or willingness to pay and the provision of certain types of welfare enhancing programming that the market alone would not provide.” (Ofcom, 1999: 204) Until the 2000s, PSB maintained the characteristics of a public good. It was both non-rivalrous and non-excludable in consumption.

However, does PSM functions today as a public good?

The answer to this question is ambiguous. The ubiquitous of Internet and mobile technologies and evolution of globalizing, multi-platform, user-generated content infused media landscape have undoubtedly influenced the notion of PSM in the theory of public goods. The galloping technological development that has occurred in the past decade has challenged both its non-rivalry and non-excludability characteristics. Thus, in order to answer the above raised question, we should first consider whether PSM still poses the characteristics of a public good.

As PSM is available on various platforms, such as digital broadcasting services (terrestrial, satellite, cable, IPTV), radio services, Internet services, mobile application services – to mention the most important ones – each of these services should be perceived as a separate part of PSM. Here I briefly explain each one within the context of public goods theory.

>PSM digital broadcasting services (terrestrial, satellite, cable, IPTV) are non-rival in consumption, regardless of whether PSM programming and services are broadcasted free-to-air or via satellite, cable and IPTV. The consumption of PSM programming and services by one individual does not prevent simultaneous consumption by other individuals. Additionally, the costs of providing PSM programming and services to additional individuals are zero. Furthermore, PSM digital broadcasting services are both excludable and non-excludable in consumption. Digital terrestrial broadcasting service, broadcasted free-to-air, is non-excludable since it is not possible to exclude anyone who possesses a TV set and antenna from the consumption of public service programming. On the other hand, due to the ‘scrambling’ technology, satellite, cable and IPTV platforms can exclude non-payers from the consumption of public service programming;

>PSM radio services are both non-rival and rival in consumption. Namely, analogue free-to-air radio broadcasting of PSM programming and services can be enjoyed simultaneously by an unlimited number of listeners who possess radio and antenna, and again the costs of providing PSM programming and services to additional individuals are zero. Thus, it is non-rival. At the same time, no one can be excluded from the free-to-air radio listening. However, if too many listeners decide to listen to PSM radio online at the same time, this might result in the crash of the server and the inability to enjoy PSM radio by all listeners. On the other hand, the upgrade of a server for a larger audience shall result in additional costs. Consequently, PSM radio online is rivalrous in consumption. At the same time, PSM online radio services are excludable since those who do not pay for Internet access cannot access PSM programming and services online. Also, due to the 'digital divide' a large part of the world population does not have access to PSM services online. "Globally 3.2 billion people are using the Internet by end 2015 [...]. However, 4 billion people from developing countries remain offline representing 2/3 of the population residing in developing countries." (International Telecommunications Union, 2015: 1);

>PSM Internet services are rivalrous in consumption. As in the case of online radio, if too many users decide to approach PSM at the same time, this might result in the crash of the server and the inability to consume PSM Internet services. Also, the upgrade of a server for a larger audience shall result in additional costs. On the other hand, these services are excludable since those who do not pay for Internet access cannot reach them. The above stated 'digital divide' argument applies in this case as well;

>PSM mobile applications services are rivalrous in consumption as well. Due to the server limitations, it cannot be enjoyed simultaneously by an unlimited number of users while the investments in a server upgrade result in additional costs. Further, these services are excludable since those who do not pay for mobile service or/and broadband Internet access cannot reach them. The above stated 'digital-gap' argument applies in this case as well.

This brief explanation of separate parts of PSM in the context of public goods theory provides several answers to our question. First, PSM does not function as a public good when either the access to public service programming and services is restricted for non-payers (satellite, cable and Internet broadcasting, PSM online radio, PSM Internet services and PSM mobile application) or when PSM services are rivalrous (PSM online radio, PSM Internet services and PSM mobile application). Second, PSM does not function as a public good in cases when it is not available under the same conditions. On the one hand, we are facing the 'digital divide' and the fact that Internet and mobile broadband is not a privilege for all, but many. On the other hand, at the global level the price and speed of Internet and mobile services varies among states. "In developing countries, average monthly fixed broadband prices (in PPP\$) are 3 times higher than in developed countries; mobile broadband prices are twice as expensive as in developed countries." (International Telecommunications Union, 2015: 4) In early 2014, the speed of fixed broadband subscriptions per 100 inhabitants reached from >256 kbit/s to <2Mbit/s in Pakistan, Senegal and Bolivia to >10 Mbit/s in Republic of Korea, France and Iceland

(International Telecommunications Union, 2015). Third, contemporary PSM functions as a public good only in the case of digital terrestrial television broadcasting and analogue radio broadcasting. These two services, as the parts of PSM, are non-rivalrous and non-excludable in consumption, i.e., they have the characteristics of public goods. Thus it seems that PSM may be considered to be a public good only when the technological platform used for the dissemination of its programming and services (in this case free-to-air terrestrial platform) is in accordance with the definition of a public good.

These answers open another important question – are market failure (in terms of free-riders) and the existence of externalities in the digital multi-channel media environment sufficient arguments to justify government intervention in the provision of PSM? Most scholars believe so, although in a somewhat altered manner. Mark Armstrong (2005: 281) argues that the advent of subscription television has overcome many of the market failures that once existed. However, not all of them. Thus the existence of externalities and 'citizenship concerns' provide a case for continued public intervention, but in a limited form.

As Davies (2004: 13) implied, market failures in the broadcasting sector "have not disappeared simply because technology has gone digital, despite assumptions to the contrary. Indeed, they will be with us for a very long time." Namely,

some form of market failure must lie at the heart of any concept of public service broadcasting. Beyond simply using the catch-phrase that public service broadcasting must 'inform, educate and entertain', we must add 'inform, educate and entertain in a way which the private sector, left unregulated, would not do'. Otherwise, why not leave matters entirely to the private sector? (Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 1999: 10)

Furthermore, Armstrong and Weeds (2007: 82) noted that, while the public intervention in broadcasting during the analogue era of broadcasting was justified with the traditional market failure argument, in the digital era of broadcasting "the rationale for public intervention needs to be re-examined", since "regulation that was appropriate to the earlier, analogue era may become unnecessary, and even undesirable, in the digital world." Considering the rationale for public intervention in broadcasting in the digital era, Weeds argued that,

traditional consumer market failures of analogue, free-to-air broadcasting do not carry over to the digital world: the market will provide the programmes that people broadly want to watch. The rationale for public intervention in broadcasting must now rest on citizen concerns. While there is a case for continued intervention to increase the provision of programming that conveys positive social externalities, its effectiveness is limited if consumers increasingly turn to other broadcasters and alternative products to satisfy their needs for information and entertainment. (2013: 19)

Having in mind that PSM creates positive externalities not provided by the market, Weeds concludes that "contemporary public intervention is consequently justifiable but not at the levels that harm commercial firms, investment in broadcasting, or reduce the total welfare of the broadcast systems." (2013: 5)

In this context, at least one possible direction of the future developments of PSM may be recognized. It was initiated in 2011, when the Human Rights Council of the United Nations (UN) declared Internet access a human right. The UN described the Internet as "one of the most powerful instruments of the 21st century for increasing transparency in the conduct of the powerful, access to information, and for facilitating active citizen participation in building democratic societies." (United Nations, 2011: 4) As such Internet can be understood as a strong instrument for supporting PSM's contemporary endeavors.

A further step forward would be to recognize access to the Internet as not just a mere policy goal, but as a human right, with a corresponding obligation on the State to ensure its exercise. It has be so defined (or mandated in law as a service that must be available to everyone) in Estonia, France, Costa Rica, Finland, Malta, Switzerland and Spain, with different technical specifications in each country as to what it entails in practice. The European Union, too, has to all intents and purposes recognized Internet access as a human right in Article 1.3a of Directive 2002/21/EC of 7 March 2002 on a common regulatory framework for electronic communications networks and services (as amended). (Jakubowicz, 2015: 312-313)

Under this scenario, the Internet could supplement traditional terrestrial television's universal coverage and the free access proposition of PSM programming and services. As a result, PSM could become both non-rivalrous and non-excludable in consumption. If the Internet, as a global human right, becomes accessible to all citizens of the world under the same conditions, in the 21st century PSM could become reinvented as a public good.

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JAVNA RADIO-TELEVIZIJA KAO JAVNO DOBRO: IZAZOVI DIGITALNOG DOBA

Ivana Andrijašević

SAŽETAK Članak donosi sažetak najvažnijih stajališta iz ekonomske teorije o javnoj radio-televiziji kao javnom dobru i osiguranju njezine ponude tijekom analognog i digitalnog razdoblja televizijskog emitiranja. Zbog čestih tehnoloških promjena koje značajno utječu na elektroničke medije rasprava o javnom radio-televizijskom servisu kao javnom dobru, koju je 1958. godine započeo američki ekonomist Paul A. Samuelson, nastavila se do danas. U članku se također prikazuje koncept javnog medijskog servisa kao javnog dobra u globalnom, višeplatformskom, korisnički usmjerenom medijskom okruženju. Na kraju se promišlja o budućem razvoju javnog medijskog servisa kao javnog dobra u digitalnom dobu emitiranja.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

JAVNA RADIO-TELEVIZIJA, JAVNI MEDIJSKI SERVIS, JAVNO DOBRO, DIGITALNO DOBA

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DEMOCRACIES AT ODDS: OSTRACIZED PUBLIC VALUES AND VIABLE SOCIAL CONCERNS

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What, if any, might be the connection between attacking democratic public values in Western societies and the emergence of rapid mediation of celebration of violence against women especially, but not exclusively, in the social media? Democratic public values, and the notion of common good, have been waning and bid farewell to the distant past. While this in itself is nothing new, considering public values and public good as pathological remainders of earlier eras has, however, become ever more normative in the discourses of individualism and neo-liberal order (Giroux, 2011). While public values often become wrapped up by warnings of thought-control, relatively little attention is paid to any controlling power of individualism. The less thought-controlling aspects of individualisms are often marketed as an implicit byproduct of neo-liberal ideologies.

Media and communication technologies are obviously an ever more integral part of the push and pull of such ideological agendas on a global scale, and more often than not, with unexpected repercussions. On a global scale, the poor are reaching the rich. The old notion of widening economic inequalities *between* the nations has been thrown off in favor of widening inequalities *within* the nations. The nation-states have become closer across the world in terms of accumulation of wealth, while the disparities within the nations are growing (Goesling, 2001).

In the context of global capitalism, Western media have notably transformed from their age-old role of a protector of democratic communication to a rather unpredictable force in ways that urgently calls for new conceptualizations and explanations. Waning of politicizing common good in the nexus of the private and public has favored neoliberal individualisms, and opened up a vacuum for new concerns; social concerns. In the area of gender, for example, issues such as normalization of (domestic) violence are the bread and butter of particular groups of interest in the social media. In the past, (domestic) violence against women was extensively negotiated in public, and transformed from a private to a common concern. Could the process potentially become reversed? Could the hybrid forces of defining (domestic) violence as a social concern while simultaneously ostracizing public values result in the privatization of (domestic) violence once again? A meme¹ that featured longing for past eras when women could just be hit on the head, grabbed, and taken home with the help of a fist and a mallet was recently widely circulated in the social media. A joke or not, it paradoxically seems that there would be a heightened need for public values that, rather, become reduced to social concerns/interests instead. Politicizing such social concerns offers opportunities of participation for some groups, while it also poses risks and remarkably high stakes of engaged citizenship for others, as recent examples and understanding of misogynist outbursts reveal.

As it is, gender theoretical explanations have largely failed women. In the area of news journalism, the fact that gender bias must be amended and is far overdue, has been extensively debated. Since 1995, the *Global Media Monitoring Project* has documented an underrepresentation of women as subject of news on a global scale. Even though women's presence in the news has increased from 17 % in 1995 to 24 % in 2010, the news subjects and perspectives remain predominantly male (Macharia et al., 2010). In 2015, the

¹ I thank Andrew Towers for sharing this meme with me.

results remain the same: 24 % of women as subjects of news on a global scale. The online news world has not significantly changed the results (Macharia, 2015).

Critical mass theory (Steiner, 2012) has offered an inadequate solution to the marginalization of women in journalism. The theory suggests that women should form the critical mass, and outnumber men, in media organizations to function as ultimate change agents. Few women only in top positions preclude the possibility of women building up the kind of power base necessary for real change. And yet, when women do increase in numbers, fears of Pink Ghettos emerge. Having entered journalism, women often find themselves completing assignments such as soft news that are considered particularly suitable for women. Such practices offer meager opportunities for promotion, and as a result, women traditionally hit the notorious glass ceiling. Breaking such barriers in some areas of interest, such as journalism, has opened up opportunities for women. Ironically, however, this has been widely viewed as resulting in a relative loss of prestige of the feminized and hyper commercialized profession.

Views, such as these, however, fail to explain, first, the undeniable success of some female media professionals, and second, their hesitance to change the prevailing media cultures in ways that would be more favorable to women's interests at large (Steiner, 2012). Examples of media imagery escaping women's interests are far too many. Imagery glorifying the beauty of battered women (e.g. *Victim of Beauty*) may resist interpretation of women as pure objects of our gaze. And yet, interpretation of black-eyed women as liberated, individualized subjects of beauty does not do justice to such gender imagery either. The workings of contemporary media cultures may be difficult to understand outside of individualization and neoliberalist values (Giroux, 2011), but they are difficult to understand solely inside of neoliberalism either, and call for new theoretical explanations. New formations of gender need to be rethought and given meaning to beyond the dichotomies of objectification and neo-liberal individualism.

Public service broadcasting, mandated by a statutory framework, is in the key position to pursue diverse gender and ethnic media imagery and subject production processes to closer scrutiny in practice (van Dijck, 2002). Changing existing media routines needs to take place in ethically tenable ways and in recognition of democratic public values rather than as a mere response to a shifting buying power of diverse niche markets. Neoliberal regimes do acknowledge diversity, but not necessarily as a gateway to full citizenship, but rather, as an economic tactic profitable to the majority (Amaya, 2013). Any need to rethink gender in increasingly multiethnic societies, and to revive democratic public values and concerns, must be willed to existence by diverse publics. Anything less than that would surely be at odds with democratic public values as such.

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RAZUMIJEVANJE

POLITIKA

I KONTEKSTA

UNDERSTANDING

POLICIES,

UNDERSTANDING

CONTEXTS

INTERACTION, CO-CREATION AND PARTICIPATION IN PSM LITERATURE, POLICY AND STRATEGY: A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY ANALYSIS OF FLANDERS, THE NETHERLANDS, FRANCE AND THE UK

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ABSTRACT *The article critically evaluates whether there is a (mis)match between ideas on audience involvement in public service media (PSM) theory and the translation thereof in public broadcasters' policy and strategy documents. The literature section theoretically frames this discussion, first, discussing five objectives of PSM and audience involvement. Subsequently, it studies how the BBC (UK), France Télévisions (France), VRT (Flanders), and NPO (the Netherlands) have to (policy) and intend to (strategy) involve their audiences. These cases have been selected with an eye on including both better-funded (BBC, FTV) and smaller public broadcasters (VRT, NPO), as well as different media systems. For the analysis, the method of goal-means tree analysis is adopted, a type of qualitative document analysis that can be deployed to uncover goal-means relationships in policy and strategy texts. The main argument is that, rather than a mismatch, some of the questionable, normative assumptions made in theories concerning audience involvement and PSM are also present in the PSM policy and strategy texts.*

KEY WORDS

PUBLIC SERVICE MEDIA, AUDIENCE INVOLVEMENT, PARTICIPATION, GOAL-MEANS TREE ANALYSIS, COMPARATIVE MEDIA STUDIES

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INTRODUCTION

Public broadcasters are gradually evolving into public service media (PSM) organizations. They reach audiences via different technological platforms and involve (parts of) the public in their service production, delivery and consumption (Enli, 2008; Jakubowicz, 2010: 18; Lowe, 2009). Scholars have argued that these developments might enable two-way communication between public broadcasters and the audience (Murdock, 2004). This could/should come with more equitable participation of the audience in PSM. These somewhat technology-optimist accounts of ongoing changes in the media sector are being picked up in government policies and public broadcasters' own strategies. They emphasize concepts like interaction, participation and co-creation – albeit often without defining these concepts and with little clarity on their status as goals or rather as means of achieving certain public service objectives (see for example Council of Europe, 2009).

The transposition of audience involvement as a key component of PSM into practice appears to be challenging. Some dispute the sincerity of public broadcasters' intentions with involving the 'public' in PSM (Carpentier, 2011: 70; Hasebrink, 2011). Many PSM institutions seem to use it predominantly as a strategic means to face the challenges of the digital age (among others, audience retention) rather than to value the involvement of the public in itself (Enli, 2008: 11; Garcia-Aviles, 2012: 432). In so doing, PSM organizations compromise basic public values (Palokangas and Lowe, 2010: 135) and, in addition, frustrate some media users, who feel their impact on public service production, delivery and even consumption is in fact very limited (Coudry et al., 2010: 39).

Research on audience involvement in PSM now mainly focuses on conceptual issues and empirical measurement of (levels of) participation in PSM (Vanhaeght and Donders, 2015; Wardle and Williams, 2008). However, the question also rises how governments and public broadcasters define and operationalize audience involvement in PSM and whether their definition and operationalization of such an important aspect of PSM is sufficiently clear about *what* it is one wants to achieve and *how* one wants to realize it. This article thus critically scrutinizes how audience involvement in PSM is defined and operationalized in concrete PSM policy and strategy documents. We mainly want to find out whether there is a match or mismatch between theoretical ideas and how these are made explicit in policy and public broadcasters' strategy.

Firstly, we discuss five objectives of PSM and audience involvement, drawing mainly from the literature that discusses the transition from PSB to PSM. Secondly, we elaborate on the method of goal-means tree analysis, a type of qualitative document analysis (Karppinen and Moe, 2012) that can be deployed to uncover goal-means relationships in policy and strategy texts. Thirdly, government policy documents and strategy documents of public broadcasters are scrutinized. We included the main legal texts regulating public broadcasters' scope of activities and strategy documents of public broadcasters for the period 2004-2014 (reflecting the critical years of transition from PSB to PSM). Subsequently, we reflect on the differences there might be between policy and public broadcasters' strategy in a separate sub-section. A comparative case study design is adopted for both

the policy and strategy indicators of this part. We study how the BBC (United Kingdom), France Télévisions (France), VRT (Flanders, the Northern part of Belgium), and NPO (the Netherlands) have to (*policy*) and intend to (*own strategy*) involve their audiences. The cases have been selected with an eye on including both better-funded (BBC, FTV) and smaller public broadcasters (VRT, NPO), as well as different media systems (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, see later). Finally, some conclusions and recommendations are outlined.

INVOLVING THE 'PUBLIC' IN PUBLIC SERVICE MEDIA: ASPIRATIONS AND OBJECTIVES IN THEORY

The evolution from PSB to PSM has been mainly approached from a so-called social responsibility perspective. Public broadcasters have to contribute to the needs of a democratic society. This approach stands in sharp contrast with market failure approaches to PSM, limiting public service delivery to the production and delivery of niche services with a focus on supply and not demand (Elstein, 2008). Contributions fitting the first paradigm are most relevant for this article, albeit we also take into account market failure approaches to PSM, which can affect audience involvement as well.

The dominant assumption in the PSM literature is that the evolution from PSB to PSM is a 'good' one, allowing public broadcasters to serve their audience better and to involve the audience in the PSM project (Jakubowicz, 2010: 18; Lowe, 2009). Social responsibility perspectives on PSB and PSM have much in common. Indeed, the objectives with regard to audience involvement in PSM, elaborated upon below, all claim to further PSB's core democratic principles (Bennett et al., 2012) of universality (equal access to independent quality content), creativity (enabling self-actualization, cultural identity and innovation), diversity (including a diversity of opinions in the public debate), social cohesion (sustaining national culture and feelings of solidarity) and participation (fostering the democratic processes within PSM and in society).

Two noteworthy differences between PSB and PSM can be discerned, though. The first difference is that while PSB sets out from radio and television broadcasting, PSM is technology neutral. Public services are offered on all relevant platforms and digitization enables users to create content themselves (Donders, 2012; Jakubowicz, 2010: 18). The first two objectives, elaborated upon below (enhancing universality and creativity), focus on these new opportunities new media bring about. The second difference is that PSM can go further beyond one-way communication than PSB. Namely, the idea of PSM should aim for more equitable participation of the audience in the PSM organization and in society (Council of Europe, 2009: 46). This idea is further elaborated in the last three objectives (enhancing diversity, social cohesion and participation) discussed in this section.

Accordingly, we thus identify five, sometimes idealistic, objectives scholars have put forward with regard to audience involvement in PSM.

UNIVERSALITY: ENABLING ACCESS TO PERSONALISED, INTERACTIVE AND ON-DEMAND CONTENT

The first objective aims to enhance the universality principle by enabling access to personalized and interactive on-demand and online content. By granting individuals and specific target groups (minorities, youngsters) access to personalized content, PSB's classical dissemination experience of providing mass media content is extended (Moe, 2008: 273). The individual citizen can learn more about a specific news topic online (Bennett et al., 2012: 20), youngsters can be reached via mobile applications specifically designed for them and minorities are catered for by specific digital TV channels or PSM websites (Jakubowicz, 2010). Furthermore, it is argued that a more individual content experience, brought about by, amongst others, selection possibilities, causes heightened feelings of involvement for the audience (Lowe, 2009: 11). Eeva Mäntymäki (2009: 98) and Espen Ytreberg (2009: 14) contend that these claims often lack empirical substantiation. Besides, the personalization of content and providing it according to the "Anything, Anytime, Anywhere" paradigm are condemned for undermining PSM's objective of social cohesion, and instead servicing the mere 'consumption' needs of the audience, hence, neglecting 'citizenship' aspects of media use (Bennett et al., 2012: 18; Hasebrink, 2011).

CREATIVITY: ENCOURAGING CO-CREATION

The second objective is to encourage users' creativity by enabling co-creation of content (Jenkins, 2006; Wierdsma, 1999: 31). At the production level the opportunity is gradually given to the public to create and/or upload photos, videos, ideas, etc., which can or will be used in the PSM programs or services, depending on the selection criteria of the media producers. The co-creation of content is a relatively new phenomenon as only recently the threshold for users to create media content has been significantly lowered. Especially in PSM projects targeted at youngsters these co-creation opportunities are adopted, enhancing both youngsters' creative and critical media literacy skills (Temple, 2013: 245). Yet, enabling co-creation is expensive in terms of financial investment and human effort, and opinions are divided as to whether or not the result is worth the cost (Moe, 2013: 114; Wardle and Williams, 2008). Therefore, co-creation is mainly an option for organizations, such as public broadcasters in particular, that ought to value audience contributions beyond their financial value (Bakker, 2011: 250).

DIVERSITY: INCLUDING ALL GROUPS AND OPINIONS IN SOCIETY

Specific target groups such as minorities and youngsters can be better catered to through digital TV channels and PSM websites (*cf. supra*: universality). Next to this, a greater diversity of audience opinions can be present (Garcia-Aviles, 2012: 443; Jenkins and Carpentier, 2013: 281), for example on PSM websites, since the online community is considered a *new forum* for public debate (Moe, 2008: 262). Enhancing diversity is an important democratic objective for PSM, as it grants a better representation of its

audience in the public sphere (McNair and Hibberd, 2003). In this respect, many authors conceive interactivity online as a means to expand the traditional democratic objective of PSB, providing ordinary citizens with a voice in the public space (Council of Europe, 2009: 46; Enli, 2008: 117). Yet, research shows that it is still mostly a small and more privileged part of the population – those who already have knowledge of the social and political worlds (Bergström, 2008; Jenkins and Carpentier, 2013: 282) – are those who interact.

SOCIAL COHESION: FACILITATING DIALOGUE AND DEBATE

Evidently, this new forum for public debate also bears the potential to enhance social cohesion through dialogue and debate ideally, but not necessarily about public life (Freedman, 2008: 147). Social relatedness, on the one hand, and respecting a diversity of opinions on the other, can be enhanced between members of the public (Council of Europe, 2009: 7). This objective is also clearly mirrored in Graham Murdock's ideal of an online civic commons (Murdock, 2004), an online space where citizens debate and receive feedback from one another. The question whether public broadcasters deploy their own websites or adopt social media to create this public forum, is still under debate though (Van Dijck and Poell, 2015: 149). In any case, many argue that the democratic quality of these debates remains highly disputable (Couldry et al., 2010: 39). Also, while audiences are more able to express their opinions, they have, due to the abundance of online interactions, fewer means to ensure they are actually read or heard (Thorsen, 2013: 122).

PARTICIPATION: INVITING THE CITIZEN IN

The fifth objective is to enable the audience (i.e., non-professionals) to be structurally involved in public broadcasters' production, concept design and strategy formulations (Council of Europe, 2009: 7). In this, the core of the PSM idea, participation of the audience in the PSM institution, manifests itself. Two-way communication between the public broadcaster and its public seems to hold its own set of challenges. For instance, when this is facilitated online, research shows that many media producers do not even aim to follow up on audience input (Temple, 2013: 241). Accordingly, the difference with co-creation lays in the fact that participation also refers to the co-decision power of the public in the PSM institution, which brings the notion of power to the foreground. Indeed, participation of the public in PSM inextricably presupposes an ideal type of power-sharing (Carpentier, 2011: 130) between ordinary citizens and media experts, which is aimed for in PSM policy documents as well (NPO, 2014a).

Participation of the public in PSM institutions is regularly conceived as a means to achieve a greater end, namely participation of that same public in democracy (Jenkins and Carpentier, 2013: 281; McNair and Hibberd, 2003). The argument underlying this causal assumption between participation *in* the media and participation *through* the media in society is threefold. Firstly, it is assumed that members of the audience can increase their impact on the public debate by voicing their opinion in the media (Picone et al.,

2015: 40). Secondly, it is argued that people learn to act democratically by participating in smaller media projects where they have the opportunity to exchange opinions, discuss and decide for themselves (Jenkins and Carpentier, 2013: 281). And, thirdly, this has to do with accountability, and the importance of ordinary citizens critically scrutinizing not only political elites but also media professionals (McNair and Hibberd, 2003).

Yet, Michal Glowacki (2014: 191) wonders whether the public is actually willing to take an active part in the production and strategic arrangements of public broadcasters. Against this backdrop, the concept of the 'implied audience,' elaborated in Sonia Livingstone's (1998) seminal article on how to strengthen external relations between audience research and other domains of media, springs to mind, highlighting the discrepancy between the way the audience is perceived in socio-cultural theory and policy, and the way the actual audience behaves.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Goal-means tree analysis

Gijsbert Kuypers (1980: 51) defines policy as a system of chosen elements of different means-ends relationships. To reconstruct the way in which means are advanced to achieve certain ends, we make use of a so-called *goal-means tree analysis*, also called a means-ends diagram. Goal-means tree analysis is a type of qualitative document analysis, relying on visualization as a technique to analyze policy texts that are often rather chaotically organized in a structured manner (Kuypers, 1980: 67). When conducting a goal-means tree analysis one is mainly interested in questions like: what are the objectives of policy?; what are the means to realize these objectives?; are the means appropriate and sufficient to realize the goals?; and on which causal and normative assumptions is the relation between goals and means grounded (Van De Graaf and Hoppe, 1992: 125)? Besides that, we must also be aware that a goal-means tree analysis can never fully capture all the intended goal-means relations in the policy document. That is also why it is important to adequately contextualize this type of textual analysis. While most goal-means tree analyses target only a couple of pages of one selected policy text per tree (Van de Graaf and Hoppe, 1992: 108), this need for contextualization made us opt for an adapted approach, analyzing different policy and strategy documents for each PSM system within one goal-means tree. In the tree itself, a goal and a means are connected with an arrow pointing in the direction of the goal. The arrows represent goal-oriented relationships directing our attention towards desired outcomes in the future (Kuypers 1980: 53, 55; Van de Graaf and Hoppe, 1992: 110).

Documents included in the analysis are policy documents concerning PSM and strategy documents of public broadcasters. Policy documents are the main legal texts governing PSM, i.e., media laws and the ongoing and previous management contracts. Subsequently, we selected public broadcasters' strategy documents (in so far accessible) that have marked the transition from PSB to PSM (like, e.g., the BBC 2004 report 'Building Public Value', FTV's strategy on new media *Nouvelles écritures*, VRT's *Media Literacy Plan*,

NPO's new branding vision and several *Meerjarenbegroting* texts etc.). While we discuss these policy and strategy documents together in the analysis, in the sub-section *Policy and strategy: a (mis)match* we consider the differences in emphasis between PSM policy and strategy. With an eye on making our discussion of policy and strategy objectives more concrete, we also, when relevant, refer to programs and projects of the public broadcasters that have been implemented over the last few years.

The five above mentioned objectives with regards to audience involvement set out for PSM in theory will be deployed as main analytical framework:

1. Universality: Enabling access to personalized, interactive and on-demand content
2. Creativity: Encouraging co-creation
3. Diversity: Including all groups and opinions in society
4. Social cohesion: Facilitating dialogue and debate
5. Participation: Inviting the citizen in

Case selection

The four cases, i.e., the BBC, FTV, NPO and VRT, have been selected for the following reasons. The BBC has the most elaborate audience involvement strategy with plenty examples of projects that aim for interaction, co-creation and participation (BBC, 2004). France, a prominent EU Member State with a big public broadcaster, notably has a more *étatiste* and also top-down PSM tradition than the other cases (Hallin and Mancini, 2004), but has asked FTV to start experimenting with audience involvement in PSM nonetheless. To this end, FTV created a new cel in January 2013 *Nouvelles écritures*, specifically aimed at the development of digital strategies and innovative audience formats. Flanders and the Netherlands are small PSB regimes. Both are questioning the online expansion of PSM activities, but contend to place public participation more than ever as a central component in their institution (VRT and Vlaamse Regering, 2011; NPO, 2014a, b). Differences in terms of organization, partnerships, financing, and remit make a comparison interesting (Bardoel and d'Haenens, 2008).

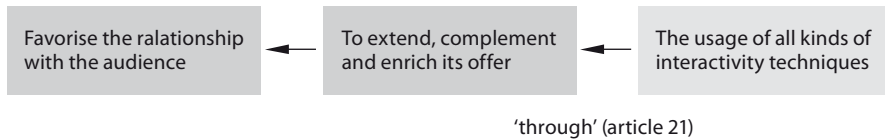
INVOLVING THE 'PUBLIC' IN PUBLIC SERVICE MEDIA: PSM POLICIES AND STRATEGIES

1. Universality: Enabling access to personalized, interactive and on-demand content

The objective to enable access to more personalized, interactive content is set by the four broadcasters. The BBC considers one-size-fits-all broadcasting as a thing of the past (BBC, 2004: 50), and aspires a more personal approach towards its audience members (BBC, 2004: 52). For instance, BBC digital networks and local websites (e.g. *BBC Asian Network/55 Where I Live-websites*) enable to serve and inform ethnic minorities and local communities in the UK more extensively (BBC, 2004: 35). NPO adheres to a dual strategy, incorporating new media on the one hand, but also strengthening its linear broadcasting

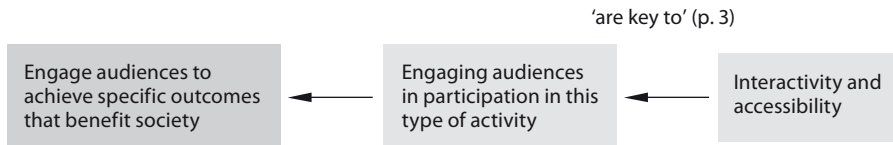
channels on the other. Similarly, VRT speaks of “personalized content offered online” (VRT and Vlaamse Regering, 2006: 3). Within FTV, and its new department *Nouvelles écritures*, the experience of the user in particular takes centre stage (FTV, 2013; MCM, 2009: art 21). Accordingly, the means to realize this objective are the digital technologies itself (BBC, 2004: 50), and particularly on-demand offers and cross-media strategies (FTV, 2013; NPO, 2014a: 4, 70).

While these goal-means relationships seem logical, and sufficient, this first objective is also often conceived as a means itself to achieve certain ends. For instance, the BBC believes that by investing in multi-platform and personal content ‘the impact of content will be deepened’ (BBC, 2007). Similarly, FTV and VRT depict that interactivity enriches content (MCM, 2009: art 21; FTV, 2009: 15; VRT and Vlaamse Regering, 2011: 4, 20, 22), in terms of providing additional value to the media users (VRT and Vlaamse Regering, 2011: 4, 20, 22).



▲ Figure 1.
Cahier de Charges de France Télévisions.

What is exactly meant by this value, is not specified though. For instance, with the BBC, interactivity sorts under democratic value and is considered key, next to reliable news and radio phone-ins, to let audiences participate in types of activity that benefit society (BBC, 2004: 30-39). As said before, such causal assumptions should be questioned as interactivity leads only in very limited cases, i.e., if there is a well-thought out participatory framework, to participation in media, let alone in society.



▲ Figure 2.
BBC (2007). BBC Public Purposes: Promoting education and learning.

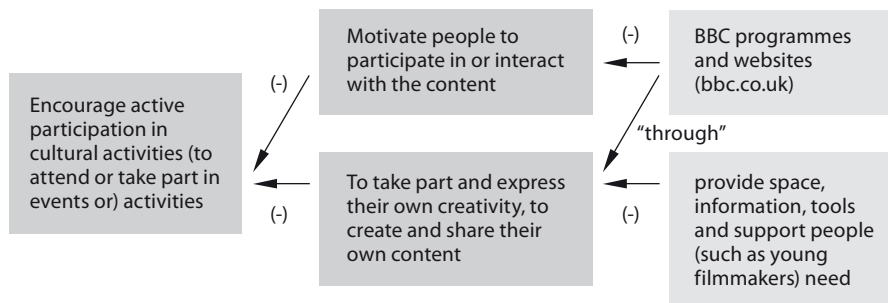
Overall, interactivity and participation as concepts are often employed interchangeably in policy and strategy documents of the public broadcasters, positioning them both as means and as ends at the same time (BBC, 2007; NPO, 2010: 91; VRT and Vlaamse Regering,

2011: 13). For instance, VRT and the Flemish government claim that VRT should further participation through interactivity on relevant platforms on one page of the management contract 2012-2016, while on a different page stimulating participation is conceived as a means to enhance interactivity on various platforms (VRT and Vlaamse Regering, 2011: 5, 13). Even when we neglect the goal-means relationship between these concepts, as we must be wary not to squeeze everything in the goal-means model, the assumed and unexplained interdependency between interactivity and participation is problematic with an eye on the clarity and effectiveness of these objectives.

2. Creativity: Encouraging co-creation

Regarding the encouragement of creative audience content, the BBC and FTV are leading the field. The BBC specifically targets this issue, going for social media and UGC to help reach one of its key public purposes, “stimulating creativity and cultural excellence” (BBC, 2014b: 55; BBC, 2007). FTV explicitly denotes to grant every member of its audience, and young people in particular, the autonomy and capacity to create personal content (FTV, 2015a; MCM, 2009: art 3). NPO (2010: 94) and VRT (VRT and Vlaamse Regering, 2006: 3), on the other hand, speak about introducing UGC in cross-medial projects and on their websites more in general. Thereby, the underlying assumption of the four public broadcasters is that “viewers, listeners and users are increasingly moving towards a more active relationship with the media that they consume” (BBC Trust, 2007; FTV, 2013; NPO, 2010; VRT and Vlaamse Regering, 2011).

Enabling audience content is also conceived as a means itself, namely to improve users’ creativity, cultural identity (BBC Trust, 2007), media literacy (MCM, 2009: art 15; VRT and Vlaamse Regering, 2011: 30-31), innovation (FTV, 2013; MCM, 2009: art 3) and the inflow of new talent into the PSM organization (VRT and Vlaamse Regering, 2011: 15-16). Besides that, the BBC also believes that allowing users to express their own creativity is a vital first step towards more active participation in cultural activities beyond the media (BBC Trust, 2007).



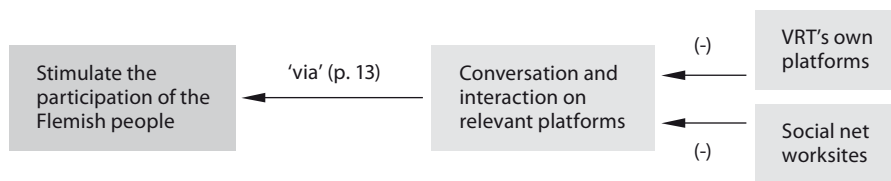
▲ Figure 3. the BBC (2007). BBC Public Purposes: Stimulating creativity and cultural excellence.

3. Diversity: Including all groups and opinions in society

Diversity, in terms of audience representation, is an objective all four public broadcasters strive for. Thereby, the BBC (2007), NPO (2014a: 21, 40) and VRT (2011: 15), with a notable exception of FTV (2009: 11, 2015), all mention online interactivity as a means to obtain a diversity of opinions. One of the BBC's six public purposes is exactly to represent "the UK, its nations, regions and communities" adequately. NPO and VRT aim after a balanced representation of society in their content (NPO, 2014b; VRT and Vlaamse Regering, 2011: 10). VRT has an action plan to increase diversity in its content and organization in general, but specific means to advance a diversity of opinions are absent. For NPO, representation is one of the key objectives of its most recent strategy plan, reflected in projects of the urban radio channel *Fun X* (NPO, 2014a: 21, 40). Thus, there is definitely a link between objectives and means of diversity in policy and strategy documents concerning the BBC, NPO and VRT. But as we have said earlier, offering an online platform where all audience segments are able to voice an opinion does not ensure that all of them will. The BBC is the only public broadcaster that anticipates this problem by performing an equality impact assessment to ensure no audience sections are discriminated in its public consultations (BBC Trust, 2014).

4. Social cohesion: Facilitating dialogue and debate

Online dialogue is deemed important by the public broadcasters in order to stimulate rational debate about issues of societal and national concern (BBC, 2004: 65), which is in turn conceived as a way to encourage their audiences to become more active citizens (BBC, 2004: 66; VRT and Vlaamse Regering, 2011: 13). VRT acknowledges the importance of facilitating conversation between members of the audience, whether on its own website or on social media pages managed by VRT (2011: 11).



▲ Figure 4.
VRT and Vlaamse Regering (2011). Beheersovereenkomst 2012-2016.

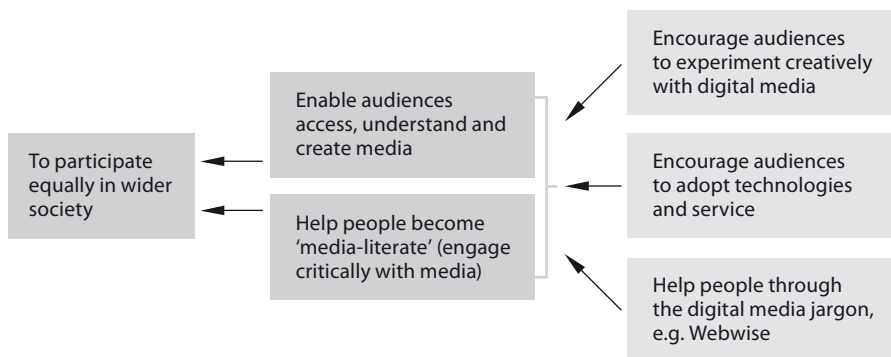
In a similar vein, NPO seems to assume that such online dialogues result in a public, democratic, cultural and educational value for Dutch society (NPO, 2010: 14, 39). This goal-means relationship (i.e., online dialogue as a means to achieve a more democratic society) is clearly based on the assumption that many members of the public are active participants and, hence, that a plurality of voices can be found on online forums and social media (BBC, 2004: 5, 65; NPO, 2010: 15). The latter is especially problematic as research has shown the opposite and none of the broadcasters seems to pro-actively act upon this.

5. Participation: Inviting the citizen in

A prerequisite for structural involvement of the audience in public broadcasters' production, concept design and strategy formulations, is to create a room for dialogue between the public broadcaster and that same audience first. For all four broadcasters, online communication has provided exactly this, a space to be in contact with their audience more than ever. Promises are made that 'a true creative dialogue' will replace the historic one-way traffic between broadcaster and audience (BBC, 2004: 5) and concepts such as 'two-way relationships' (NPO, 2010: 8) or in French *une logique d'échange* (FTV, 2013) are increasingly being emphasized. Enabling the audience to be involved in the production of PSM programs is already touched upon in objective 3 (cf. *supra*: creativity: encouraging co-creation). Yet, participation of the public in production goes even further than co-creation and implies that selected members of the public structurally have a say in different stages of the production process. NPO (2010: 50) and FTV (2013) speak in this regard of "not only leaving room for comments after dissemination," but to "gradually involve the public in different stages of television production, from the invention and experimentation with television pilots to the exploration of innovative ways of disseminating content". However, NPO and FTV do not mention 'how' to organize this type of involvement. In VRT's (2011: 31) most recent management contract no less than five participatory projects are promised each year: two for children, two for young people and one for elderly people with lower digital skills. Concrete means to guarantee effective participation of these target groups are not further specified, though. The BBC, on the other hand, worked out a specific editorial work stream in its Media Literacy Strategy to ensure that users effectively have the skills to create and participate in specific participatory projects (BBC, 2013: 4). A notable example is the *Britain in A Day* project where "anyone of the audience" could shoot a clip out of their day following concrete BBC guidelines and upload it via the BBC YouTube page. These are still, however, mostly one-off initiatives. Accordingly, a more structural approach towards audience involvement in production seems to be missing at the BBC as well.

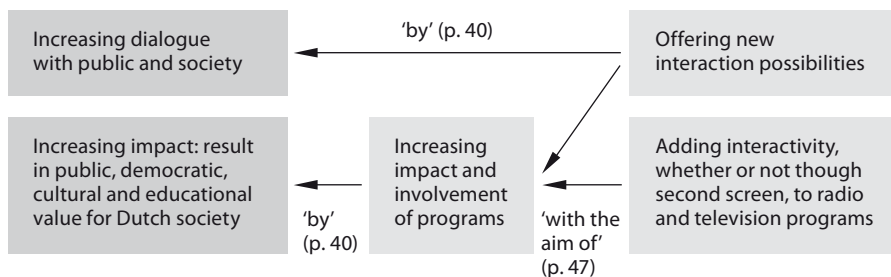
Public involvement in strategy formulations and in the organization itself remains even more confined. Traditionally, the BBC and FTV set up councils with their audiences, NPO stations organize meetings with their members every two months (BBC, 2004: 19; FTV, 2009: 29; BNN, 2010: 16), and VRT structurally meets with young people (VRT and Vlaamse Regering, 2011: 15-16). But the explicit promise to place the audience as a central component in their institution (BBC, 2004: 19; FTV, 2013; NPO, 2014a: 41), seems only to be truly pondered upon by the BBC. The BBC's recent protocol on audience engagement works out the best ways "to listen to and seek the views of the public," resulting in seven methods of engagement (BBC Trust, 2014).

Although not sufficiently elaborated in terms of goal-means relationships in the public broadcasters' policy documents, this public involvement in both PSM production and organization is deemed very important by all public broadcasters as a means for the public to participate in wider society (BBC, 2013: 3; FTV, 2009: 15; NPO, 2010: 11; VRT and Vlaamse Regering, 2011: 13). The direct relation between enabling the audiences to access, understand and create media and citizenship is especially explicated in term of media literacy (see figure 5).



▲ Figure 5.
BBC (2007). BBC Public Purposes: Sustaining citizenship and civil society.

As we have seen with the first objective, the BBC and NPO also seem to make a causal link between adding interactivity to their programs and people taking part in civic society (BBC, 2004: 52, 60). NPO, literally regards “offering new possibilities to interact” as a means to improve public debate and “heighten [the public’s] impact on society” (NPO, 2010: 11, 40, 48). These goal-mean relationships are clearly based on the assumptions also found in theory, i.e., the theoretical assumption that participation in the media brings about participation in society through the media (*cf. supra*).



▲ Figure 6.
NPO (2010). Concessiebeleidsplan 2010-2016 / NPO (2011). Meerjarenbegroting 2012-2016.

Policy and strategy: a (mis)match?

Comparing the different policy and strategy documents concerning each public broadcaster, we do not find any explicit contradictions between government policy and public broadcasters’ strategy. However, only with one public broadcaster, not surprisingly with the BBC, policy and strategy are equally developed. Especially for NPO and FTV, the

policy guidelines on audience involvement are confined. This leaves plenty -some would argue too much- room for interpretation at the level of strategy. For instance, the criticism on the online expansion of NPO's activities at the level of policy is not mentioned in their strategy plans.

To sum up, the links between policy and strategy and thus also the goal-means relationships, are elaborated most at the BBC. Yet, the BBC's upper hand in policy and strategy documents does not necessarily say something about the realization of these objectives with regards to audience involvement in practice. Nevertheless, we can assume that comprehensive, well-thought-out goal-means relationships are a necessary starting-point and do increase the chance of successfully involving the audience.

CONCLUSION

We set out to evaluate policy makers' and public broadcasters' objectives and strategies regarding audience involvement in PSM. A clear match between the objectives in PSM theory and the objectives in policy and strategy documents of the BBC, FTV, NPO and VRT was found. Interestingly, some of the questionable, normative assumptions made in the theory concerning audience participation and PSM were also present in the PSM policy and strategy texts. Besides that, the lack of a clear definition of concepts such as interaction, co-creation and participation also causes a significant amount of overlap between some of the overarching objectives in the policy and strategy documents, for instance between objective two 'encouraging co-creation' and objective five of 'truly inviting the citizen in.' Between PSM policy and strategy, subsequently, there was no explicit mismatch, but a disconnect occurred as not all strategic objectives were found in the policy texts and vice versa.

Next to this, an inconsistency in the use of concepts related to audience involvement became apparent in the PSM documents. The fact that concepts such as interactivity, co-creation and participation are positioned both as means and as ends not only proves that policy makers and public broadcasters are unclear about what they want to achieve with them, it also says a lot about the vagueness of the means advanced to attain audience involvement objectives. However, it can be argued that already in PSM theory there seems to be a lot of ambiguity on how to actually involve the public. Indeed, in the theoretical discussions about what PSM needs to achieve with regards to audience involvement, the actual motivations and thresholds for audience members to be involved in PSM are rarely taken into account.

It comes as no surprise then that also in the public broadcasters' strategy and policy documents concrete motivations of the public are not anticipated. However, as we have seen, this does not prevent the BBC, FTV, NPO and VRT from making claims about users' increasingly active relationship with media. Accordingly, rather than to take into consideration the motives of their actual audiences, public broadcasters also seem to be guilty of adopting the idea of an 'implied audience.' Therefore, the innovation policies

of public broadcasters with regards to audience involvement still seem to be mainly technologically, and not user, driven. An argument to bring in a more user-centered approach within PSM theory, policy and strategy can be advanced in this regard, which also opens up avenues for further research, raising empirical questions like: what are the motivations and thresholds for people to be involved in public service media programs?; does this involvement increase participation in society?; what are the media literacy levels of the users before, after and during their involvement?; in which cases may it be better to leave the audience alone with these new interactive features?; and is interactivity then really such an important feature of PSM?

Overall, more critical analyses of policy and strategy documents, making use of meticulous methods such as a goal-means tree analysis, are recommended, as in so doing the relationships between documents can be better comprehended. Thereby, a contextualized approach – complemented with, for example, expert interviews – could help to map out not only the motivations of the users, but also these of policy makers and public broadcasting people themselves, scrutinizing why they set forth particular means and objectives, and what they want to achieve with them. By doing so, PSM research could actually become useful in PSM policy practice, pointing out the ambiguity, overlap and lack of means with regards to policy objectives.

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INTERAKCIJA, SUKREACIJA I PARTICIPACIJA U LITERATURI O JAVNIM MEDIJSKIM SERVISIMA, POLITICI I STRATEGIJI: KOMPARATIVNA ANALIZA SLUČAJEVA FLAMANSKOG DIJELA BELGIJE, NIZOZEMSKJE, FRANCUSKE I UJEDINJENOG KRALJEVSTVA

Anne-Sofie Vanhaeght :: Karen Donders

SAŽETAK Rad kritički evaluira postoji li (ne)podudaranje između teorije javnog medijskog servisa i njegove politike i strateških dokumenata kada je riječ o idejama uključivanja medijskih publika u javni medijski servis. Najprije se teorijski nastoji uokviriti ova rasprava, tako da se razmatra pet zadataka uključivanja medijskih publika u javni medijski servis. Potom se istražuje kako BBC (Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo), France Télévisions (Francuska), VRT (Flandrija, Belgija) i NPO (Nizozemska) trebaju (politika) i namjeravaju (strategija) uključiti svoje medijske publike. Odabrani slučajevi daju uvid u bolje financirane (BBC, FTV) i manje javne medijske servise (VRT, NPO), kao i u različite medijske sustave. Upotrijebljena je metoda goal-means tree analiza, tip kvalitativne analize dokumenata kojoj je svrha otkrivanje odnosa između cilja i sredstava u politici i strateškim tekstovima. Glavni je argument da je ovdje prije riječ o nekim upitnim, normativnim pretpostavkama iz teorije o javnom medijskom servisu i uključenosti publike, koje su prenesene i u tekstove o politici i strategiji javnog medijskog servisa, a ne o nepodudaranju između teorije, politike i strategije javnog medijskog servisa.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

JAVNI MEDIJSKI SERVIS, UKLJUČIVANJE MEDIJSKIH PUBLIKA, PARTICIPACIJA,
GOAL-MEANS TREE ANALIZA, KOMPARATIVNE MEDIJSKE STUDIJE

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THE DIGITAL SWITCHOVER OF DOORDARSHAN: INTRIGUING DYNAMICS OF POLICY OPTIONS¹

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ABSTRACT *In a country with few channels occupying the terrestrial space – all of which are owned by the public broadcaster – what is the rationale behind the expensive and mandatory transition to digital terrestrial television? This paper undertakes a hard look at the incorporation of this transition in the wider moves towards digitalization by Doordarshan, India's public broadcaster. Drawing on approaches in institutionalism that aid unraveling why certain interests get prioritized over others, the paper unmasks the official reasoning justifying the digital switchover in India. The paper infers that the marginal sections of society, for whom Doordarshan is the sole affordable TV outlet, will be the most challenged by this mandatory transition. Moreover, the move to terrestrial digital broadcasting is not guided by public interest values like enhancing diverse content, which could be the key mechanism for Doordarshan to regain the viewership it has lost to private satellite channels.*

KEYWORDS

DIGITAL TELEVISION, INDIA, DOORDARSHAN, BROADCAST POLICY

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INTRODUCTION

Since its inception in 1959, television broadcasting in India was not only monopolized by the public broadcaster, but also entailed only one TV channel. In most countries, a multi-channel broadcasting milieu existed in the terrestrial space, with public and private stations, well before the emergence of Cable & Satellite (C&S) television channels. But in India, a multi-channel television milieu, eclipsing the monopoly of the public broadcaster's terrestrial channel, emerged only after the advent of private C&S transmissions in the mid-1990s. This fragmented the hitherto unified broadcasting space created by the terrestrial transmission of the public broadcaster. And as the proliferation of C&S channels created new electronic boundaries based on linguistically and culturally defined programming genres and content, it disrupted the politically and ideologically bounded, 'national' footprint of the public broadcaster that had characterized India until the early 1990s. Arguments affirming the choice and diversity afforded by national and trans-national C&S channels found a covert consensus in India (Thomas, 1993). This not only undermined all rationales to reorganize public broadcasting, but motivated the public broadcaster, *Doordarshan* to commercially engage with the emerging milieu of C&S. It was constantly argued that its elaborate terrestrial network could impart a competitive advantage in attracting advertising revenues from private C&S channels (Shields and Muppidi, 1996; McDowell, 1997).

Twenty years later, nation-wide terrestrial transmission, cutting across the borders of India's 29 states, remains solely the domain of *Doordarshan*. This, together with the terrestrial space remaining a monopoly of the public broadcaster, makes the switchover to digital terrestrial transmission (DTT) implicitly a concern only of the public broadcaster. Here we need to ponder over a significant tension brewing between the rapidly proliferating private C&S channels incessantly fragmenting the national broadcasting, and consequently political space, and the post-DTT role of the public broadcaster in weaving cross-regional discourses within this large and diverse country. Recognizing the import of this tension on both the ecology heralded by media convergence and broadcast policymaking in a digital era demands that we scrutinize both these processes in light of each other – i.e., the rapid proliferation of private C&S channels and, slow transition towards DTT by the public broadcaster. While tons of scholarly attention has been given to the former, the latter has been under addressed in academic and policy literature. In fact, this imbalance typifies the scarce research more generally on public enterprise across all sectors of the Indian economy and industry over the last two decades, i.e., ever since deregulation and privatization unfolded.

This paper seeks to understand the position and role of *Doordarshan* in post-deregulation India by taking a hard look at the move towards DTT. We use the lens of public interest to identify and explain the dissonance between the official rationale of the move towards DTT and the inconsistencies in this reasoning, especially in light of the policy options at hand. Our objective is not to unearth how the idea of DTT, originating in global, inter-governmental agreements, was covertly and overtly catapulted into India. Rather we wish to spotlight the switchover to DTT as the latest example of decision

makers failing to ensure that broadcast policy interventions were directed to maximize social welfare, a scenario also observed during similar switchovers in other countries².

Public interest has been an underlying theme in critical scholarship on Indian media. A close reading of the narratives reveals three recurring values or measures defining public interest, which are: access, diversity and autonomy. Among the many suggested reforms within the broadcasting sector, arguably, the role of public broadcasters has been the most important (see Thomas, 1993; Page and Crawley, 2000). In the Indian context, this necessarily entails that the public broadcaster becomes more 'public', and therefore exist as a robust alternative to private media, through guarantees of universal access and the telecast of diverse and independent content. While the public broadcaster has proactively sought to ensure greater access via its array of services, it has consistently fallen short of its longstanding goal of organizational and editorial autonomy. This has been principally due to its continuing dependence on government financial support, even while drawing funds and profit from the market (Sinha, 1996; McDowell, 1997). This has also due to the absence of another longstanding reform, that of of establishing an independent regulator to oversee the functioning of both public and private broadcasters (Price and Verhulst, 1998).

For this paper, we examine the policy and practices around the digital switchover of the public broadcaster through the public interest axes of access and diversity. Here access includes both geographical reach as well as economic ability, i.e., audience affordability. We consider an approach rooted in institutionalism most useful to unravel the making of broadcast policies and thereby explain why policies often lead to the interests of certain stakeholders being bypassed or prioritized over others (see Galperin, 2004; Bauer et al., 2003). Critically examining the process and rationale of the switch towards DTT, this paper argues that the marginal sections of society, for whom *Doordarshan* is the sole accessible and affordable TV outlet, will be the most challenged by this mandatory switchover.

The paper begins by introducing *Doordarshan*, before encapsulating the key administrative and policy processes concerning its various moves towards digitalization. We then critically locate DTT in the dynamics marking the terrestrial space of India, and critically evaluate the public interest implications embedded in formal rationale of DTT. We draw on policy papers and expert interviews with officials in *Doordarshan*, conducted by the second author as part of the India country report under the *Mapping Digital Media* initiative of the Open Society Foundation during 2011-13. Our conclusions capture the fault-lines in this expensive switchover, and how it reflects the personality of the public broadcaster.

DOORDARSHAN: SCOPE, ORGANISATION AND FINANCING

India's public service broadcast authority, Prasar Bharati, was established in 1997 as a statutory autonomous body in order to oversee both *Akashvani* (All India Radio) and *Doordarshan* (National Television). Today it comprises a network of 31 television channels

² A striking parallel is Australia, albeit more than a decade ago; see Papandrea (2001).

and 232 radio stations, and is among the largest terrestrial networks in the world. This paper will focus on Prasar Bharati's television arm, *Doordarshan* – often referred to as DD, for short. *Doordarshan* broadcasts in the terrestrial mode, mostly analog, and has a three-tier programming service: 6 national channels, 11 regional language channels, and 12 state networks, besides an international channel, *DD India*. All the channels are also available on C&S. *Doordarshan* was the first to offer a Direct-to-Home (DTH) service, in 2004, called *DD Direct Plus*, a rent-free service, offering a mix of its own channels, private TV channels and also some FM radio stations. In the national terrestrial mode, the public broadcaster covers about 92 % of the population and 82 % of the country's territory.

As mandated by the Prasar Bharati Act, 1990, a 13-member Board is responsible for the supervision and management of *Akashvani* and *Doordarshan*. *Doordarshan's* budget comes via the Union Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (MIB) in the form of equity, grant-in-aid or loans. Special budgetary allocations are also made, such as those that were made for the Commonwealth Games in 2010 and for the digitalization of terrestrial transmission.³ Prasar Bharati also reaps revenues from commercial programming; it enjoys certain competitive advantages over private broadcasters, such as through the Sports Broadcasting Signal Act of 2007 which allows DD and AIR to share telecasts of major sports events hosted by private channels, and which includes at least 25 % advertising revenue share in television and 50 % in radio. In principle, the Prasar Bharati Board's autonomy is guaranteed by having only one representative of the MIB. However, since the broadcaster depends on the government for at least half of its budget, this makes it vulnerable to political interference in management and editorial matters. This had led to scholars explaining content creation and curation on the public broadcaster as shaped by the vagaries of political interventions and the troubling limitations of bureaucratic action (see Udupa, 2012).

In April 2010, a Group of Ministers (GoM) outlined a plan for the financial restructuring of Prasar Bharati, with recommendations including converting outstanding government loans to grants, waiving interest, and a scaling down of government support. Specifically, it called for Plan Funding to be given only as grants, and a cap on the government's annual financial support at 50 % of its operating expenses for the next five years. The GoM also rejected a license fee proposal, arguing it would be difficult and costly to administer.⁴ Prasar Bharati subsequently revised its funding plans, which included an active marketing strategy, e-auctions of channel slots on its DTH service and prime time slots on *DD National* to different production houses, cross channel advertising from private broadcasters,⁵ and the launch of over 200 AIR FM stations to tap local advertisers.

Over the years there has been a noticeable decline in the number of households having only *Doordarshan*, i.e., terrestrial-only TV sets. This is explained first, by the

³ For instance, Rs 6.2 billion (US\$111 million) was set aside for DD for digitization under the 11th Plan scheme; and Rs 4.15 billion (US\$74 million) sanctioned for the coverage of the 2010 Commonwealth Games, equally divided as a grant and a loan.

⁴ According to Ashok Jaikhani, Prasar Bharati has at various times proposed a license fee, but the government is resistant to implement it, as it might affect its mass political support; Interview with Ashok Jaikhani, Additional Director General (Programme), *Doordarshan*, New Delhi, 15.04.2011.

⁵ Prasar Bharati had until now barred airing commercials of private media firms, including of DTH operators.

migration of existing *Doordarshan*-only households to C&S households; and secondly, by the propensity of fresh TV households in scattered rural geographies – which make it financially impractical to extend cable relays – to ‘leapfrog’ to DTH, largely provided by private vendors (FICCI-KPMG, 2012). Questions have often been raised in Parliament about the declining popularity of DD channels. In response, DD has maintained that its in-house Audience Ratings System (DART)⁶ gives a better picture of viewership patterns, and that the data collected by private agencies such as TAM⁷ does not adequately capture the public broadcaster’s largely non-urban viewership. For its part, the MIB has insisted that both DART and TAM data reveal most viewers still prefer DD.

Despite the controversies over methodologies, urban TV audiences turn more to private news channels for two reasons: because DD is perceived to air government perspectives, especially during critical events such as elections and conflict scenarios; and, because C&S channels provide incessant updates and un-scheduled, special bulletins compared to DD, which while having live telecasts, tends not to tamper with its regular news cycles.

Prasar Bharati continues to receive support from the exchequer, however haphazardly, despite occasional propositions to variously privatize, shut down or scale down particular services and/or infrastructure. In early 2013, the Government approved a proposal for Prasar Bharati’s financial restructuring while waiving off its debt of over Rs 13000 million (over US\$ 200 million) (Economic Times, 2013). Such generosity is not as much to uphold the principles and values of public broadcasting, as a compulsion to pander to entrenched interests, especially of its large staff – which even a decade ago was unimaginably larger than requisite (GOI, 1999)⁸.

DISJOINTED MOVES TOWARDS DIGITALIZATION

Since the last decade, the digitization of *Doordarshan* has been a priority for the government, although no separate legislation has ever been considered, let alone proposed, for this purpose. The Planning Commission’s 11th Five-Year Plan emphasized Digital Terrestrial Transmission (DTT) and Direct-to-Home (DTH) – the two avenues for digitalizing *Doordarshan* – while suggesting to hold-back any further expansion of the terrestrial network (Planning Commission, 2008: 448). In 2006, the Planning Commission’s Sub-Committee on Digitization of Electronic Media also recommended phased digitization for the public broadcaster due to the spectrum efficiency involved (Planning Commission, 2006). In April 2010, the government approved Rs.15.4 billion (US\$270 million) for the first phase of digitization. Apart from the financial allocation, officials in *Doordarshan* felt that government commitment to the public broadcaster’s digitization plans was better

⁶ DART (Doordarshan Audience Ratings) system is based on data collected by 40 DD and 100 AIR Stations from 3,600 rural and 1,600 urban households.

⁷ TAM is a private audience ratings agency, subsidiary of AC Neilson, which collects monthly data from 7000 urban households across India nearly 500 million cable & satellite TV households.

⁸ The Report found the engineering staff employed by the Doordarshan and All India Radio to be 36 times larger than needed, as per international standards.

reflected in it being allocated the terrestrial spectrum on a privileged, non-commercial basis, akin to that allocated for other national priority areas like defense and space.⁹

As part of its digital switchover, the satellite transmission of all *Doordarshan* channels, and most of its production centers, have been digitized. But the most important initiative was the launch of *Doordarshan's* DTH service *DD Direct Plus* in September 2004. This was launched before private DTH operators were permitted, thereby giving the public broadcaster a competitive advantage. *DD Direct Plus* started with 33 TV channels, which increased to 58 by 2013. Importantly, this is a rent-free service, and consequently has gained a bigger market-share in smaller towns and rural areas.¹⁰ In the process, *DD Direct Plus* acts as a distribution platform for the private broadcasters. Since its signal is unencrypted and it does not require a branded set-top box (STB)¹¹, there is no way to quantify the viewership of *DD Direct Plus*.

When *DD Direct Plus* was launched, no specifics were laid out for having private channels on it. However, these were included to attract a wider audience and "make the service popular."¹² Selection was made on "factors such as genre of the channel, its popularity and conformity with the Prasar Bharati mandate, as well as to maintain regional balance covering different languages to make the bouquet attractive and wholesome."¹³ With the growing presence of *Doordarshan's* DTH service, by 2005, about 80 Indian and foreign channels were set to join the platform.¹⁴ So in 2006 the government permitted Prasar Bharati to raise the number of TV channels in its DTH line-up from 33 to 50.¹⁵ It also proposed an annual carriage fee of Rs 10 million (US\$181,000)¹⁶ from both existing and new broadcasters (Economic Times, 2011), which led to almost all news and entertainment channels quitting the platform.¹⁷ Consequently, in 2007 the carriage fee was reduced to Rs 2.5 million (US\$44,000).¹⁸

In June 2011, Prasar Bharati decided to expand the DTH platform to 200 channels via e-auctions.¹⁹ Following a series of legal battles with private broadcasters in the process of their distribution on *DD Direct Plus*, Prasar Bharati was directed by the Telecom Disputes Settlement and Appellate Tribunal – the judicial arm of the Telecom Regulatory Authority of India, the multi-sectoral regulator of the media/communication industries – to adopt a transparent allocation system.²⁰ The tribunal fixed the minimum reserve price of Rs 15 million (US\$262,000) per channel slot (Sinha, 2012) In the e-auctions held in July and August 2011, 26 slots were sold to private broadcasters for Rs 763 million (US\$13.4 million) – over three times what was fixed.²¹

⁹ Interview with Abhishek Agarwal, Deputy Director (Engineering) *Doordarshan*, New Delhi, 15.4.2011.

¹⁰ Interview with Ashok Jaikhani, Additional Director General (Programme), *Doordarshan*, New Delhi, 15.4.2011.

¹¹ Any STB based on open DVB standards can receive and be used for free-to-air channels offered by other DTH platforms.

¹² Answer to Parliament Question No.2740, raised by a member in Rajya Sabha (Upper House of Indian Parliament) 22.8.2005.

¹³ Answer to Parliament Question No.22, raised by a member in Lok Sabha (Lower House of Indian Parliament), 23.2.2010.

¹⁴ According to Industry estimates, *DD Direct Plus* had almost a million subscribers in 2005.

¹⁵ Answer to Parliament Question No.275, raised by a member in Rajya Sabha (Upper House of Indian Parliament), 12.12.2005.

¹⁶ 1 US\$ = 55.2400 INR (December 2012).

¹⁷ Except the TV channels MH1, Smile TV and Kairali TV.

¹⁸ See <http://www.saveondish.com/forum/T-door-darshan-targets-100-channels-on-dth-platform> (01.12.2011).

¹⁹ See <http://www.indiantelevision.com/headlines/y2k11/june/june54.php> (10.12.2011).

²⁰ An auction was also seen as a chance to make the broadcaster financially independent and use additional resources to meet operational costs, create more content and expand its reach via DTH.

²¹ See <http://www.rapidtvnews.com/index.php/rtvn-india/news/doordarshan-reaps-inr763mn-from-dth-slot-auction.html> (24.12.2011).

The digitization process has afforded Prasar Bharati newer ways to engage with a wider audience. DTH has helped expand the broadcaster's reach and its radio and television channels, including DD News, have started interactive programs, such as phone-ins and SMS contests. Web/mobile initiatives targeting urban youth have also been started.

However, these initiatives have not necessarily translated into greater diversity of content. The bouquet of channels offered here was the same as on Cable and Satellite, including both *Doordarshan* regional channels and private channels. Dr H.O. Srivastava, a retired Engineer-in-Chief of *Doordarshan* points out: "Although the PSB fulfills certain universal service obligations by having educational and development content in diverse languages, altogether it is short of quality content [...]. Also, digital opportunities are yet to be used for niche or local TV channels or for development of exclusive web-based content."²²

A HARD LOOK AT THE DIGITAL TERRESTRIAL SPACE

Formally, Digital Terrestrial Transmission (DTT) started in January 2003, when DVB-T transmitters were installed in Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, and Chennai. The entire process of digitization is due to be completed by 2017; until then, terrestrial transmission will be in simulcast mode. However, digital take-up of Prasar Bharati's terrestrial feed is yet to gather the expected momentum or scale in TV and radio. The process of setting up transmitters, which started in 2003 for *Doordarshan* and in 2007 for AIR, is still in the pilot phase. However, since the installation of the first digital TV transmitter in Delhi in 2003, there have been no takers of its receiving sets. The cost of STBs for DTT remain prohibitive, even though engineers in *Doordarshan* expect the prices to be lowered by manufacturers once demand picks up.²³

But there is no reason why viewers would be attracted to invest in a STB for DTT since there is no vision for having diverse content on the existing channels. Even though DTT offers a large potential for more local channels, this has not been exploited hitherto. In contrast, a viewer's investment in *Doordarshan's* own DTH service enables them to access a higher number of channels, from both *Doordarshan* and private broadcasters.

In the over broadcasting milieu that exists at present, public provisions governing access and affordability to *Doordarshan's* terrestrial transmission, concern three phenomena: the public broadcaster's switchover from analog terrestrial to DTT; the reception of *Doordarshan's* channels via private Cable and DTH distributors; and, the access and affordability of a wider set of its digital services, including DTH. This is because the public broadcaster visualized its DTT and DTH services – often seen as rival policy options in other countries – as part and parcel of the same package of digitization; *Doordarshan* was even allocated resources jointly for both services (Planning Commission, 2006).

²² Interview with Dr H O Srivastava, former *Engineer-in-Chief, Doordarshan*, New Delhi, 5.4.2011.

²³ Interview with Archana Gupta, Director (Engineering), Transmitter Design, *Doordarshan*, New Delhi, 22.4.2012.

Although there are no explicit clauses on access or affordability regarding DTT, two decisions by Prasar Bharati can be interpreted to address these. First, the MIB's choice of 2017 as the year to phase out all analog transmissions of *Doordarshan* was calibrated keeping in mind that STB costs would reduce at an average of 7–8 % every year. Second, is the decision for *Doordarshan* to retain its analog terrestrial service for some time – in parallel with its digital terrestrial feed. This vision of simulcast implicitly recognizes many citizens' inability to afford the STB required for DTT if the switchover is immediate. Nevertheless, important details are amiss. For instance, it is unclear if during the years of simulcast both analog and digital feeds would follow the stipulations of the Sports Broadcasting Signal (Mandatory Sharing with Prasar Bharati) Act, 2007.

Similarly, the Strategic Plan for 2011–2017 by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting made no provisions in regards to the affordability of STBs when cable distribution, completely in the private sector, moves to the digital mode; it merely predicted resistance by viewers to incur expenditure on STBs (MIB, 2011). To ensure citizen access to *Doordarshan* channels, the MIB invoked Universal Service Obligation principles to extend the “must-carry provision” on analog cable, first introduced in 1995, to digital cable and DTH. Section 8 of the Cable Television Networks (Regulation) Act 1995, as amended in 2011,²⁴ made it mandatory for local cable operators (LCOs) and Multiple System Operators (MSOs) to relay at least two *Doordarshan* terrestrial channels (*DD National* and *DD News*), one regional channel of the respective state, and two parliament channels²⁵ in the prime band. These must-carry obligations continued for the CAS as part of the Cable Television Networks (Regulation) Act 1995 to carry two national channels and one regional channel (TRAI, 2006). DTH operators are required to include eight channels of *Doordarshan* as per their License Agreement. These eight specified channels, along with 11 regional channels of *Doordarshan*, are also to be carried by all private digital cable operators, following the legislation on the mandatory digitalization of all cable in December.

In contrast to the digital transitions of both terrestrial transmission and of private cable services, the MIB was direct and proactive in designing provisions for affordability in the state broadcaster's DTH service. As mentioned earlier, *DD Direct Plus* was initially launched to cater to areas uncovered by terrestrial transmission. The service was kept free of monthly subscriptions to “enable those persons who cannot afford to incur recurring expenses on a monthly basis to be able to watch television channels at a one-time cost for purchase of STB without any further expenses.” (MIB, 2012: 101–102) Yet, Ashok Jaikhani, Additional Director General, *Doordarshan*, admitted “While *DD Direct Plus* does not charge a subscription fee, its bouquet of channels is less attractive in big cities compared to private DTH players.”²⁶

²⁴ The Cable Television Networks (Regulation) Amendment Act 2011. http://www.mib.nic.in/writereaddata/html_en_files/actsrules/cableamend060112.pdf (22.07.2012).

²⁵ A notification had been made earlier on 6 November 2007 for the mandatory carriage of the two parliament channels. It was later incorporated under the Amendment Act. See http://www.mib.nic.in/writereaddata/html_en_files/actsrules/gazett261107.pdf (07.07.2011).

²⁶ Interview with Ashok Jaikhani, Additional Director General (Programme), *Doordarshan*, New Delhi, 15.4.2011. Even the MIB Strategic Plan for 2011–2017 envisages the absence of popular pay-TV channels on *Doordarshan*'s DTH service as a weakness (MIB, 2011: 14).

The public broadcaster's DTH service provides a low-cost alternative to commercial DTH services also by way of provisions on STBs. For instance, in the initial years, Prasar Bharati also provided 25,000 DTH receiver units with television sets to bordering states such as uncovered areas in the frontline states of north-east India, and 10,000 DTH units with television sets to Jammu and Kashmir (Prasar Bharati, 2008: 46). Importantly, the STBs for DD Direct Plus – subsequently rechristened as DD Free Dish – are based on open DVB standards and can be used for any DTH platforms that provide free-to-air (FTA) channels; any FTA satellite receiver with at least the MPEG-2 or MPEG-4 DVBS standard can receive the DD Direct Plus bouquet, including radio channels. To further improve the affordability, *Doordarshan* ensured that STBs were available on the open market, allowing users to buy from a range of cheaper options. Unlike private players, *Doordarshan* has no plans to manufacture and market its STBs, although the MIB has become aware of the dependence on imports for the gigantic number of STBs required for digital cable.²⁷

Unlike the provisions for DTH STBs, there is no scheme for subsidizing STBs required for DTT on a regular basis, nor free distribution of units for demonstration purposes in remote areas. This is despite the fact that the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI) are well aware of how other countries have provided subsidies on STBs and made available loans for persons to buy such equipment (TRAI, 2005). For other parts of the country, the MIB has rather helplessly admitted, "For receiving digital terrestrial signals, viewers will have to incur expenditure on Set Top Boxes." (MIB, 2011: 14) As it is, *Doordarshan's* terrestrial audience measured in terms of households has been declining in percentage, and recently even in absolute, terms; perhaps as a consequence, its current 27 million households predominantly entail the marginal sections of society – those unable to spend a few dollars on monthly cable rents, and in all probability completely unable to purchase an STB. Consequently, there is a risk that at the end of the simulcast period, when STBs become necessary, there will be a sudden drop in *Doordarshan's* terrestrial audience – after having spent hundreds of millions on ushering in DTT.

DTT AND PUBLIC INTEREST

As can be seen, the switchover to DTT has been undertaken through a series of administrative procedures rather than a specifically designed legal framework. Here, aspects of public interest may be evaluated at two levels – in the arguments underlying the rationale for the switch-over, and in the design of administrative implementation for it – the latter also concerning the wider digitization of the state broadcaster.

While aspects of the implementation of the wider digitization of the state broadcaster did factor in some public interest concerns – hence decisions on simulcast during the long switch-over and *Doordarshan Free Dish* being rent-free – what is important to note is that there are no explicit public interest arguments for the terrestrial switch-over. From

²⁷ The then Union Minister of Information and Broadcasting realized, in retrospect: "Now all the money which is being spent on buying set top boxes is like building a revenue model for China or Taiwan from where these boxes are coming." See <http://daily.bhaskar.com/article/NAT-TOP-set-top-box-china-gains-from-our-digitisation-project-4147339-NOR.html> (13.01.2013).

available government documents, three sets of explanations favoring the switchover can be gleaned – none of which constitute a convincing public interest rationale or reflect principles of equity.

The first and dominant rationale for the digitization of terrestrial broadcasting that punctuates various documents from the Planning Commission, the Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, and Prasar Bharati is enhancing viewer/listener experience – namely, improving the quality of television signals, introducing program guides, and enabling broadcasts, especially of AIR, on multiple platforms such as webcasting, podcasting, SMS, and mobile (MIB, 2011: 22). The reasons given for developing and promoting allied digital services like mobile television and IPTV are the large number of mobile phone users, and that this is the best platform for delivering the benefits of television and mobile communications in one device, and that such a combination of terrestrial broadcast platforms and mobile platforms is important in terms of spectrum efficiency (Planning Commission, 2006: 8). Policymakers have ignored the fact that few citizens have the requisite mobile handsets and broadband connections; this suggests the wider digitization of the state broadcaster will benefit only certain sections of society.

Second, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting argued that *Doordarshan's* switch from analog to digital transmitters would enable multichannel transmission from a single transmitter (i.e., a relay of about five to eight channels against one analog transmitter) and power efficiency. This forms a large part of the argument on spectrum efficiency of DTT – namely, “Television broadcasting in analog mode requires significant spectrum, which is a scarce resource. Therefore, countries all over the world are migrating from analog to digital terrestrial broadcasting.” (MIB, 2011: 52) According to Archana Gupta, Director (Engineering) of Transmitter Design at *Doordarshan*, DTT would serve the public interest by ensuring a more efficient spectrum utilization since it will allow for the carriage of eight to ten channels on the slot of one analog channel. As such, the DVB-2 standard that Prasar Bharati is procuring is far better than the DVB standard planned earlier: it allows 32 instead of 18 channels on a bandwidth of 36 MHz.²⁸

While freeing up spectrum is posed as a major argument for moving to DTT,²⁹ there is no mention of how the freed spectrum – which is commercially the most lucrative and technologically supremely efficient³⁰ – would be used in the public interest. Some thinking visualized a spectrum dividend being deployed to launch more Prasar Bharati regional terrestrial channels, and mobile reception and/or HDTV services, especially if they are considered to be part of the standard service offering (MIB, 2011: 2). However, no plans for this have been announced. It is pertinent to mention that while the frequency band

²⁸ Interview with Archana Gupta, Director (Engineering), Transmitter Design, *Doordarshan*, New Delhi, 22.4.2012.

²⁹ There are two instances where additional spectrum would be required: temporarily, during the simulcast phase when existing analogue and new digital systems would need to be broadcast together; and permanently, in the case of AIR where, while no additional spectrum will be required for DRM transmissions in the MW/SW band, it would be required for DRM transmitters in the FM/VHF band as well as the 'L' band (MIB, 2011: 14).

³⁰ While some of the frequency bands used for broadcasting in India have exclusive allocations for “Broadcasting,” most are shared. For example, the 800/900 MHz bands used for cellular services (GSM and CDMA, etc.) are available for broadcasting also (MIB, 2011: 16).

used for DTT services is 700 MHz,³¹ The Telecom Regulatory Authority of India has recommended using this band for Broadband Wireless Access (BWA) and Worldwide Interoperability for Microwave Access (WiMAX) services for rural areas (MIB, 2011: 17) – which, on the face of it, indicates greater public interest usage than, say, High-definition television or mobile television services, which will be limited to a handful, even in urban areas. As for the revenue generated from parts of the digital dividend transferred to telecom operators (4G), there is no evidence, or evidence of intent, to suggest that it will be deployed either for quality programming – capitalizing on the enhanced viewer/listener experience DTT promises – or to cushion subsidies for the STBs required for *Doordarshan's* DTT audience, the handful that may exist by 2017. Such a re-channeling of resources seems impossible, not only due to the clashing interests ruling the MIB and Ministry of Information and Communication Technology (MCIT), but also due to the prevailing revenue-expenditure practices followed by the government.³²

As the publicly available information discussed above suggests that the rationale for the digital switchover in terrestrial broadcasting is bereft of convincing public interest arguments, including principles of equity. While the middle and upper strata of society will benefit from the diversity of digital platforms on which news from the public broadcaster can be accessed, there is no blueprint to suggest that this expensive transition will either foster diversity of content, especially at the local level, widen the pluralism of voices in public terrestrial transmission, or enhance access for the country's marginal sections. Dr. H.O. Srivastava says: "Digitization of terrestrial network is a compulsion now as there is no longer a supply of analog transmitters. (...) Because the world is going digital, the switchover is being forced on us, without consideration for the average viewer. What is required is a technology that allows convergence, so that a person can invest in one receiving set and access all terrestrial TV and radio stations."³³

Unlike in other countries, the terrestrial band in India not only has only one player but also has a limited number of channels; this provides ample space for using other frequencies in this band – be it for television or for non-television media, both private and public. Unless there is compelling evidence to the contrary, the real reason for the unplanned and haphazard vacation of the terrestrial space, in the name of the switchover to DTT, seems to be to enhance revenues of a regime that suffers from a high fiscal deficit – by selling the lucrative spectrum vacated by the terrestrial public broadcaster to private 4G service providers. This seems to fit in, rather neatly, with wider trajectory of the re-utilization of assets of a wider set of public enterprises in India over the last two decades of deregulation and disinvestment.

³¹ DD DTT will be provided in the VHF band 4–5 (470–862 MHz); Interview with Archana Gupta, Director (Engineering), Transmitter Design, *Doordarshan*, New Delhi, 22.4.2012.

³² Revenues from auctions, administered by MCIT, accrue to the consolidated fund of India, whereas expenditure for STB subsidies, under the purview of MIB, stems from its overall annual allocations from the public exchequer.

³³ Interview with Dr H O Srivastava, former *Engineer-in-Chief, Doordarshan*, New Delhi, 5.4.2011.

CONCLUSION

With few channels occupying the terrestrial space, does the public broadcaster really need to undergo the switch to DTT? Does investing in this expensive transition make sense when most viewers in India access TV on C&S platforms? Posing these fundamental questions makes us see the very idea of DTT being forced fit into the regulatory and institutional context of broadcasting in India – and thereby view the three explanations favoring the switchover with further skepticism.

Evidently, there seems to be no clear and consistent public service vision in launching DTT, including on access, affordability, content planning or convergence. This is why it has neither taken off and is unlikely to emerge in the near future. Consequently, doubts on its potentials and viability have begun to be expressed. The last external review of Prasar Bharati, completed in January 2014, clearly insisted that any existing plans on the further expansion of and investment in DTT must be assessed afresh based on feedback from field reviews (Prasar Bharati, 2014). But, on the policy option for digitalization to be exercised, it intriguingly chose to speak in different voices. In doing so, this echoes experiences in other large countries where the switchover to DTT has equally been marked by a plethora of obscure task-forces that no citizens are aware of, but are driven by either commercializing public infrastructure or protecting private interests.³⁴

On the one hand, it recommended to selectively digitalize terrestrial TV operations based on commercial viability – part of wider arguments over the years to impart a commercial orientation to the public broadcaster. It was particularly keen to selectively experiment with and examine the viability of DTT for mobile users. Here again we see that the vision of DTT is tempered more by the compulsions of telecom policy, as explained earlier. DTT and 4G vie for the same spectrum bands, which in the case of 4G is auctioned and results in large revenues for the government – unlike with DTT, where its usage by the public broadcaster does not result in any revenues.

On the other hand, the review also argued for prioritizing DTH over DTT: since the overwhelming share of TV audiences are reached through the C&S mode, while *Doordarshan's* terrestrial channels are watched by an increasingly small share. The review pitched for switching off *Doordarshan's* analog terrestrial transmission within a short timespan, and adopting *DD Free Dish* as the public broadcaster's primary mode of transmission (Prasar Bharati, 2014: 26); this was apart from continuing to vend select *Doordarshan* channels (on the basis of existing USO protocols explained earlier) through the expanding customer base of private DTH and Digital Cable. The review pointed out that the move from terrestrial to satellite transmission would result in “considerable cost saving, even as it offers the possibility of a wider content variety as compared to the limited number of channels available through terrestrial broadcasts.” (GOI, 2014: 20-21)

This unresolved question on the technological choice and future of the digital distribution of *Doordarshan* is a reflection of longstanding tensions on the role and shape

³⁴ Perhaps the most fascinating account of this is on Canada, see Taylor (2010).

of the public broadcaster in the current, highly commercialized TV ecology. A central question concerns autonomy and the financial model that enables it, specifically the ratio of public and private funds. As a move towards greater autonomy, public funds have successively been curtailed, if not stopped, and commercial avenues and strategies have been increasingly explored. Occasional proposals for a license fee regime have, however, been sidelined. Moreover, this brings to the fore the related question on programming emphases – should it be conditioned by public interest values or by what interests the public? If the latter is indeed the preferred route, as it is now, the rationale and case for having a public broadcaster weakens, especially in the view of private broadcasters, and some voices in the executive, who repeatedly question the competitive advantages and largesse enjoyed by the broadcaster. The competing pull between principles and practices – here, public interest and profit – continues to shape the broadcasters' policy options in all its operational spheres. Here the losers are indeed the sections of society who are still perched on the margins of the wider media revolution in India. Unless backed by a genuine political will, organizationally refurbished and editorially liberalized, *Doordarshan's* significance is only likely to further decline as it, paradoxically, comes into the global DTT infrastructure.

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PRELAZAK DOORDARSHANA NA DIGITALNO EMITIRANJE: INTRIGANTNA DINAMIKA POLITIČKIH MOGUĆNOSTI

Vibodh Parthasarathi :: Supriya Chotani

SAŽETAK *Koji se motiv krije u pozadini skupe i obvezatne tranzicije u smjeru digitalne zemaljske televizije u državi s nekoliko kanala koji pokrivaju cjelokupan teritorij, a svi su u vlasništvu javnog medijskog servisa? Ovaj rad nastoji dati dubinski uvid u začetke te tranzicije i njezin širi zamah prema digitalizaciji Doordarshana, indijskog javnog medijskog servisa. Oslanjajući se na institucionalne pristupe koji pomažu razjasniti zašto određeni interesi imaju prioritet u odnosu na druge, ovaj članak razotkriva što se zapravo krije iza službenog objašnjenja prelaska na digitalno emitiranje u Indiji. Autori zaključuju kako će za marginalizirane društvene skupine, za koje je Doordarshan jedini pristupačan pružatelj TV usluga, ta obvezatna tranzicija predstavljati najveći izazov. Osim toga, prelazak na digitalni zemaljski prijem signala nije vođen javnim interesom koji uključuje unapređenje kvalitete sadržaja, što bi za Doordarshan mogao biti ključni mehanizam pridobivanja gledateljstva izgubljenog zbog privatnih satelitskih kanala.*

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

DIGITALNA TELEVIZIJA, INDIJA, DOORDARSHAN, POLITIKA EMITIRANJA

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MEĐUNARODNA

PERSPEKTIVA

JAVNOG MEDIJSKOG

SERVISA

PERSPECTIVES ON THE

INTERNATIONALIZATION

OF PSM

PUBLIC SERVICE MEDIA AND CHALLENGE OF CROSSING BORDERS: ASSESSING NEW MODELS

Minna Aslama Horowitz

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ABSTRACT *This article addresses the need for new models of public service media. First, the article looks at the core factors, or borders, that frame the quest for new models: the digitalization, de-institutionalization, and globalization of communication. It then outlines some suggested models for public service. Finally, the models are assessed in terms of how they respond to some core challenges for public service media as a concept and as an institution.*

KEY WORDS

PUBLIC SERVICE MEDIA, DIGITALIZATION, GLOBALIZATION, MODELS

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INTRODUCTION: PUBLIC SERVICE MEDIA BEYOND BORDERS

The role of public service in the media sector is in flux. This statement is hard to disagree with, even if some thinkers note that the crisis of public service broadcasting, and the need to find new models for it, has been an ongoing discourse for many decades (e.g. Cushion, 2012). As this special issue on the future of public service media highlights: the challenges of public service media's core mission and philosophy, as well as the practical realization of public service in the media ecosystem, are very real. Ingrid Volkmer (2015) argues in her recent commentary on the future of public service, as many before her have done, that the existing public service broadcasting model is increasingly under pressure in Europe, greatly due to the demands of digitalization. The analysis by Karin Voltmer (2013: 160), based on her research on transitional democracies, further indicates that old and emerging public service media institutions all around the world are threatened, both by commercial competitors and governmental pressures. They need to find new ways to ensure their independence and inclusivity.

Ingrid Volkmer (2015) further underlines a theoretical challenge, one that scholars in particular are responsible for, and which is echoed in Michael Tracey's essay in this issue. While pressures on public service institutions require strategic thinking by those institutions, we also need a conceptual re-modeling of public service. Volkmer (2015) notes that the most researched areas in this field – social media logic and public service, new journalistic practices, traditional public service values in the competitive environment, and public service in the media sector collaborating with other public sectors – are important angles, yet do not engage researchers and others in truly, multidisciplinary, and conceptual discussions of what public service could or should mean.

Contribution of this article is a small step in the direction of thinking about models for re-iterations of public service in the media sector. First, the article looks at the core factors, or borders, that frame the need to create new models for public service. It then outlines some suggested models for public service. Finally, the models are assessed in terms of how they respond to how they respond to some core challenges for existing public service media as a concept and as an institution.

CONTEXT: CROSSING BORDERS, SHARING CHALLENGES

The context of understanding public service in a new way seems to require crossing at least three conventional borders. There are three interrelated developments that have greatly defined the recent developments of what is conventionally called public service, that is, public service broadcasting (PSB) institutions. Digitalization may be the most obvious trend, indicating not only channel proliferation, but also the transition from radio and television broadcasting to the multimedia presence of public service media (PSM). For public service broadcasters in Europe, this first meant a battle of whether these organizations would be restricted, allowed, or even supported to exist online at all

(Syvertsen and Aslama, 2007). Later, most organizations embraced crossing the border from broadcaster to content-provider (Volkmer, 2015).

Digitalization is inherently related to the second boundary that requires re-thinking, that is, whether public service media can be said to exist outside of institutional borders. While the interest to understand and rework public media questions has traditionally happened by and/or with public media organizations, now there is an increasing amount of thinking and innovation at the structural level (industry landscape, policy-making) as well as at the individual, small-scale, grassroots level (a variety of civic journalism groups, not-for-profit media websites, and blogger collectives, as well as micro-media by individuals) (Horowitz and Clark, 2014). Some thinkers even argue that the dominant theory of public broadcasting, based on the early model of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), is becoming more and more obsolete. Not only are other media outlets performing many tasks of the public broadcasters, our globalizing world also challenges the traditionally nation-state-focused remit, and practices, of public service broadcasters. Evidently, many mobile and online services (especially social media ones) are by nature global policy questions. In addition, innovative content production practices, and approaches to participation, as well as access, travel across national borders (Bajomi-Lazar et al., 2012: 358-360).

The third border to cross, then, is indeed that of the nation-bound nature of public service. Since its birth in the 1920s, public service broadcasting (PSB) has been a quintessentially national project. PSB remits have often carried an explicit or implicit responsibility for promoting citizenship, as well as national culture. In some cases, they also marked cooperation and understanding. "Nation Shall Speak Peace Unto Nation" is the motto of the BBC (Thompson, 2010). This sense of national, cultural and political understanding, and unity is also echoed in the agenda of UNESCO (2014). Yet, many PSM organizations offer content for global audiences, if not officially, then implicitly. While they might restrict access to streaming their programming from abroad, much of the national public service media content exists on accessible global platforms such as: broadcasters' home pages, Facebook and YouTube (Volkmer, 2015).

And, even if the practices of programming were not global, the challenges PSB/PSM institutions face seem to be. At the outset, it would seem that public service media organizations around the world do not share very much in common. Even in the Nordic countries, with relatively similar political, cultural, and economic conditions, media markets and, more specifically, the organization and remit of public service broadcasting, differ notably (e.g. Syvertsen et al., 2014). The very definition of what is public broadcasting also differs in different contexts, and there certainly exists a grey area between the definitions and practices of state and public media (Tambini, 2015). In some countries, the label of PSB can be used for something that does the opposite of the traditional, core mission of increasing diversity (Bajomi-Lazar, 2015).

While many national or regional differences continue to exist, a recent global look at challenges of public service (and state-administered media) by the so-called *Mapping*

Digital Media (MDM) research project of the Open Society Foundation (2009-2014)¹ highlights some significant similarities between public media institutions around the world. Comprising of 56 countries, the purpose of this research effort was to assess the global opportunities and risks that are created for media by the following developments: the switch-over from analogue broadcasting to digital broadcasting; growth of new media platforms as sources of news; and the convergence of traditional broadcasting with telecommunications. MDM has addressed broad PSM-relevant issues – from spectrum allocation to other legislative approaches, audience structures, and financial aspects of national media markets around the world, but it has also dedicated both special reports, as well as a designated section, in each report to the role of publicly owned media in each country in question.

Based on the country report, Damien Tambini (2015) has assessed the state of public service and state-administered media around the world. Unsurprisingly, his core finding is that those media take a varied and complex role around the world. He highlights some regional differences (Tambini, 2015: 1420) by noting that only in Europe do the institutions of independent PSM hold a strong position. He continues to point out that the norm of the mixed broadcasting system may be becoming more prevalent with the incorporation of state-administered broadcasters from Central and Eastern Europe into the conventional PSM model. But in the Middle East and North Africa, PSB independence faces numerous challenges.

Despite these fundamental differences, there are three clear unifying challenges. First, digitalization has drastically changed the role of the institutional public broadcaster/media organization. Second, audiences for state-administered and public service media are in decline everywhere. This crisis has resulted both in the innovation and reinvention of public service's mission and programming, as well as its decline. The third common global challenge Tambini identifies is the lack of an "open and transparent debate" (2015: 1421) and policy-making regarding public service media and its evolution.

SOME SUGGESTED MODELS – AN OVERVIEW

The above described context, albeit a simplified summary, highlights not only the complexity of the interrelated trends, but also the prevalence of core challenges, in their numerous variations, around the globe. The question at issue is about the mandate and role of public service, the technological, or distribution, and the organizational arrangement of public service in order to serve, and interact with audiences.

Given the challenges outlined above, and their occurrence in many countries and contexts, it is interesting that relatively few new revisionary models have so far been proposed to address the new context that public service media find themselves in. Here, the purpose is not to analyze policy discussions and revisions, in individual countries, or at the EU level, that pertain to the specifics of legal remits and funding. The aim is to map

¹ See Mapping Digital Media, 2014.

some comprehensive new ideas about the ideal, and realization, of public service media in terms of its core mission. The following depicts a selection of such ideas proposed by public service media scholars in recent years.

First, Peter Bajomi-Lazar et al. (2012: 374-375) offer three institutional revisionist frames to the way PSM should be redesigned in the drastically changed media landscape. The Liberal Approach believes that the role of PSM is to correct market imperfections, i.e., to fill in the gaps in content and services that the free market – the commercial competitors – do not find profitable to offer. This approach is very much synonymous to the Market Failure Perspective (e.g., Berg et al., 2014) on PSM: The role of demand is emphasized and the purpose of PSM is to serve those underserved by the free market. The Radical Democratic Approach, in contrast, focuses on the distinctiveness of PSM in its mission to serve the public interest. This means that PSM should (continue to) offer news and journalism, music and culture, drama, children's programming, as well as events that bring the nation together. As a new, third, alternative, Bajomi-Lazar et al. (2012) propose an ecological mission for PSM in which public interest media could be reinterpreted, and serve as an ambassador for, ecological, sustainable life styles.

Very much in line with the ecological mission is the idea that PSM should be based on human rights treaties and legislation, and that it should in particular guard issues related to human rights, both in its content and as an organization (Boev and Bukovska, 2011). The treaties would function as legal benchmarks for assessing the core qualities of PSM that, in this model are: a high degree of participation of all interested parties; non-discrimination (including equality and inclusiveness); and the role of PSM as empowering rights holders to claim and exercise their rights. They also include an institutional component, namely accountability (the state should be accountable for its policy in support of PSM while PSM institutions should be fully accountable for their actions). A special feature of the model is that it includes a number of new stakeholders in the work of the PSM: not only the institution, the national government and regulator, but also audiences play a crucial role in creating and monitoring of PSM. In addition, international human rights bodies as well as communities of human rights activists/advocates are stakeholders here.

Mira Burri (2015), together with Patricia Aufderheide and Jessica Clark (2009), offer perhaps the most radical, networked models of public service media. Burri's (2015) premise is that a PSM institution does exist in a networked environment and should thus both create content of public value (e.g., quality journalism, but also other genres), as well as network and curate such content. In this vein, she proposes a model along the ideal of the Radical Democratic approach, but offers specific mandates for the era of networked communication. She notes that since television still matters, PSM could also mediate the transitions and interactions between legacy media (TV) and online forms. One distinct feature of PSM could be its role as a 'public memory,' and that PSM should utilize big data in evidence-based decision-making to better serve the public. Aufderheide and Clark (2009) go even further. They note that 'Public Media 2.0' will not be tied to an institution but can be both *de jure* and *de facto*: a commercial TV channel or a social media group may function as public media equally well as an official institution. Public media, thus, should

be citizen-, or user-centric. Consequently, public media can differ for citizens depending on specific issues, and/or, local, national or international contexts.

DISCUSSION: HOW THE MODELS WORK

How do the challenges and proposed models meet? The following matrix briefly sums up the core challenges for PSM as identified in this article, and highlights how these alternative models reflect these challenges. The first issue is that of digitalization: what kind of bridge does the model build for public service to transition from broadcasting to the multi-media era, or, at the very least, what is the relationship between the model and the digital media landscape? The second issue reflects on the organizational solutions of the model. How does institutional public service *de jure* fare in the model? Are there other players? How is the sustainability, a global concern for most public service and state-administered media (Tambini, 2015) addressed institutionally in the model? Finally, the last issue relates to the relationship to audiences, including the global media ecosystem that many audience members of today's PSM navigate. According to each model, who is public service media addressing and serving?

Table 1. Matrix of selected alternative models of PSM

Digitalization – technology		
Democratic approach	Liberal approach	Sustainable approach
Must be present in all platforms	Challenged (“distorts the market”)	Possibly – not explicitly mentioned
Human rights approach	Institutional-networked approach	Non-institutional networked approach
Possibly: could also support new communication rights, including access	New tech. key; mediator between legacy and new tech	Founded on new tech
Organization – role and remit, sustainability		
Democratic approach	Liberal approach	Sustainable approach
Independent (in theory); sustainability is threatened in most contexts (debates on public funding)	Independent but “filling the gap” mandate might be limited due to political agendas	Independent (in theory)
Human rights approach	Institutional-networked approach	Non-institutional networked approach
Independent – multi-stakeholder approach would spread power over governance	Independent – multi-stakeholder approach would spread power over governance; take international governance into account	Independent – a network is harder to control



Audiences – reach, relationship; national or global		
Democratic approach	Liberal approach	Sustainable approach
Serves everyone, nation-based	Serves the underserved	Focuses on the ecosystem, holistic
Human rights approach	Institutional-networked approach	Non-institutional networked approach
Focused on the individual = rights-based. Multiple stakeholders, international	Serves everyone	Serves individuals and communities: local – national – global – issue-oriented

Following the summary presented in Table 1, the Radical Democratic Approach replicates the original ideal of a universal, full service public service broadcaster that unifies as well as supports the needs of minorities. Its challenge seems to be the extent of the resources needed for such effort. This is precisely the debate that many mature PSB nations have engaged in in the past decade, in which the Liberal Approach of limited public service has been offered as a solution. The well-known argument goes: proliferation of content equals a decreasing need for full service by public broadcasters, especially in new platforms. The argumentation against the Democratic Approach has been especially heated in contexts where newspapers are competing with their online content with PSM online news. The Sustainable Approach would offer PSM a very focused public interest remit. At the same time, it seems to replicate a very paternalistic approach to audiences in advocating issues and content focused on sustainability. This model has no specific solutions in terms of a digital presence, or in terms of the financial sustainability of the service.

The Human Rights Approach, then, might have some leverage as an additional remit to PSM (Horowitz and Nieminen 2015, forthcoming) since its mission is, to an extent global, and has some international legislative backing, and since it matches the rights-based discourse around the Internet and so-called Digital Rights. Consequently, this approach might gain some traction with multiple stakeholders and provide a global-local connection. Yet, again, the question is how the sustainability of such PSM, as a human rights advocate, could be envisioned and secured.

The Institutional-Networked Approach seems as a viable alternative to mature public media institutions that could extend their role into curating. In addition, many of the old PSBs naturally fit the role of preserving the national memory, in that they have dominated the media landscapes in the respective countries and already possess large archives of national memory in an audiovisual form. But how would their mission look in the era of abundant multi-platform content? And again, how would they be positioned and funded in terms of their relationships to commercial, or other content, and the government? What memories would be deemed legitimate?

Patricia Aufderheide and Jessica Clark (2009), with their Public Media 2.0 model, provide a true alternative in terms of the local-global dimension, as well as sustainability. Their idea is that the citizen-user is the one to decide what kind of content she needs – locally, nationally and globally issue-wise. These users will search for, demand, and find suitable content to serve their different needs. No one institution needs to be responsible for everything. At the same time, this model requires a robust media ecosystem as well as a high level of media literacy. In addition, it does not address the sustainability of its nodes. If the social media platform you use for acquiring regional news and participating in related debates shuts down, what then?

Finally, the models of public service media depicted above have very different starting points in terms of one of the core borders to cross, namely, the possible global dimension of public service media. Two of the three institutional models depicted by Peter Bajomi-Lazar et al. (2012) replicate very much the mass media era's views on national PSB institutions, with justification more suitable to the web 2.0 era. The third one, in emphasizing sustainability, clearly takes a more global approach, as does the idea of PSM realizing communication rights and advocating human rights. The strength of the latter point is that many international and regional agreements and declarations on human rights can work in tandem to PSM's goal of supporting greater communication rights (Boev and Bukovska, 2011). Mira Burri (2015) is cautious of a "one-size-fits-all," approach and recognizes contextuality of some PSM's circumstances, but also highlights the global governance issues of the Internet era, from which PSM organizations are not exempt. Patricia Aufderheide and Jessica Clark (2009) embrace the idea through a local – global continuum by focusing on the needs of the media user, rather than the institution. Another question is, how these models might serve in solving some of the core challenges for PSM: issues that are both universal and yet, most often, very specific.

CONCLUSION: A QUEST FOR ALTERNATIVES FOR FUTURE PSM

This article has provided only a brief, overview of the issues public service broadcasters need to tackle today in order to ensure their future. The future may hold great promise because of a great legacy: while PSB organizations are in a very different situation than in the mass media era, they still remain prominent in many parts of the globe. For instance, the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) has 76 active members in 56 European countries² as well as 36 associate members in 21 other countries,³ most of which are public service media organizations. The Public Media Alliance, the largest association of public service broadcasters, has members in 54 countries around the world (Public Media Alliance, 2015).

The main argument here is, obviously, that new models need to be further conceptualized, in order to secure a future for PSM in its variations. There might be a set of new contextual factors defining the future of PSM, but as Karol Jakubowicz (2014: 213-

² "Active membership is for broadcasting organizations whose states fall within the European Broadcasting Area, as defined by the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), or otherwise those who are members of the Council of Europe." (EBU, 2015a)

³ See EBU, 2015b.

214) reminds us, historical developments have always shaped models for public service broadcasting. In the mass media era, there have existed three main models of the creation of PSB or the transformation of state broadcasting to PSM, as applying to different country contexts. The paternalistic model has been based on the idea of public enlightenment, giving PSM a normative role (as in the classic BBC model of public broadcasting). The democratic and emancipatory model emerged when state broadcasting organizations were transformed into PSB in the 1970s and 1980s, when state broadcasting became obsolete as a state monopoly (a development in some European as well as non-European countries). Finally, the systemic approach where PSB has been considered part and parcel of political change, such as the transition to democracy in many former Communist countries in Eastern Europe. At this juncture in history, these models now need revision, whether in their countries of origin or as models for emerging PSMs.

However, it can be predicted that the process will not be easy, if judged by the fight for the PSM to exist in the past decade: mature PSB organizations are fiercely challenged as being disruptive to competition with commercial operators in the digital era; governments wish to spend less on public goods and services; and in some cases, they also aim at tightening control on communication and media content. Media audiences are offered, and they also create, ever more content, yet that may not automatically lead to a diversity of exposure, but may result in “filter bubbles” (Pariser, 2011). In addition, the Internet and mobile communications have re-ignited discussions on freedom of expression, access to information, and communication technologies, as well as intellectual property rights, privacy, surveillance and the right to be forgotten – all of which are global issues for any multi-platform media, including PSM.

Looking into the future of public service in the field of media and communication, it is essential for those advocating for the existence of PSM to rethink how to build new models that are accessible and inclusive, contextually sensitive, technologically and financially viable, institutionally independent – and globally meaningful. Any new models of public service media clearly need to respond to some of the main concerns and challenges outlined by the MDM studies. Based on the above analysis, however, it seems that there are no brilliant alternatives to the existing PSM organizations that could solve the severe problems of independence, sustainability, audience engagement, and (costly) multi-platform presence. In addition, as noted by Damien Tambini (2015), there is relatively little discussion about this state of affairs, let alone global consultations on the matter. The models depicted above, alternative as they may be, still very much rely on the core institutional model established in the West. More models from outside of the mature, resource-rich PSM countries need to be researched as they may provide new insights to the global challenges.

In addition, the traditional model of PSB may just have been glorified and it might be hard to let the ideal, and the institutions go, especially as there is no one clear alternative. It also seems that plenty of scholarship is dedicated to legitimizing PSM institutions, and analyzing related policies, rather than examining in which tasks different PSM institutions possibly failed, and what can be learned from these failures.

So, apart from more systematic gathering of ideas and inspiration for new models – what could the next steps be? The least we, as scholars, can do is to react and respond to the fact that globally, debates about public media are not open and diverse. Perhaps we need to, as Silvio Waisboard (2015: 187-193) suggests in his article about internationalizing media studies, work in several frontiers. First, we need to analyze neglected issues. In this article, we have established that we know very little about existing alternatives, public media *de facto*, whether in the global North or South. Similarly, drawing from non-Western theorization of globalization and the media might help in reframing the public service media of the future. The discussion also needs to bring in more understanding of the needs by different PSM stakeholders (see, e.g., Horowitz and Clark, 2014). Related to this, in terms of how media research could contribute to the practice of media development, an under-researcher issue concerns the capacity-building needs – in terms of policy-making, journalism practices, organizational management, and so on. These are just some of the areas that have not been addressed in detail within the public media research community.

Another strategy (Waisboard, 2015) would be to conduct more comparative research. The MDM project gave an overview of 56 countries, but the section on public service media was one of many. Clearly more regional and global comparisons can shed light on new models and the needs of different contexts. Third, we need to analyze trans-border, global questions. The MDM research as well as the network questionnaire depicted in this article has given some indication of possible trans-border issues for public media. This needs to be systematically researched further. In addition to these strategies, it just might be that we, as public media scholars, too, need to be brutally honest about the successes and failures – in remit, content, policies, technological solutions, and funding models – if we wish to further develop these models, or create new ones.

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NADILAŽENJE GRANICA JAVNOG MEDIJSKOG SERVISA: VREDNOVANJE NOVIH MODELA

Minna Aslama Horowitz

SAŽETAK *Ovaj rad ističe potrebu za novim modelima javnog medijskog servisa. Prvo se u radu daje pregled ključnih faktora, odnosno granica koje uokviruju potragu za novim modelima, a to su: digitalizacija, deinstitucionalizacija i globalizacija komunikacije. Potom se sažeto opisuju pojedini predloženi modeli javnog medijskog servisa. Na kraju rada ti su modeli vrednovani s obzirom na to kako odgovaraju na potrebu nužnog nadilaženja starih granica postojećeg javnog medijskog servisa.*

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

JAVNI MEDIJSKI SERVIS, DIGITALIZACIJA, GLOBALIZACIJA, MODELI

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RIPE@ – FIFTEEN YEARS OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND ‘LESSONS’ LEARNED

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¹ This essay is based on remarks delivered by the author in a pre-conference event on “Globalization, International Development and the Public Service Media Debates”, organized in conjunction with the 2015 IAMCR conference in Montreal.

RIPE is an international network of scholars and practitioners who are committed to the development of public service in media. The acronym stands for Re-Visionary Interpretations of the Public Enterprise in media. As with most developmental initiatives it was conceived as an instrumental solution to a set of practical problems.

The project launched in 1999 when the need to update understandings about the public service approach and its future potential became urgent after the Protocol on Public Service Broadcasting was amended to the European Union Treaty of Amsterdam. This was aligned, as well, with the need to handle the most significant reorganizational and restructuring project in public service broadcasting since its inception – making the transition to public service media. Thus, there was both a need for scholarly contributions to public service theory and a managerial need for developing operations and organizations to better position the public sector in the rapidly evolving new ecology of media systems.

RIPE started with the idea of providing an online platform for informed discourse about PSM. That launched in 1999 and went nowhere very fast. Although everyone agreed it was a grand idea in principle, and many of the best known PSM scholars and strategy managers of the period agreed to participate, in fact such participation offered little career benefit. It was a good idea in theory, but the time that was required could be better spent publishing citable articles and working with strategy consultants (depending on which community we are looking at).

As the founder of this initiative, which was funded for the initial period by the Finnish Broadcasting Corporation, YLE, I struggled over this failure. I presented a paper at the 2001 conference of the Broadcast Education Association – BEA. It was titled: "RIPE or RIP? Re-visionary interpretations of a failed online discourse." About a dozen of the colleagues who attended that session had been among the volunteers who had agreed to contribute as participants in the online discourse project. There was a lot of heavy sighing and some mild hand-wringing. But after the initial shock ended the group agreed that the need was too great, the stakes too high, and the potential too important to let it all collapse. Thus, it was agreed that we try again but with a different approach – one keyed to ensuring that both communities would receive practical benefits that would be personally valuable according to the varied criteria for advancement in each profession. During the 2002 conference in Barcelona a separate group, involving some of the same people but also others from across Europe, we agreed to organize a RIPE conference.

The first conference took place in Helsinki, Finland in January 2002. The nuts and bolts of the RIPE model were hammered out in preparation for that event, and then continually developed in subsequent biennial conferences. The second conference was readily agreed for Denmark. During the Helsinki conference DR's Director General at that time, Christian S. Nissen, presented ideas about the PSB in the emerging media ecology, essential the shift to PSM, that were just taking shape at the time. This was supported by the European Broadcasting Union (EBU). YLE's Director General, Arne Wessberg, was the first and a crucial support for the RIPE initiative, providing the funding to experiment and for the conference development. He and Mr. Nissen were close colleagues. The University

of Tampere was the academic host for 2002. Close connections with the University of Aarhus in Denmark made that institution a natural fit for the 2004 conference.

The results of the 2002 conference were satisfying and stirred discussion about what to do with the proceedings. The academic representative for 2002 was Prof. Taisto Hujanen of Tampere. The next academic representative for 2004 was Prof. Per Jauert. Both were committed supporters of the Nordic Information Centre for Media and Communication Research – NORDICOM – headquartered at the University of Gothenburg in Sweden. Together we agreed to propose publishing an edited book, and not simply as a collection of conference papers but a thoroughly developed and peer reviewed collection of the best of those papers. The conference theme and the book title were the same: "Broadcasting & Convergence: New Articulations of the Public Service Remit". Ulla Carlsson was the Director of NORDICOM and she liked the idea. It was a timely topic of great relevance in the Nordic region and beyond, and the contributors would include Nordic scholars. The book was published in 2003. It sold out.

This is the gist of how the RIPE initiative started nearly 15 years ago in the successful iteration, or actually closer to 17 years if one includes the initial failure. In this essay I provide an overview of these fifteen years of experimentation and developmental practice in building a collaborative platform for linking academics and practitioners in efforts to develop public service media. We begin with a brief overview of how the RIPE model works, and then focus on a few important observations. Whether they can be fairly construed as 'lessons' is for the reader to decide. This essay is a brief treatment. The author intends to develop a fuller treatment with a cohesive theoretical foundation in the near future.

THE PROBLEM TO BE SOLVED

After immigrating to Finland in 1998 as an American academic with a background in radio broadcasting, I was employed as Senior Advisor for Corporate Strategy and Development at YLE. At that time YLE had a divisional structure and there was great need for strategic and practical development inside YLE Radio. Mr. Tapio Siikala was the Director of Radio and he sponsored a range of projects that were important in making the transition to digital production systems.

In 2000 the Director General, Mr. Wessberg, was elected President of the European Broadcasting Union. He was already concerned about a lack of sufficient awareness of emerging issues and new ideas among members of the YLE Executive Board, and found much the same problem inside the EBU in those days. He believed there was too little critical analysis and developmental discourse at YLE and in the EBU in that period. Mr. Siikala recommended he talk with the author to see if a practical solution could be found.

As mentioned, the original idea was to launch an online discourse and that didn't work well at all. In the developed iteration, however, the author proposed a moderate

investment to establish an international initiative for connecting academic researchers with professional practitioners, mostly strategic managers, to produce a conference focused on connecting the two communities. To be successful as a collaborative project this interaction would need to fulfill five criteria:

1. Each community must gain professional value from participation. It must be personally and organizationally beneficial for each side according to criteria that determine career success in each.
2. The distinctive needs of each community must be respected. Working together can't mean neglecting or marginalizing the different needs of each partner.
3. Each partner must contribute resources of agreed approximate value to ensure that both sides are fully engaged and co-responsible for success.
4. A model would have to be created to guarantee useful results for both sides and to ensure sustainability. But with enough flexibility to accommodate different legal requirements, norms and preferences in diverse settings.
5. The practice must be cost-effective with low overhead and no long-term investment requirements for any university conference host or PSB institutional sponsor.

The proposal was highly practical in character and was conceived as a workman-like way to help solve a concrete set of problems. The author had a robust international network already at that time, and importantly spanning both communities – i.e. as an academic and as a management consultant in the public sector. Working with colleagues in the Nordic region, the UK, the Netherlands, Canada and the United States, an informal group developed the RIPE model and did this largely without grants. The home institutions provided the support needed to attend conferences and the planning meetings necessary to prepare for them. Looking back, it is astonishing to observe how much voluntary effort was committed over the years and how strong the institutional support that made RIPE practicable. This institutional support was a key success factor, and another was the sincere and abiding commitment of colleagues that comprised the seeds of today's quite global RIPE network.

THE RIPE MODEL, IN BRIEF

The RIPE model features a biennial conference that is partly academic and partly practitioner seminar, which is followed up by an edited volume in a book series that called RIPE Readers². A few features illustrate how the five criteria earlier stipulated were operationalized.

>Each conference has a public media organization that is the sponsor and a university that is the host. Representatives from both are part of the Conference Planning Group (CPG).

>The senior management team of the media organization decides the focus of the conference in return for being the primary source of external funding. The rest of the

² The entire series through 2013 is now available to download for free as PDF files at the NORDICOM website.

money is provided by the participants' registration fees, usually with some grant money from domestic agencies that support scholarly social science projects.

>The first day of the conference is held at a venue owned by the public media firm to showcase accomplishments, involve political and industry figures that are important for the corporation, and to establish the importance of the theme as senior managers understand this in strategic terms.

>The second day is about delivering papers at a university venue. Papers are assigned to work groups on the basis of what each is about in relation to thematic topics, such as audience studies and media policy. Authors are participants and stay with the group all day rather than float between sessions and groups. The reason is because they not only expected to present their individual papers, but to engage in critical debate and to work collaboratively to develop answers to two steering questions that are linked to the theme for each conference. One of these questions is focused on developing theory and the other on implications for practice.

>On Day 3 the entire community works to reach conclusions that are discussed, debated and deliberated in a closing plenary session that is moderated.

>The RIPE Reader that follows is based on the conference theme as well as the discourse, and is influenced by these conclusions. The best 12 to 15 papers are selected with an eye on creating a rich cross-section of dimensions and cases as a unified thematic volume. The chapters are subjected to peer-review and the process is done according to the standards of credible journals in the social sciences.

There is a lot more that could be explained but this is enough to understand how RIPE works and what makes it comparatively unique. The RIPE model is designed to satisfy the five criteria.

This overview grounds a few important observations about collaboration between academics and practitioners.

COLLABORATION IS HARD WORK

Collaboration is a popular buzzword these days – it is a warm and fizzy tonic that disguises some stiff medicine. Collaboration can be wonderful, but it is rarely easy. Sometimes it comes naturally, but very often teamwork is as much about working on the team as the team doing the work.

One reason is that many academics are uncomfortable with the degree of dependency that collaboration requires. Many seem reluctant to risk specifying the practical implications of their work. Worrisome questions arise. What if I am wrong? What if managers try this and it fails, or worse yet if what I propose does damage?

When answers are provided these are usually hedged with uncertainty. 'Some of this might have some validity for some managers in some companies under some conditions sometimes'. Authors publish in academic journals and are mainly writing for each other. We aren't writing for practitioners; we're writing about them. Our language is highly specialized, and for professional reasons we are compelled to do things in particular ways according to academic norms and standards.

Collaboration is difficult for practitioners, as well. Managers say academic partners are often unfamiliar with contemporary technologies and are too often focused on yesterday's issues. They must educate the academic partners before anything useful can happen. Most managers are not as highly educated and some are intimidated by the 'intellectuals'. Many are afraid of looking foolish. Very often they will either keep silent or act out. And most managers are jealous about the data that is collected, or even can be, and resist any possibility that what might be said or written about them or their organization would be less than admiring in tone and supportive in complexion.

Scholars and managers work on the same subjects, but the objectives are different. They share interests in the same phenomena, but the stakes are not the same. They care about outcomes that are mutually significant, but for different reasons. Therein lies one key challenge in collaborating – how to get fair value for both partners?

STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS CREATE ENORMOUS COMPLICATIONS

Structural problems make collaboration complicated. For an academic, something is valuable if it can be published in a journal and others cite it; at best, if one also earns royalties, collects honoraria and finds it easier to secure research funding. For managers, it is valuable if they find it useful for solving problems, for recognizing and seizing opportunities, and for defusing threats; at best, if it facilitates wielding more influence or having a better or more secure position on the corporate ladder.

Most managers don't have time for deep contemplation about history or the long-term future. They are consumed with a constantly evolving set of immediate problems. They lack both the interest and time required for reading long reports, deciphering complicated arguments or figuring out how to apply abstract ideas.

For their part, it contributes little to career advancement for academics to discuss their work with practitioners, or to publish reader-friendly and practice-oriented versions. Even publishing in edited volumes isn't highly esteemed in many university systems today, despite the fact that books are far more widely read than nearly all journal articles. Most published articles are only read by a handful of scholars (ten at most), and almost none by a manager or other professional. Better than 80 % of all academic articles are never cited by anyone (Biswas and Kirchherr, 2015). Writing for magazines and blogs that can popularize the ideas is often desired by funding agencies, but the academy does not

usually respect or reward the effort. Sometimes such activities are ridiculed as 'selling out' or frowned upon as a 'poor prioritization'. This system is broken, and yet it persists. It's a legacy system every bit as out of touch and out of date as public service broadcasting in the monopoly era.

Thus, managers often prefer to hire a consultant firm for a project rather than work with academic researchers. Consultants begin immediately and dedicate all the resources necessary to handle the project as a priority. Academics usually cannot do that because we are expected to also teach courses, advise students, handle an increasing assortment of administrative tasks, participate in committees, write grant applications, and act as reviewers for articles others hope to publish. So while a consultant can provide an answer within a few weeks, an academic requires months. And if the consultant is late the fee gets docked.

NOTHING MUCH WILL HAPPEN UNLESS A LOT IS DONE BEFOREHAND

A final observation is that nothing much can happen unless a lot is done beforehand. Big ideas are lots of fun; big results are lots of work. Tools, procedures, protocols, and routines are essential success factors and must be designed to ensure meeting the objectives. If the project is not planned from the start to accommodate the respective professional needs and interests of each community, it will likely fail for at least one of them. But doing this work is not easily published or immediately rewarding. There are big up-front costs before take-off happens. There will also be failures in project processes and results because innovation is inherently a risky business. Thus, methods and procedures for learning lessons from the failures or mistakes are imperative, and adaptation with flexibility is essential. And few journals, perhaps none, are interested in publishing about projects that failed.

PARTICIPATION IS ALWAYS UNEVEN

In the RIPE experience, academic involvement has been easier to maintain than practitioner involvement. With a few exceptions, practitioner involvement is sporadic and rarely extends beyond the conference each firm sponsors. The value these organizations and their managers receive is largely during the event, and mainly during the first day at that. RIPE has no funds to sponsor research even about the longer-term impact and results of the initiative. Anecdotal evidence suggests the series of RIPE Readers are fairly widely read by strategic managers and intellectual workers inside PSM organizations in many countries, and some have told stories about how chapters or particular volumes have been found useful by policy makers and by these organizations in working with government ministries and the like. But we really don't know how wide, how deep or how essential the impact has been. We can only say that in recent years there has been no problem at all in 'selling' a next conference event and that external independent sponsors have

also gotten involved. This was most evident during the RIPE@2014 conference in Tokyo when the Open Society Foundations provided funding to bring early career scholars from the Global South to the conference. The EBU recently committed funding to support the growth of an online network that is affiliated with RIPE, as well.

But it is clear that on the whole academic participation has been far more cumulative and intensive than practitioner participation. Quite a few members of the RIPE network have remained active for years, a few even from the beginning. Many volunteer to review proposals, chair work groups and serve as moderators. They forward the Calls and stay engaged. The book series is often cited. The higher success among academics could be an effect of the orientation that governs the initiative, or it could mean that each community is engaged to the degree this is useful. We close with two pertinent observations, then.

First, one needs to be careful about normative assumptions and prescriptions. We do not know how big the success or how long-term the prognosis. And we do not yet know why the initiative has been more successful for academic network members than for those in the management community. We need to know, but until we do it is important to be reserved about the causes and reasons.

Second, RIPE needs further development – and that will never end or ever change. If there is ever a point or moment or stage when a developmental orientation stops, or when the community overall is no longer concerned about improving both the initiative and its performance, then it will no longer be worth funding. But so far, at least, this initiative is the most establish, most international and most successful of its type in the sector. And much of what is needed now and next will require funding that goes beyond conference sponsorship. That is a great challenge and it, too, can only be solved by persistence, commitment and – especially – collaboration.

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PRIKAZI I

ANOTACIJE

BOOK REVIEWS

Gregory Ferrell Lowe and Fiona Martin (eds)

THE VALUE OF PUBLIC SERVICE MEDIA

NORDICOM, University of Göteborg, Göteborg, 2014, 288 pp
ISBN 978-91-86523-84-8

Before us lies the results of RIPE@2012 conference *Value for public money – money for public value* held in Sydney. The Book *The Value of Public Service Media* edited by Gregory Ferrell Lowe and Fiona Martin is a collection of fourteen papers discussing the topic of public service media's (PSM) value. The editors wrote the first chapter and placed the rest under three separated parts.

"The Value and Values of Public Service Media" introduces readers to other chapters and places them within the debate around different understandings of the value of PSM. This discussion is important because nowadays austerity measures and intervention raises questions whether public value is a measurable value, and if it is – how? Leaning on Bennington and Moore's (2011) notion that PSM should deliver value according to demands of their public, but add value to public sphere as well, the article stresses that beneath market value lies an ethos, unquantifiable and dedicated to serving a wider community.

The first section called "Defining & Critiquing 'Public Value'" contains four chapters. The first, written by James Spigelman titled "Defining Public Value in the Age of Information Abundance" deals with the digital revolution and data overload. He states that the human role in the selection, organization and analysis of information is now more critical than ever. Otherwise, we are left with useless piles of data. Spigelman expresses his concern with a managerial approach that insists on a universal measurement apparatus. He advocates that PSM treats its audiences primarily as citizens and not purely as customers. The second article, "Comparing 'Public Value' as a Media Policy Term in Europe", written by Hallvard Moe and Hilde Van den Bulck investigates different definitions and various adaptations of the concept of 'public value' by stakeholders and policy makers, at various levels – from the state level institutions to European Union level. They showed how the term became a buzzword used to legitimize policy directions, often not very connected to community interests, at the same time leading to a lack of clarity in the understanding of 'public value'.

Peter Goodwin's "The Price of Everything and the Value of Nothing? Economic Arguments and the Politics of Public Service Media", follows giving a critique of the economic argument. Goodwin expressed concern with the trend of convergence leading to ownership concentration in media. He thinks that merit goods should get more public funding (not less) and show more initiative. Therefore, he directly opposes new austerity measures.

Addressing the same topic, in "The Concept of Public Value & Triumph of Materialist Modernity. '...this strange disease of modern life...'" Michael Tracey writes about the importance of PSM for creativity and culture, education and the maintenance of a functional civil society and citizenship – all unmeasurable social achievements. Referring to them, he states "[t]hat there is no such measurement, one might claim, is what makes us human" (p. 88).

Four articles form the second part, entitled "Dimensions of Contemporary Public Service Value." The opening chapter of this section "A Market Failure Perspective on Value Creation in PSM", authored by Christian Edelvold Berg, Gregory Ferrell Lowe and Anker Brink Lund intends to answer question whether the thesis of 'market failure' is still valid

for broadcasters and in what way is it appropriate for broadband services. In response to the argument that public media (funding) causes market distortions, the authors say that they see PMS “as a legitimate intervention to correct market failure” adding that “the production and distribution of meritorious public goods is platform-neutral” (p. 118). PSMs are still important because plurality in media ownership does not necessarily mean plurality in content.

In “What Media Value? Theorizing on Social Value and Testing in Ten Countries” Josef Trappel criticizes the use of Porter’s ‘value chain’ concept in media markets and presents some important empirical evidence concerning five social values in ten countries: independence of the news media from power holders, company rules against internal/external influence on news room/editorial staff, citizens participation, rules and practices on internal pluralism, watchdog: mission statement and recourses. Trappel concluded that PSM intrinsically pay more attention to social values than other types of media.

Karen Donders and Hilde van den Bulck wrote “The ‘Digital Argument’ in Public Service Media Debates. An Analysis of Conflicting Values in Flemish Management Contract Negotiations for VRT.” Their case study of VRT discloses relations and features of actors involved in the creation of media policy. Using advocacy coalition analysis researchers showed that, in negotiations on new management contracts, two coalitions were formed around three political parties – the Socialist Party (coalition society first), and Christian Democrats with Flemish Nationalists (coalition market first). The first won because of the stronger ties between stakeholders and a higher level of public support.

The second part ends with “Multi-stakeholderism. Value for Public Service Media” by Minna Aslama Horowitz and Jessica Clark. It aims in setting a model of collaboration between actors of different interests and expertise. The model entails three circuits of power introduced by Clegg (1989). At the micro-level (individuals participating) social media driven collaboration; at the meso-level (institutional circuit) – conventional media organizations; and at the macro-level (structural issues) – policy driven collaboration. Their intention is to show that optimal public value would be achieved if diverse stakeholders are involved in creating it.

Third part of the book “Public Service Value in Practice” starts with the article “Disaster Coverage and Public Value from Below. Analyzing the NHK’s Reporting on the Great East Japan Disaster.” In it, Takanobu Tanaka and Toshiyuki Sato conduct a comparative content analysis of disaster coverage in public (NHK) and commercial (Nippon Television and Fuji Television) media. Their results are in favor of NHK, which prioritized the saving of people’s lives and not so much damage reporting. They suggest that PMS works more on social media development and on the implementation of ‘human security’ as a wider security concept and a type of public media value.

The second article, written by Stoyan Radoslavov, “Media Literacy Promotion as a Form of Public Value? Comparing the Media Literacy Promotion Strategies of the BBC, ZDF and RAI” provides three case studies of countries that represent different concepts of public value: the BBC – public good, ZDF – a democratic good, and RAI – a cultural good. Radoslavov sees media literacy promotion as one way of promoting public value because it benefits society and not just individuals.

Next, Jonathon Hutchinson gives us his point of view regarding public value. In the chapter entitled “Expanding the Public Service Remit through ABC Pool” he sees PMS as

an R&D initiator, especially in testing risky online media environments and defends public funding as a form of investment that benefits the media market as a whole. Hutchinson gives three examples and conducts a case study of his own – *New Beginnings*, an ABC Pool project – in order to highlight the significance of PMSs for building social and cultural capital. The article also stresses the importance of cultural intermediation and co-creative practices with the audience as partners.

In the chapter “Public Value and Audience Engagement with SBS Documentary Content. Go Back To Where You Came From & Immigration Nation” Georgie McClean talks about the role of PSMs in ensuring representation, recognition and social participation in multicultural societies, like Australia. The second part of title refers to two documentary programs covering asylum seekers and immigrants’ problems. McClean analyzed audience responses in focus groups and viewing diaries, and found that SBS provided cultural recourses that helped viewers to develop understandings, identifications and reactions on important social issues.

The book ends with chapter 14, “Finding the Value in Public Value Partnership. Lessons from Partnerships Strategies and Practices in the United Kingdom, Netherlands and Flanders.” Authors Tim Raats, Karen Donders and Caroline Pauwels clarify that partnership projects present a special form of public value. Additionally, the partnership of PSM with other (not always public) cultural and educational institutions provides a means to increase return-on-investment. Thanks to the sharing of costs and the expansion of distribution.

This collection intends to re-articulate the public value ethos in media services, now in circumstances that quite differ from those when it was first articulated. Of course, the book does not give final answers to all of our questions – that is not its purpose. However, the book does represent an important contribution to the discussion on public value. And that is not a small thing if we know that public institutions make a great deal in forming a firm cohesive strength in every community.

At first, it may seem that this book is meant to serve only media scholars. But looked at closely we see that it intends to serve the wider social science community. Experts in law and public policy can find something regarding regulations, political economists can see how different economic ideologies affect public services, and security experts can benefit from the Japanese case study. But, the most useful utilization would be if people responsible for media management learn from it and pass their knowledge further. This way, the book can have a life outside the sometimes confined academic borders.

Kristina Čelap

Des Freedman

THE CONTRADICTIONS OF MEDIA POWER

Bloomsbury Academic, London, New York, 2014, 192 pp

ISBN 9781849660693

As the media – legacy, digital, or social – shift through different transformations and disruptions, the issues of media power and the power over media remain highly relevant. The topics of disintermediation and decentralization – as close relatives of the term ‘disruption’ – are often brought up in the discussion and research on the new media

environment. However the question remains whether media power and the power over media have really changed or are we merely seeing a small redistribution within the old patterns of power relations.

The Contradictions of Media by Des Freedman is an excellent place to start looking for these answers: a complex in-depth analysis of the modern framework of different power structures in media and from media. Des Freedman is a Professor of Media and Communications Studies at Goldsmiths, University of London. He is also on the national council of the Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom and is the chair of the Media Reform Coalition. This book reflects this duality, with a combination of an academic approach on one side and activist approach on the other side. Freedman starts with the theoretical analysis of key conceptual approaches to the concept of power and uses four paradigms that provide the organizational foundation for the book: chaos, consensus, control, and contradiction.

He is particularly focused on the latter, as he states that "(p)erhaps no single model can do justice to the heterogeneity of media flows and the complexity of media power, but the contradiction paradigm, with its emphasis on both the constitution of and the cracks in media power, provides by far the most persuasive account of how best to challenge the traditions, institutions and practices that underpin it." He defines Marx's conception of contradiction as a key feature of capitalist society and believes that the contradiction paradigm is "needed to compensate for the misplaced optimism of pluralism, the occasional functionalism of the control paradigm and the unwarranted celebrations of the chaos scenario." (p. 29) Media power, according to this perspective, may be comprehensive but it is nevertheless always unstable and contestable (p. 29) as it is "irreducible to any single place or person or text and that it is instead organized more like a force field – the meeting point of institutions and individuals in defined contexts struggling to dominate creative and symbolic production." (p. 146) He is careful not to reduce the power to merely economic power, like Nick Couldry has warned before, as he defines power as far too extensive and productive a concept to be 'reduced' to primarily economic features; in this perspective, the power of the media – institutions, channels and texts that rely above all on symbolic interactions – is even less reducible to economic imperatives.

The theoretical framework of the first four chapters is focused on how "media power – vested in and circulating through corporate institutions, policy networks, professional routines and technological developments – assists in the reproduction of elite power more generally"; this framework includes classical critical theorists, including Adorno and Marcuse (and his concept of 'repressive tolerance'), Hungarian Marxist Georg Lukacs, German revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg, the theory of hegemony and Gramsci, theories of elites, criticism of neo-liberalism, and different perspectives on ownership (Lazarsfeld and Merton, Raymond Williams. Vincent Mosco). He is particularly analyzing media ownership patterns which, "while unable to reveal the full dynamics of how the media function, are one of the crucial elements in the reproduction of media power". He is rightfully skeptical about the processes of decentralization and disintermediation (and new actors such as Facebook and Twitter), since they "may change the architecture of media markets and improve possibilities for dispersed production – but this does not necessarily imply a transformation of underlying patterns of control." (p. 99) As he warns, despite utopian promises about the dispersion of new media power, the digital media environment is today

often even more concentrated. His critical perspective may be defined as “myth-busting,” or as he states, he “will be called a curmudgeon and a pessimist, willfully challenging any narratives about ‘progress,’ ‘participation’ and ‘empowerment’” (p. 92), partly reminiscent of the position taken by Theodore Roszak in his criticism of the specific aspects of media power, namely information, in his book *The Cult of Information* from 1994.

But Freedman goes one step ahead and is not just ‘pessimistic’, but also analyzes the opportunities for resistance to (media) power that could create organic resistance towards hegemony. He calls the development of “a more critical approach to media policy that challenges dominant frames and objectives by highlighting the exclusions, gaps and taken-for-granted agendas that mark ongoing policy debates.” (p. 64)

His activist approach is seen in the fifth chapter: “For all the consultations, reports, seminars, working parties, blogs, speeches and even legislation that populate the policy environment – in other words, for all the *noise* that is generated – what needs to be made visible are the questions that are not asked, the alternatives that are not considered and the agendas that are not posed. It is these silences that media policy activists need to highlight.” (p. 76) The issue of policy silence is particularly relevant, from a methodological aspect and for academics and researchers. Freedman states that “a focus on policy silences would also have consequences for study of the field itself. Methodologically, this would involve a more qualitative approach to policy analysis including interviews with a range of people beyond traditional ‘insiders.” (p. 75) And it is this approach and this analysis of policy silences, where we are faced with the almost complete evisceration of alternative media frameworks, that particularly, strongly contributes to current debates and to future research (or activism) in the field of media policy and media power: to more thoroughly analyze silence as “a socially constructed phenomenon that reflects the unequal distribution of power in society.” (p. 73)

Freedman is thus combining an important activist contribution with a highly relevant methodological and theoretical insight into the key aspects of media power, as an engaged intellectual taking a critical stance in relation to different policies, power plays, and media, old and new. He is often using a more essayistic approach, taking on many particular topics and specific media content, from *Counterpunch* to *Breaking Bad*, *Mad Men*, and *Sopranos*, and showing how they still reflect the dominant structures of power and how they still represent “a hegemonic project that is designed to legitimize elite frames and assumptions,” emphasizing the existing model and existing structures of power as the only remaining ideological platform. In the end, *The Contradictions of Media Power* represents an important contribution to a wholesome analysis of different contours of media and modern power, combining different approaches and perspectives (although predominantly critical). It is a highly important read for anyone interested in the functioning of today’s media and a must-read for anyone even slightly interested or involved in media policy and regulation, digital media, and the relationship between the state, owners, the media and the public. And with its fervor and engagement, it might be a work that is capable of mobilizing the disenfranchised.

Marko Milosavljević

Ulrik Haagerup

CONSTRUCTIVE NEWS

InnoVatio Publishing, Hanoi, New York, Pretoria, Rapperswil, 2014, 137 pp
ISBN 978-3-906501-07-9

“Conflicts, drama, crooks and victims. That’s news. This is our world. Or is it?” This sentence, taken from the book’s web teaser depicts the key idea of the Ulrik Haagerup’s book. *Constructive News*. The author is Executive Director of DR News (Danish Public Service Broadcasting Company) who has written this book on the basis of his practical experience in the Danish Broadcaster DR newsroom where he started a project of changing bad news habits and making journalism more meaningful, now when the audience is turning its back to traditional media. As the title says, it is a book on constructive news and beneath the title on the front page, there is a subheading explaining its goal. “Why negativity destroys the media and democracy – And how to improve journalism of tomorrow”.

The theme of this project, more than just the book, according to Haagerup, is not only the change of news habits and the change of technology, but also the negativity sold under the label “this is the news”. In the first pages of the book, Haagerup fears of being mistaken and misunderstood, so he wants to make clear that according to his opinion, journalists should be real watchdogs, independent and incorruptible, always seeking the best version of the truth. It is obvious that Haagerup is writing from his rich journalistic experience and he presents himself as a winner of prestigious journalism awards, also as a member of the International Consortium of Investigative Journalism.

In the preface, Helmut Schmidt, former Chancellor and the publisher of the German weekly *Die Zeit*, calls media negativity one of the greatest threats to democracy, because the consequences are severe, because in such a world, people get a false picture of reality. In such a world, says Schmidt, media-democracies do not produce leaders, but populists. Conflict and crime affect our news agenda. Haagerup quotes Steve Jobs who already in 2010, talking about Rupert Murdoch’s media, expressed his concern that the news axis was no longer pointing between different political directions and ideologies, but between the different roles we play in society, a choice between being constructive and destructive. One year later, Murdoch had to shut down the paper *The News of the World*. It was a consequence of the scandal when it was discovered that the paper was hacking the phones of the celebrities to get stories.

The book *Constructive News* consists of 2 parts and 9 chapters. In the first part (the first 3 chapters) under the title “What is the Problem?” the author detects the problem after analyzing his own broadcast at DR. He thinks the stories picked by the news are almost always negative, and do not represent the world we live in and do not give the proper context.

In his book, Haagerup calls on the news media to try to imagine that good journalism can also be inspirational. He advocates for a media that would start changing things, to get involved in the dialogue on how to improve media quality. “Imagine if we spent less effort on shooting at each other, disagreeing and fighting over who is mostly to blame.”

Haagerup notices that in the today’s journalism tabloid criteria prevail: the conflict angle, the drama angle, the victim angle and the villain angle. Journalists suffer from a collective disease, according to the professor in psychology Henrik Knopp. There is a traditional journalistic template which demands that all the stories, even those that could be

inspirational, have to be negatively angled. Professor Knopp compares superficial news with no context with fast calories that make us slower, fatter and more tired. In the same way, people who just hear about problems and who disagree and argue disrespectfully, they become mentally exhausted. Haagerup gives arguments as to why there is need for a change and gives examples of good practice in the second part of his book under the title "Inspiration for a Solution."

In the second part, Haagerup discusses the new approach in practice, in his own company – DR. This approach is the result of a change in strategy which started with asking simple questions: "What's the meaning of DR? Why are we here?" Then, the mission of DR was described – DR shall inform, challenge and bring together people in Denmark. DR cut down on administration and invested more in quality content. In the news, there was less covering of crime, entertainment, and more quality reporting on business, politics and health. DR launched a *Society Channel*, DR2, as a 24-hour channel with only background news, documentaries, and current affairs. In the main news show on DR1 at 9pm, they continuously insisted on background magazine stories and international issues. At the same time, DR News added constructive elements in its storytelling. Every day, they wanted to have at least one story which could inspire or give a positive example or solution. And, Haagerup concludes: "A strange thing happened: Viewers came back."

Maybe the idea of constructive news looks too idealistic and there are critics who even ridiculed the idea or making a caricature of it by describing it as depicting the world in the bright colors, supported with sentimental music. The author of the book answers the critics and gives a shortlist of the traps of constructive news that one should be aware of, such as: Constructive news is not the same as positive news. Critical reporting is still important. It is not happy news. It is not conservative. According to the Ulrik Haagerup, constructive journalism is mainly about news you can use, about context and solution based journalism. It is not about hiding, but explaining. It is also not about avoiding or hiding the existing conflict or negative side of the story. Constructive journalism is more about finding examples how people overcome crises, how people find solutions.

To conclude again with the web book teaser, constructive news, as envisioned in the book, is, more than anything else, a wakeup call to the media world struggling to survive into the future.

Tena Perišin

Chin-Chuan Lee (ed.)

INTERNATIONALIZING INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION

University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 2015, 338 pp

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With no malice intended, hegemonic tendencies are almost congenital, and reverential deference to the hegemonies is reflexive from those who are habituated to think that the hegemony knows better. The best brains of the emerging world have long been anesthetized to think of themselves as useless and hopelessly "third world" reeking with primitivism, backwardness. These "best brains" tracked to the "west" where epistemology

is constructed as the paragon of the universe. The brains drained from the global south to the global north to drink from their knowledge wells. Thus the locus of the best knowledge has shifted almost permanently to the "west." The "locus" is not a geographical location, but a way of thinking about epistemology.

Thanks to Latin American scholars in the 60's, Raul Prebisch, Andre Gunder Frank, Oswaldo Sunkel, Teotonio dos Santos dependency theory exposed the impact of "western" dependency on the persistent poverty of the poorer nations. Divya C. McMillan in her book *International Media Studies* (2007), engages in a post-colonial critique to move beyond the "west" and the "rest" frame and positions media studies in the overlapping narratives of the global, national and local narratives.

The use of the term 'international' and 'global' almost interchangeably in international communication studies is problematic. 'Inter-national' speaks for the exchange between and among nations almost as peers regardless of economic status, while "global" is inherently hegemonic, expressing a one way flow from the powerful to the powerless.

Internationalizing "International Communication" is long overdue. The authors in a scholarly and biting critique, and rightly so, of the prevailing model of international communication studies, which is still driven by the structures of nation-states, will open up a different approach to study communication in a cosmopolitan ecology across countries. Chin Luan Lee, the editor of the book, critically reflects on the history of the field of International Communication, and thoughtfully proposes: "Scholars of international communication need the cultural confidence and epistemological autonomy to make their mark on global or cosmopolitan theory, which necessarily will entail borrowing, recasting, or reconceptualizing Western theories – the more the better, whatever helps us elucidate and analyze rich local experiences and connect them to broader processes, whatever broadens our horizons and expands our repertoire, as long as we are not beholden to any purported final arbiter of universal truth."

The temptation to look for one single theory to explain everything for a "western" mind is understandable since the logic of science has been designated as the logic of social science. Tsan-Kuo Chang addresses this contentious issue when he discusses the production of knowledge. Research methods get *sacralized* by the disciples of certain *gurus*, and thus perpetuated even though these methods are no longer helpful in addressing globalized communication issues. Mr. Chang is right in pointing out that "in the past four decades, the field as a whole has been engaged in research activities that are stuck in an outdated mode of replaying past experience without serious intellectual attempt to go beyond the conceptual boundaries of existing frameworks in knowledge production."

The devotees of "media imperialism" and "cultural imperialism" who tend to see the ubiquity of media as imperialism, and confuse it with transnational communication, ought to consider Michael Curtin's proposal to "internationalize our scholarly endeavors so much as we should explore alternative approaches to the (related) issues", and take a thorough look at Colin Sparks' *Resurrecting the Imperial Dimensions in International Communication*, which he frames in the realpolitik of multi-polar societies. The critique of Schiller and his contemporaries must be contextualized in the times and the media technologies of their times.

The most enlightening and provocative chapter in the book is *Local Experiences, Cosmopolitan Theories*, by Chin-Chuan Lee. In this brilliant chapter Dr. Lee concisely

reviews the attempts in the last decades to internationalize media studies, and exposes the inadequacy of those models, with an appropriate critique of the uber-enthusiastic, uni-polarists, such as Fukuyama, and argues for a different way not just to examine the workings of media, but to understand how communication and media impact the lives of the consumers of the media across countries characterized by evolving digital ecology: cosmopolitanism.

Dr. Lee states: "if international communication scholars are truly serious about achieving the goals of mutual understanding through cultural dialogue, it is imperative that we listen humbly to symphonic music whose harmonious unity has themes and variations and is made of a cacophony of instrumental sounds".

The internationalization of communication is "inter-penetration, mutual learning, and cross-fertilization", and Dr. Lee shares an illustrative poem:

Married Love by Guam Daosheng (1262-1319)

You and I
 Have so much of love,
 That it
 Burns like fire,
 In which we bake a lump of clay
 Molded into a figure of you
 And a figure of me.
 Then we take both of them,
 And break them into pieces,
 And mix the pieces with water,
 And mold again a figure of me.
 I am in your clay.
 You are in my clay.
 In life we share a single quilt.
 In death we will share one coffin.

Basilio Monteiro

 Maria Edström and Ragnhild Mølster (eds)

**MAKING CHANGE. NORDIC EXAMPLES OF WORKING
 TOWARDS GENDER EQUALITY IN THE MEDIA**

Nordicom, Göteborg, 2014, 216 pp
 ISBN 978-91-87957-00-0

Based on the understanding of media content as a reflection of society and the influence of the media in the comprehension of gender, the book *Making Change: Nordic Examples of Working Towards Gender Equality in the Media*, edited by Maria Edström and Ragnhild Mølster, offers positive examples in the endeavor of achieving gender equality in different media areas and statistical gender based data in Nordic countries. The book is divided into two parts.

The first part, which is conducted from overviews and good practices, is divided into these sections: film, journalism, computer games and advertising. Each section contains four or seven texts from various authors. It also contains a section titled 'Initiatives,' which is a crossover of all media sectors. The second part offers statistical data, resources and a summary of activities within the Nordic Gender and Media Forum project, and contains a list of doctoral dissertations in the field of gender and media. Although Nordic countries are often among the top in the Gender Gap Index, the media sector is still dominated by men, both in the production and in output. However, there are many efforts and positive practices towards improving gender equality, which includes the recognition of the problem, the conduction of surveys, legislation, the existence of different organizations and self-regulation bodies, and the monitoring of gender equality.

The film industry is characterized by an under representation of women both in production and representation, while female characters are more often portrayed as passive objects, or active in relation to male characters. Anne Gjelsvik points out that the nomination of women in key positions in the film industry can help in forming role models and breaking traditional barriers. Therese Martinsson believes that further studies are essential to get the grasp on changes and to conduct deeper analyses (p. 24). Websites showing successful women in film, sharing experiences, constant monitoring and counting of female leading parts, directors, scriptwriters and producers are positive measures that can help in achieving gender equality.

Although there is an increase in the number of women in editorial positions, financial decisions are still more likely to be made by men. When it comes to the representation of women in media content, the news is still very male dominated. Maria Edström points out that self-monitoring, measurable goals and changing the newsroom culture can help in gaining gender equality. A survey of a content in the daily paper *Västerbottens-Kuriren* from 2002 revealed that women were the main characters in only 23 % of the stories and news – even though 51 % of readers were women (p. 57). To increase the number of female subjects and sources in the paper they used quantitative analysis – counted every page, article and pictures. That counting matters (along with reachable goals), and monitoring ongoing discussions and active leadership, is Lotta Strömblad's, editor-in-chief on SVT, premise. The success of the feminist online weekly magazine *Feministiskt Perspektiv* (Feminist Perspective) proves that there is an audience for feminist or gender-related topics. Kristen Hell-Valle presented a personal, professional story about the difficulties female journalists face – someone to flirt with, lower paid than younger and less educated male colleagues. Stockholm University offers a course called *Women's Leadership and Investigative Journalism* which helps develop women leadership and management skills for current or impending editorial leadership positions. Video games, traditionally considered to be a male industry, are the largest entertainment industry in the world. However, statistics show that female gamers make up 48 % of gamers in the US (p. 79). Gender inequality and discrimination is present in the production of games and in the representation and portrayal of female characters. Johanna Koljonen claims that a discussion of female gamers and game developers as ever-present participants would help in normalizing the presence of women in the game industry, reducing discrimination and the sexist portrayal of female characters (p. 83). The University

of Skövde started Donna, initiative designed to attract female students to their programs, in particular technical ones, in order to achieve (gender) inclusive game development. With the Doris Film, Donna, mostly with female developers, made a game titled *Alex & the Museum Mysteries*. There are both female and male characters in the story, and their parts are not assigned according to stereotypical gender roles.

The section on advertising consists of four texts dealing with the regulation and legislation of advertising in Nordic countries. Runna Fjellanger, spokesperson of the Ungdom Mot Retusjeren Reklame (Youth Against Retouched Advertisements) offers an insight into the work of a network that tries to influence the government to impose legislation, forcing the advertising industry to label retouched photographs (p. 113).

Nordic countries – Denmark, Finland and Norway consider gender discrimination in advertising under the legislation, as a part of marketing regulation or consumer protection. It is considered to be an issue under marketing or consumer legislation. In Sweden gender discrimination and inequality is handled by the self-regulatory organization. It is also important to consider the cultural, historical and political circumstances between countries to understand differences of television advertising.

The last section of Part 1 of the book offers an overview of the strategies and actions of different organizations and projects in Nordic countries that strive to achieve gender equality, in most cases through seminars, studies and handbooks.

The first section of the Part 2 offers a summary of the project the *Nordic Gender & Media Forum* as a platform for discussion on gender equality in the media (p.156), following the empirical data on employment and representation of women in film, journalism, computer games and the advertising industry.

Readable and interesting, this book offers plenty of positive examples in achieving gender equality in different areas in the media industry that could be used in countries all over the world, but it is important to take into account various differences in the cultural, historical and political characteristics of each country. The book clearly shows that, in order to change gender discrimination, recognition of the problem and actions are needed.

Zrinka Viduka

Open Society Foundations

MAPPING DIGITAL MEDIA: GLOBAL FINDINGS

DIGITAL JOURNALISM: MAKING NEWS, BREAKING NEWS

Open Society Foundations, New York, 2014, 364 pp

ISBN 978-1-910243-03-9

Lessons learned from *Mapping Digital Media* – Something good, something bad, a little bit of both

The Open Society Foundation's Mapping Digital Media (MDM) project was launched in 2011 to assess the risks and opportunities that digitization presents the media on a global scale. Research was conducted in 56 countries ranging from global digitization leaders like Sweden to nations like Kenya, still very much on the wrong side of the digital divide. The project resulted in country reports on the digitization processes and these

results are summed up in the "Making News, Breaking News" report. This review focuses on what the MDM project found to be the challenges and positive effects of digitization on public interest media

Looking for Digital Champions

The first part of the two-part report presents the global findings from a thematic viewpoint. It suggests that digitization has been fully realized in only a handful of the countries studied, and has encountered problems in all of them. Problems vary from clear-cut technical and operational difficulties to regulatory inefficiencies as well as challenges related to media ownership, audience reach and quality of content. At the same time, the research shows that in each country there have also been positive effects, especially in terms of access to media and information, the increase in freedom of speech, as well as the presence of minority voices in public discussions.

The second part, which sums up the project's findings regionally, is a richer read. Where the first part seems scattered and lacks a clear red thread to follow, the region by region discussion is more coherent. As can be predicted, from the regions in the study only a few can be considered true "digital champions." In many of them digitization has presented more challenges than positive outcomes for public interest media. One of the biggest problems reported seems to be the quality of journalism. Digitization has made it easier than ever for journalists to gather information and tremendously increased the number of outlets to disseminate news, but at the same time problems regarding a lack of verification and "copy-paste" reporting have proliferated. In addition, because of 24-hour news broadcasting, journalists have had to become jacks of all trades working within ever-tightening time limits, which in turn has resulted in a decline in specialized professionals and critical journalism.

Waging war over audiences

Intensifying competition over audiences is bad news for public interest media. The MDM report found this to be especially true of broadcast media and newspapers in regions such as South-East Asia, Asia and Africa, where sensationalism, sports and celebrity news are what sell. The report states that instead of more good quality media products, the outcome of increasing the number of media outlets "is an unprecedented crisis in the supply of public interest journalism".

More competition also means declining revenues. When funding is scarce, media companies often have to resort to state advertising in order to survive. This has had a detrimental effect on public interest media. State money rarely comes without expectations of loyalty and media are forced to fall in the official line. This has been the case particularly in regions with a history of authoritarian rule, from the former Soviet Union to the Arab world and – a bit surprisingly – even in some countries in the EU. Public interest media suffers from government crackdowns online as well.

Digitization has opened up the stage for public discussions in the form of user-generated content websites, such as blogs and social media, but in many regions they are constantly under scrutiny by the state and get easily shut down. Yet, at the same time, this development of digital platforms has opened up numerous possibilities for participation and public debates in all regions in the study.

A particularly positive outcome of the digitization process has been the emergence of minority voices into the (digital) public spheres. New media, particularly online, has given

birth to opportunities for minority groups to voice their opinions. Moreover, as a result of digitization all regions now enjoy freer political discussions, and in some it has had a direct impact in engendering social change. Social media and blogs have proven to be effective tools in rallying people behind causes of public concern, from environmental issues (Armenia and Estonia) and exposing corruption (Russia and India) to facilitating full blown revolutions (the Arab Spring).

Reading an unfinished map

The examples given above are only a scratch on the surface of a phenomenon too large to sum up in one report and too young to analyze thoroughly. This enormity of the project proves to be one of the biggest downfalls for the reporting. Instead of drawing a clear bigger picture the report leaves the reader with too much data to compute, and confusion concerning what digitization has resulted in and where.

The regions and countries in the study are so varied that it is almost impossible to really gather whether digitization has indeed presented more challenges or possibilities for public interest media globally. What the report does do well, however, is present country and region specific examples, though the reporting is much more detailed on nations actually digitized.

Another shortcoming is the lack of a clear concluding chapter to sum up the report. This is done to a degree in the first part of the report, but after reading through such a massive amount of information, it would do the reader good to be reminded of what, again, did the project actually find. In addition, the report also lacks a comprehensive discussion on what could or should be done to make the future of public interest media brighter in this ever-digitizing world. It is by no means a simple question to address, but as the project states that its aim is to build bridges between those involved, from academia to policymakers and facilitate discussion, instead of only listing results, it should do just that and draw a clearer map for others to follow.

Paula Mitchell

INFORMACIJE

INFORMATION



The **Public Service Media Policies Working Group** of the International Association for Media and Communication Research invites submissions for its open sessions at the 2016 IAMCR annual conference which will take place in Leicester from **27 to 31 July 2016**. The theme of the conference is *"Memory, Commemoration and Communication: Looking Back, Looking Forward."* The date coincides with the 50th anniversary celebrations of Leicester's Department of Media and Communication, which was founded in 1966 as the Centre for Mass Communication Research.

Dear colleagues,

At IAMCR, we invite papers for a joint session of the Public Service Media Policies and Audience sections that offer a critical analysis of public service broadcasters in terms of audience involvement and public participation.

Reflecting broader media trends, public service broadcasters reach audiences via different technological platforms and involve members of the public in a variety of ways in production, delivery and consumption (Lowe, 2009). Accordingly, many media policy documents emphasize concepts like interaction, participation and co-creation. In these, policy makers and public broadcasters state, "viewers, listeners and users are increasingly moving towards a more active relationship with the media that they consume" (BBC, 2007).

However, research demonstrates that there are limits to the conflation of producer and audience, often mentioned in media theory and policy, especially in a public service media context (Bechmann & Lomborg, 2012). New media strategies can frustrate users, for instance when they do not receive feedback from producers and/or other users (Couldry et al., 2010). The motivations, thresholds and potential benefits of audience involvement in public service media are rarely taken into account in theory and policy (Lunt & Livingstone, 2012). Consequently, audience involvement is mainly technologically and not user driven, placing limits on audience participation in and with public broadcasters (Bardoel, 2007).

For this session we invite contributions that analyze how public broadcasters engage audiences and to critically reflect on public service media ideals such as participation and audience involvement.

http://iamcr.org/leicester2016/cfp_pmp

Kind regards,

Anne-Sofie Vanhaeght / Peter Lunt / Karen Donders

ECREA's 6th European Communication Conference

'Mediated (Dis)Continuities: Contesting Pasts, Presents and Futures'

ECREA and Charles University in Prague
welcome the submission of abstracts for presentation at the
6th European Communication Conference
to be held in Prague, Czech Republic, from 9 to 12 November 2016.

The European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA), in partnership with Charles University in Prague, will organise the 6th European Communication Conference (ECC). The Conference, due to take place in Prague from 9 to 12 November 2016, has chosen as its overarching theme *Mediated (Dis)Continuities: Contesting Pasts, Presents and Futures*.

The organisers call for proposals in all fields of communication and media studies, but particularly invite conceptual, empirical, and methodological proposals on mediated memory cultures and working through discursive dislocations and cultural traumas intrinsic to (late) modernity, that link the general conference theme to the fields pertinent to each ECREA section.

Conference theme: 'Mediated (Dis)Continuities: Contesting Pasts, Presents and Futures'

Discontinuity is the far side of change. Late modernity – as the unstoppable flow of permanent changes – is haunted by the disparity of its various histories, geographies, ontologies and technologies. How are media and communication practices engaged in communicating across these divides?

The theme heralding European Communication Conference 2016 derives from the political history of the post-socialist region of which Prague as the conference host is a symbolic memento. After the collapse of communist totalitarianism, the countries in post-socialist Europe have been undergoing a crisis of continuity in the realms of political values, historical consciousness, moral sense of the self and the memory of the past.

The conference theme, however, reaches far beyond the post-totalitarian context and encourages its participants to reflect upon the question of how media and communication practices are involved in communicating over many other dislocations in political, cultural, temporal or spatial realms in all European countries. Acceleration in all aspects of social

life generates pasts we cannot return to, territories we cannot access and selves we do not recognize any more. Are media capable of navigating through the related feelings of nostalgia, cultural trauma, guilt, shame or (be)longing? Does communication help to make sense of them?

Can a sense of home be mediated for those who are expelled from their countries or displaced by war, the paramount discontinuity? How is communication entangled in commemoration and remembering? What are the communicative means of identity building in the age of digitised archives which are not static storehouses of memories? Should we consider the media as an actor in economic discontinuities such as crisis and recession?

We cordially invite media and communication scholars to submit papers addressing these questions – together with other ramifications of the conference theme – and to share their ideas with the wide community of colleagues from Europe and beyond.

Submission and deadline

Proposals for individual papers, panels, and posters can be submitted to one of the 21 ECREA sections through the ECC conference website from **1 December 2015 to 29 February 2016**.

More information at:

<http://www.ecrea2016prague.eu/>

RIPE@2016
22 - 24 September 2016
in Antwerp and Brussels, Belgium

CALL FOR PAPER PROPOSALS

Public Service Media In a Networked Society?

We are pleased to announce the eighth biennial RIPE conference that will be hosted by the Department of Communication Studies at the University of Antwerp (U Antwerpen) in collaboration with the Free University of Brussels (VUB), and sponsored by Flemish public service broadcaster VRT.

The RIPE@2016 conference theme focuses on characteristics, dynamics and implications of a networked society for public service media [PSM]. In recent years, discussions about the changing media ecology and PSM's place and role have prioritised the notion of a networked society, enabled by digitisation and characterised by audience fragmentation and the interconnectedness of technologies, communities, media practices and companies. The emerging ecology is highly disruptive to market structures and modes of communication in the mass media era. The concept and practices associated with networked communications in a networked society are celebrated, but merit critical scrutiny.

How real is the 'networked society' in established and emerging media economies? What indications are there that a networked society expands or lessens PSM's role? How can PSM strengthen the democratic potential of networked communications and counter disruptive forces, and be seen to do that? What are the roles of commercial and non-commercial media organisations in a networked society, and how do these roles intersect – or not? Which aspects of legacy public service institutions and traditions can and should be preserved, and what appears to be no longer useful. What new roles can and should PSM take on? Why is increased collaboration with other public institutions and also private companies necessary for PSM? What indication are there that PSM should and could become a central hub for public services in media, or another node in decentralised networks, or a remedy for market failure, or that public service provision should be left to alternative grassroots initiatives and distributed forms? What are the main lines of development and challenge for PSM in regions and countries where various projects and processes are working to create PSM where it did not exist before – particularly in the Global South? Does the networked society notion have a bearing in those cases? Are there models, practices and solutions of potential importance for PSM in the Global North? How do the two halves intersect and where are the most significant disconnects with regard to PSM in the context of networked societies?

Our theme has many dimensions that open PSM discourse to analysis and critique about relations between traditional and new media, institutional and non-institutional actors and approaches, forms of journalism and news provision, characteristics and dynamics of social networks in connection with PSM, and all of this across a broad range of stakeholders that include government, NGOs, other public institutions, commercial media, and most importantly the public as audiences, users, creators, citizens, activists, consumers, owners, etc. Our theme has implications for the role of PSM with regard to digital divides around the world, and expansive as well as critical RIPE@2016 CfP 2 treatment of publicness as a concept and in practice. Comparative work is needed to explain both the specifics of PSM in countries of varying sizes, political traditions and market structures, and commonalities and their implications.

The following topics will comprise the workgroup structure for this conference:

1. **PSM's roles and functions in a networked society**
2. **PSM and the public in a networked society**
3. **PSM and partnership in a networked society**
4. **PSM and journalism in a networked society**
5. **PSM in small versus large (networked) societies**
6. **Implications of power in networked societies for PSM**

SUBMISSION REQUIREMENTS

Paper proposals will be peer reviewed and must adhere these format specifications:

On the first page:

- >Paper's working title
- >Author(s) name, organisational affiliation(s), location(s), e-mail of contact author
- >Specification of 2 topical areas (as noted above) in which the paper has Author(s) can indicate personal preferences.

On a separate second page:

- >Paper's working title, excluding the author(s)' identification
- >Extended abstract (max 750 words) explaining the paper topic and how it contributes to conference theme
- >Repeat the two topical areas also specified on p.1

Please submit your proposal as a MS Word file at www.ripeat2016.org

Note: this is NOT the general RIPE website, but a dedicated website for the 2016 conference.

All submissions will be peer-reviewed (double-blind) by a scientific committee. The evaluation criteria are:

1. Relevance to the conference theme and fit with one or more topical areas
2. Conceptual and analytic quality (beyond a descriptive treatment)
3. Relevance to PSM management and practice
4. Comparative research is highly desired
5. Clarification of methodology if the paper will report on empirical research
6. Generalisability of insights and findings

Empirical research is highly valued, but we also welcome insightful philosophical, critical and theory-driven papers.

RIPE conferences focus on substance, dialogue and results. We therefore limit acceptance to about 60 papers. Each paper is assigned to a workgroup. At best we assign 9-12 papers per group so every paper has sufficient time for presentation and, importantly, discussion.

Submissions are due **15 February 2016**.

Decisions on acceptance will be announced on **28 March 2016**.

Completed papers must be submitted on **1 August 2016** via **www.ripeat2016.org**

The RIPE initiative publishes a selection of the best papers in a peer-reviewed book handled by NORDICOM publishers. The conference language is English.

Join the Global Network of PSM Experts! **It is time for public media scholars to work globally.**

The more global media landscapes become, the more issues, challenges, and interests we share across borders. These are challenging times for independent, public media – so we need to join forces.

Initiated by the RIPE Network of public media scholars, a project to create a global, open-access, roster of public media experts has now come to the end of its pilot phase.

The Network is already 180+ members strong! The expert roster is public and can be found at: <http://ripeat.org/get-involved/>

You can also join the network at the site and find out more ways to get involved!

Upute suradnicima

Medijske studije interdisciplinarni časopis je koji otvara prostor za međunarodnu znanstvenu i stručnu raspravu o medijima, komunikacijama, novinarstvu te odnosima s javnošću unutar kulturnog, povijesnog, političkog i/ili ekonomskog konteksta. Na suradnju su pozvani autori čiji radovi (prilozi) ispunjavaju kriterij relevantnosti i znanstvene izvrsnosti. Radovi ne smiju biti djelomično ili u cijelosti već objavljeni, ne smiju biti u procesu objavljivanja u nekom drugom časopisu, zborniku, knjizi i sl., niti smiju biti prijevod takvih radova. Za sve navedeno autori preuzimaju odgovornost. UVJET ZA OBJAVU RADA U ČASOPISU JESU DVIJE anonimne, pozitivne recenzije međunarodnih medijskih stručnjaka.

Radovi se šalju isključivo u DOC formatu elektroničkom poštom na adresu: ms@fpzg.hr. Zbog anonimnih recenzija u posebnom dokumentu treba poslati ime, odnosno imena autora/autorica s mjestom zaposlenja, podatcima za kontakt (adresa/telefon/e-pošta) te kratku biografiju.

Radovi moraju biti napisani na hrvatskom ili engleskom jeziku, fontom Times New Roman, veličina 12, prored 1,5. Sve stranice trebaju biti numerirane. Na prvoj stranici trebaju biti ispisani naslov rada te sažetak koji upućuje na zadaće i cilj rada, metode istraživanja te najvažnije rezultate (100 do 150 riječi s popisom ključnih 5 do 6 riječi), sve na hrvatskom i na engleskom jeziku. Na dnu stranice u bilješki možete navesti zahvale kao i detalje o projektu (naziv i broj), ukoliko je članak nastao kao dio nekog projekta. Očekivani opseg rada (uključujući bilješke, bibliografiju i mjesta za grafičke priloge) je između 5000 i 6000 riječi. Citirani izvori navode se u tekstu (a ne u bilješkama) u skraćenom obliku, npr. (Dahlgren, 2009: 67) ili (Gillespie i Toynbee, 2006). Kod više bibliografskih jedinica istog autora iz iste godine, navodi se: (2006a), (2006b), (2006c) itd. Na kraju teksta pod naslovom *Literatura* navodi se samo citirana literatura, abecednim redom. Obavezno navedite DOI broj uz svaku bibliografsku jedinicu koja ga ima.

Knjige: autor (godina) naslov. mjesto: izdavač.

Dahlgren, Peter (2009) *Media and Political Engagement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Čapeta, Tamara i Rodin, Siniša (2011) *Osnove prava Europske unije*. Zagreb: Narodne novine.

Članci u časopisima: autor (godina) naslov. časopis godište (broj): stranice.

McQuail, Denis (2003) Public Service Broadcasting: Both Free and Accountable. *The Public/Javnost* 10 (3): 13-28.

Poglavlje u knjizi ili članak u zborniku: autor (godina) naslov, stranice, u: urednici knjige (ur.) naslov. mjesto: izdavač.

Tongue, Carole (2002) Public Service Broadcasting: A Study of 8 OECD Countries, str. 107-142, u: Collins, Philip (ur.) *Culture or Anarchy? The Future of Public Service Broadcasting*. London: Social Market Foundation.

Ciboci, Lana, Jakopović, Hrvoje, Opačak, Suzana, Raguž, Anja i Skelin, Petra (2011) Djeca u dnevnim novinama: analiza izvještavanja o djeci u 2010., str. 103-166, u: Ciboci, Lana, Kanižaj, Igor i Labaš, Danijel (ur.) *Djeca medija: od marginalizacije do senzacije*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska.

Dokumenti s interneta: autor ili institucija ili naziv mrežne stranice (godina) Naslov. Ime projekta ili dokumenta ako postoji. link (DD.MM.GGGG. = datum kada ste pristupili poveznici).

Ridgeout, Victoria, Foehr, Ulla i Roberts, Donald (2010) *Generation M²: Media in the Lives of 8- to 18- Years Olds*. The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation. <http://kff.org/other/poll-finding/report-generation-m2-media-in-the-lives/> (28.10.2013.).

Ofcom (2013) *Radio: The Listener's Perspective: A Research Report for Ofcom*. <http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/binaries/research/radio-research/research-findings13/listeners-perspective.pdf> (20.11.2013.).

UNICEF, Ured za Hrvatsku (2011) *Mišljenja i stavovi djece i mladih u Hrvatskoj*. <http://www.unicef.hr/upload/file/351/175805/FILENAME/StavovidjeceimladihuHrvatskoj.pdf> (19.11.2013.).

Bilješke se stavljaju na dno stranice, a ne na kraj teksta. Citati do tri reda integriraju se u tekst. Citati od četiri ili više od četiri reda odvajaju se od teksta, uvučeni su samo s lijeve strane, a veličina slova je 10. Sve tablice, grafikone i slike (sve crno-bijelo) treba integrirati u tekst te opremiti naslovom (na vrhu tablice – Tablica 1. Naslov; Grafikon 1. Naslov; Slika 1. Naslov) i izvorom (ispod tablice, font 10 – Izvor: Autor, godina: stranica). Tablice trebaju biti oblikovane u Wordu (ne ih umetati kao sliku). U posebnom dokumentu treba poslati grafikone u izvornoj verziji (Excel), a slike u JPG formatu. Autori se obvezuju od vlasnika autorskih prava prikupiti dozvole za reprodukciju ilustracija, fotografija, tablica, grafikona ili dužih citata te su obvezni dostaviti ih uredništvu *Medijskih studija*.

Notes for Authors

Media Studies is an interdisciplinary journal that provides an international forum for the presentation of research and advancement of discourse concerning media, communications, journalism, and public relations, within each field's cultural, historical, political and/or economic contexts. It welcomes the submission of manuscripts that meet the general criteria of significance and scientific excellence. The articles should not be published before (neither partially nor completely), nor currently be considered for publication by any other journal or book, nor should the submissions be a translation of previously published articles. Authors are responsible for the paper authorship. All manuscripts shall undergo a rigorous international, double-blind peer review in which the identity of both the reviewer and author are respectfully concealed from both parties. Please send an electronic copy (.doc) of the manuscript to ms@fpzg.hr. For the purposes of our blind review, the full name of each author shall be included along with the author's current affiliation, complete mailing and email addresses, and telephone number. A short biographical note shall be supplied by the author in a separate document.

Manuscripts should be written in either Croatian or English, using Times New Roman font; size 12; 1.5 line spacing; all pages should be numbered appropriately. The title page shall consist of the article's full title and abstract, which sufficiently states the purpose, goals, methodologies, and the most important results (100-150 words, noting the 5-6 key words) in both Croatian and English of the submitted piece. In the footnote please add further description of the research, acknowledge contributions from non-authors and/or list funding sources. If the research was conducted under a project, please add a project number and if applicable include a code or identifier of the project. The main text of the article (including notes, references, and illustrations) shall be between 5,000 and 6,000 words. References must be incorporated into the text (not in end note format) and must follow the Harvard Style of Referencing. References should be cited in the text as follows: (author, date: page). An alphabetical references section should follow the text. If there are more references by the same author published in the same year, letters should be added to the citation: a, b, c, etc. (e.g. 2006a; 2006b).

It is important to add DOI number for each reference which has it.

Books: author (year) *title (English translation)*. city of publication: publisher.

Dahlgren, Peter (2009) *Media and Political Engagement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Čapeta, Tamara and Rodin, Siniša (2011) *Osnove prava Europske unije (Introduction to European Union Law)*. Zagreb: Narodne novine.

Journal Articles: author (year) *title (English translation)*. *journal volume (number): pages*.

McQuail, Denis (2003) Public Service Broadcasting: Both Free and Accountable. *The Public/Javnost* 10 (3): 13-28.

Book Chapter: author (year) *title (English translation)*, pages in editors (ed./eds) *title (English translation)*. place: publisher.

Tongue, Carole (2002) Public Service Broadcasting: A Study of 8 OECD Countries, pp. 107-142 in Collins, Philip (ed.) *Culture or Anarchy? The Future of Public Service Broadcasting*. London: Social Market Foundation.

Ciboci, Lana, Jakopović, Hrvoje, Opačak, Suzana, Raguž, Anja and Skelin, Petra (2011) Djeca u dnevnim novinama. Analiza izvještavanja o djeci u 2010. (Children in newspapers. Analysis of Reporting on Children in 2010), pp. 103-166 in Ciboci, Lana, Kanižaj, Igor and Labaš, Danijel (eds) *Djeca medija. Od marginalizacije do senzacije (Children of the Media. From Marginalisation to Sensation)*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska.

Internet references: author or institution or webpage name (year) *Title (English translation)*. Project title or document title if exist. link (DD.MM.YYYY = date when retrieved).

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