

long-serving member of the team, Tio Oltean, steps down from the post of Associate Editor. He has helped to support the activities of the Amsterdam branch of *EJC* from its early days, but most especially since 1990, when he took on the considerable burden of handling the input and initial processing of articles. He has done this with skill, willingness and the necessary good humour, under sometimes trying circumstances. The Journal is indebted to him for his service and wishes him well in deserved 'retirement' from this particular role, though he may also still find himself on call from time to time.

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## Regional Television in Europe

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The majority of European administrations have been undergoing a so-called process of regionalization which has led particularly to the regionalization of public television. There are some European countries whose public television has traditionally been based on regionalized broadcasting systems because of linguistic criteria (Belgium and Switzerland) or political criteria (the German *Länder* and Spanish Autonomous Communities). During the 1980s, this process coincided with the development of private TV stations in Europe, which multiplied the number of national and local TV channels. Thus, the process of regionalization has decelerated and even some regional public television systems have changed their regional television policies and tried to reduce expenses by centralizing their networks.

The purpose of this article is to highlight the process of regionalization of television in Europe up to the present time and its recent deceleration in certain countries. First of all, it is important to emphasize that we call these television stations 'regional television', but there are considerable differences between the autonomy level, budget, staff and the number of produced and broadcast hours, for example, among regional TV stations such as RAI3 (the Italian third channel) or France Régions-3 (since September 1992, France 3), the Sianel Pedwar Cymru (the fourth channel in Wales) or the Catalan TV3 (Barcelona), and the powerful German Westdeutscher Rundfunk, or the English Thames TV.

This process of regionalization was developed in Europe in the 1970s and 1980s, with the exception of certain countries which had, and still have, a regional television framework either because they have official languages (Belgium, Switzerland) or because they have been a federal or decentralized state, such as Germany, and now Spain.

In general, this process has been impeded by the deregulation of television in Europe, which has increased the number of over-the-

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air, satellite and cable, national and local channels. In addition, regional public television systems such as the BBC, FR3 and RAI3 have changed their regional television policies and have tried to reduce expenses, by centralizing their networks, and producing programmes for the national channel. Audience ratings and the decline in production expenses have been crucial in this respect.

Furthermore, the audiovisual policy of the EEC has focused on creating a wider European market: one Europe without frontiers for audiovisual goods. Because of that, it has greatly ignored the problems of the regions.

#### Some Considerations

In 1984, at a conference in Zaragoza, Spain, Robert Stephane, present Director of the RTBF (the Belgian public network in French language), proposed a typology for classifying regional television (more than 200 regional TV stations have joined the CIRCUM Association so far). This typology is a useful tool in reconciling the different levels of regionalization, and it has had considerable influence on research work (Zimmermann, 1990; Tubella, 1990). The regional television levels are:

1. *Deconcentrated television.* These regional TV stations work for national television. Their production output is small and dependent on central management decisions. Two examples of this pattern are the public television regional TV centres in Ireland and Greece.

2. *Decentralized television.* These regional television stations produce local news programmes. They also collaborate on the production of reports for central news programmes. Four examples of this pattern are certain regional TV stations of the first channel of Danish public television, some of the French FR3<sup>1</sup> and the Italian RAI3, and those in the first channel of Spanish public TV (TVE1).

3. *Regional television.* These regional stations broadcast for one or more hours daily and produce independent regional news reports, cultural, entertainment and sports programmes, and in some cases regional commercials. Examples can be found in the regional stations of the BBC, FR3, the regional programmes on the first channel of Germany's ARD and some of the territorial stations of Spain's RTVE.

4. *Federal television.* These regional stations produce their own programmes for the national broadcasting system and also make

extended programmes for their own regions. However, they always work and broadcast as members of the national channel or the central network. Examples of this pattern are the television stations of the German *Länder*, the Portuguese RTP-Azores (Islands) and RTP-Madeira (Island), the Spanish regional centre of RTVE in Catalonia (Barcelona), etc.

5. *Autonomous television.* This group of regional television stations is made up of independent stations that make and broadcast their own programmes across their respective regions without any dependence on the central or national network. Examples of this pattern are the Belgian television public Societies, the Swiss SSR, the Spanish autonomous channels, the Welsh S4C, etc.

However, there are difficulties surrounding the definition of 'region'. The Encyclopaedia Britannica<sup>2</sup>, the French Larousse Dictionary and the Language Dictionary of the Spanish Royal Academy broadly agree on the existence of a great variety of characteristics which together define what a region is. All agree, however, that the main characteristic relates to ethnicity followed by cultural and/or linguistic features. In addition, they hold that climate, topography, economy, administration, etc. are essential in defining what a region is. Thus, one can conclude that there are great differences among the various regional TV stations and the regions they serve.

The traditional concept of a region as part of a country or a nation becomes more complex if we take into account the present tendency to consider the transfrontier regions on the European landscape. In fact, it has been interesting to witness the recent emergence of many jointly produced programmes from the various regional television stations of different countries, as a result of common transfrontier economic, social and cultural interests.<sup>3</sup> It would be naive to suppose that regional transfrontier programmes are already consolidated within the European audiovisual market, but it could signify the first step in future regional collaborations.

In the construction of the European Community, some people have doubts about the validity of regionalism. Geraint Stanley Jones, chairman of the Welsh S4C, wrote: '*Regionalism!* If there exists a term which could win hands down the first prize in an annoying-words contest, that term is unquestionably *regionalism*.'

Willy-nilly, it does in fact imply an idea that has too much to do with social dropping-out. To sum up, it refers to a matter which stands aside from dominant tendency' (Jones, 1990). These words provide a striking example of the converse argument: for some people, regionalism could become an obstacle to the construction of a Europe without barriers, that new information technologies are collaborating to create one more obstacle to the free circulation of people, capital, goods and services.

Such scepticism concerning regionalism seems to focus attention on the re-evaluation of some of the most frequently used official European languages. In a society such as ours, which is increasingly ruled by fair trade, the most esteemed languages are those which are able to carry messages to large population centres, for example, German, which is the most spoken language in unified Germany, Austria, in some Swiss cantons, by considerable minorities in France, Belgium and Hungary, and by the population of Luxembourg and Liechtenstein: a market which supplies more than 100 million customers. This implies that other less significant languages — including fifty-six minority languages which are spoken in Europe by 40 million people — are certainly forgotten. For example, the Welsh or the Basque languages are spoken by only a quarter of their respective populations (about half a million people respectively).

A more optimistic view of regionalism was expressed by Michel Trelluyer, Assistant Manager of the Institut Nationale des Telecommunications in France:

A new idea is making its way through the romanticism that characterizes the defence of the ancient regional cultures on the one hand, and through the severe and cold rigor that characterizes the economic judgements on the other hand. That idea is based on conceiving regionalism as an antidote to the increasing internationalization of all kinds of programs: that regionalism is probably indispensable to making up for the lost identity and the standardization of all the great national television networks. (Trelluyer, 1990)

#### **Different Methods of Television Regionalization in Europe**

Some European television systems began their regionalization during the latter years of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s. The process of decentralization and autonomy of the states led to a process of decentralization of the national public TV networks and/or the creation of new regional media. During the 1980s, this

process coincided with the privatization of TV stations in Europe, the so-called process of deregulation. It has greatly increased the number of national and local TV channels, and it has impeded the process of regionalization. The attempt by some public television systems to decrease production expenses has reduced the number, or the role, of some regional television stations.

There are very few European nations whose television networks (mostly public television until the last decade) have been decentralized since their inception. While in the United States commercial television (over-the-air NBC, ABC, CBS and FOX) has always operated on the basis of a strong relationship with local stations, European television systems were established by centralized public networks. The former German Federal Republic has perhaps proved the exception to this rule since its television broadcasting framework was built on the basis of the self-government of the *Länder*. After the fall of the Berlin Wall and since 3 October 1990, both Germanies have been united, and now consist of sixteen federal states (*Länder*) in the Federal Republic.

The German Basic Law stipulates that sole responsibility for broadcasting rests with the *Länder* as part of their cultural sovereignty.<sup>4</sup> Before the unification process there were nine regional networks under ARD co-ordination, for the eleven *Länder* of the country. There are two exceptions: (1) those radio corporations that provide foreign countries with information and which, therefore, are based on federal legislation<sup>5</sup> and (2) the second channel, ZDF, the creation of which was decided by the prime ministers of the eleven RFA *Länder*, and which is organized using centralization criteria — in contrast to ARD. In 1990, this federal organization was also introduced in the five new *Länder* of the East; and the old German Democratic Republic's centralized TV network, DFF, disappeared.

The traditional public service broadcasting is an independent and non-commercial organization financed mostly by fees and advertising. It disseminates public television to a region which, in most cases, means a *Land*. So, if in the former FRG, which is made up of eleven *Länder*, there are only nine regional TV networks, it is because eight TV corporations broadcast respectively in eight *Länder* and the NDR is a joint corporation for the three northern *Länder* (Schleswig Holstein, Hamburg and Lower Saxony). All of these broadcasting corporations are governed by an independent regional broadcasting council (Rundfunkrat)

whose *raison d'être* is based on ensuring the judicial, economic and programme-planning independence of those corporations. In addition, the television studios and the broadcasting infrastructures belong to corporations who also guarantee their technical independence.

Collectively the regional networks contribute according to their size and certain predetermined percentages, to national programming.<sup>6</sup> Under ARD co-ordination, about 40 percent of all programmes are produced centrally, such as news, weather, sports and movies. Programming in primary networks (ARD 1 and 2) disconnects from national programming to allow the eight regional programmes spread by the regional TV corporations (SWR and SDR jointly broadcast the same regional programming). In addition, they independently organize a regional third programming: WDR 3, HR3, BR3, Nord 3 (made by NDR, SFB and RB together) and Sudwest 3 (SWF and SDR).

Since unification, the five new *Länder* of the former GDR (Mecklenburg-West Pomerania, Brandenburg, Saxony-Anhalt, Turingia and Saxony) and East Berlin (which has merged with West Berlin) have tried to create their own regional TV channels. For economic reasons these new *Länder* are not able to create a regional TV corporation for each, so they have decided to collaborate or join an existing regional TV channel in the West. Therefore, in February 1991, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Turingia governments agreed to create one television corporation which would make up ARD and also contribute to the national programme. However, the present situation in relation to the northern *Länder* is more complicated, as their governments did not reach any agreement on the establishment of a television corporation for Berlin, Brandenburg and Mecklenburg-West Pomerania.<sup>7</sup> The role of regional TV stations and their regional programming has declined in the last ten years with the arrival of commercial terrestrial channels (RTL-Plus, SAT1, Tele 5, Pro 7 and others, which have an audience share of 55.6 percent), satellite channels (the number of DTH homes is 4.28 million) and cable TV connections (in June 1992: 10.6 million in the old *Länder* and 0.21 in the new *Länder*).<sup>8</sup>

The complex linguistic structures in some other countries have resulted in divisions in their public television systems into networks which concur with sociolinguistic criteria. This is true of Belgium and Switzerland. As a result of the multilingualism<sup>9</sup> in

Belgium, its public broadcasting system is based on three independent broadcasting institutions: one for the Dutch-speaking audience (Flanders, BRT), one for the French-speaking (Wallonia, RTBF) and the Belgisches Fernsehen und Rundfunk (BFR) for the German-speaking section of Belgium. Despite the strong competition among the many channels, RTBF-1 and BRT-1 have a TV viewing share of 20.1 percent in the French region and 29.7 percent in the Flemish region.<sup>10</sup> The Swiss case is similar. The SSR reflects the fact that Switzerland is a multilingual country. Its three channels in Geneva, Zurich and Lugano produce individual programming for each linguistic region: DRS for the German cantons, TSR for the French cantons and TSI for the Italian cantons, as well as special programmes in the Romanish language. However, these three channels broadcast their programming to the whole country.

In some other European countries, regionalization was a second step after first developing a public and centralized monopoly television system. This process of regionalization has also involved ideological changes:

The regionalization and the backward step to cultural origins were at first claimed by conservative sectors, but at the end of the sixties and beginning of the seventies, they began to be claimed by quite a few progressive sectors too. This brief account of the situation may not reflect the complexity of it; but, to put the whole matter in a nutshell, regionalization ended by shaping the concept which summed up the search of a true and larger democracy, far from the authoritarian centralisms of the capitals. (Stephane, 1983)

Let us now turn to France. A July 1974 Act split the Office de la Radiodiffusion Télévision de France (ORTF) into seven *établissements* and *sociétés*. One of these seven companies, France Régions 3, took charge of the management and development of regional stations. Following President Francois Mitterand's initial election, a law relating to the rights of the municipalities, administrative districts and regions<sup>11</sup> was passed. This law recognized them as territorial communities and also recognized interregional diversity. On 19 July 1982, with the implementation of the Audiovisual Communication Act, the programming policy of the Société Nationale France Régions changed. In the space of four years, twelve regional TV stations<sup>12</sup> were created, which increased the volume of regional programming (7404 hours in 1991) and improved audience ratings.<sup>13</sup> This regional framework also

encouraged the necessary synergies with local media (newspapers and cable companies).

Despite this attempt to develop a regionalized TV policy, the real development of regional TV stations has been impeded by economic difficulties and the competition from commercial channels (TF1, Canal+, La Cinq,<sup>14</sup> M6 and others). In fact, a new policy attempting to centralize this channel using a cultural model can be identified post-1986 (Mathieu, 1991). Since July 1989, both FR3 and Antenne 3, have shared presidents (firstly, Philippe Guilhaume followed by Hervé Bourges), and in September 1992, FR3 became France 3. The 'R' which stood for 'regional', disappeared.

In spite of the aim to recentralize FR3, it is worth noting that the production contribution from regional stations to *national programming* is becoming increasingly important (*Samdynamite* by FR3 Limoges, *Regards des femmes* by FR3 Toulouse, *Continetales* by FR3 Nancy, etc.).

The process of public television regionalization in Italy, and its recent decline over the last few years is similar to the French example. In 1972, several acts were passed relating to the distribution of state administration between the central government and the regions. Three years later, the RAI Law provided the legal framework for the creation of regional stations. Thus, in 1979, in an attempt to counteract the boom in local private TV stations, RAI inaugurated its third television channel, RAI-Tre, with a regional television station in each of the twenty Italian regions. In accordance with the decline in its creativity and the decentralization of production, this channel consists of a score of regional stations which produce regional news reports as well as some weekly programmes. Since 1988, this channel has been under the control of the former Communist Party (while RAI-Uno and RAI-Due are considered to be under the control of the Christian Democrat Party and Socialist Party respectively). In recent years this third channel has increased its average audience share, and it has also increased the quality of its programming, in order to compete with other public and commercial TV channels. However, some would argue that the regional characteristics of those programmes (as in the French case) have been lost.

The British example is perhaps unique, since the process of regionalization has been influenced by several different aspects:

the cultural-linguistics criterion and the processes of privatization and decentralization.

Great Britain consists of England, Scotland (with a population of 5.2 million), Wales (2.7 million) and Northern Ireland (1.5 million). Three BBC Boards were created for these 'national' regions as long ago as the 1950s. Their function was to identify specific programming relating to each region.

In 1970, the BBC established eight regional stations in England. This was the BBC's attempt to promote regional production and to compete with the private television stations, whose framework was based on regional criteria. The core of this regional programming has consisted from the outset of daily and weekly news and current affairs programmes. In 1986, the English regional television stations were concentrated in five TV stations. This concentration was based on the existence of five production centres, which were established between 1970 and 1980: North West Region (Manchester), North East Region (Leeds and Newcastle), Midlands Region (Birmingham), South-East and East Region (Elstree and Norwich) and South and West Region (Bristol, Southampton and Plymouth). Those five new regional stations are governed by a regional broadcasting controller.

The arrival of British commercial television in 1955 marked one of the biggest changes in the British television system. At present, all the commercial (private) companies (who broadcast exclusively on a regionwide basis) make up Independent Television (ITV) and are controlled and regulated by the Independent Television Commission (ITC, successor to the IBA). The ITC retains responsibility for the co-ordination, management, administration and organization of the commercial broadcasting network. In 1982, Channel Four, the second ITV channel financed entirely by advertising, was launched. It was heavily committed to independent and cultural production, but more recently uncertainty surrounds the programme quality of C4. A further example is the Welsh fourth channel, Sianel Pedwar Cymru, which was inaugurated in November 1982, as a kind of 'autonomous television', but with considerable support from Channel Four. Thus, British commercial audiovisual space is shaped in accordance with the fifteen regional ITV companies, a separate breakfast television station (TV AM) and Independent Television News (ITN) that broadcasts national and international news reports.

These regional television stations do not fall into the natural

division of Britain's geographical regions in terms of coverage. Taking Scotland as an example: the households in the central part of Scotland have access to Scottish Television. The households in the north of Scotland (the so-called 'Highlands') have access to Grampian TV, and the households in the Lowlands to Border TV.

ITV companies contribute both national and regional programming for their respective regions too. The former is essentially produced by the five most important network companies.

#### **Autonomous Regions and Autonomous Television in Spain**

Spain is an exceptional case in the European process of regionalization. The Constitution of 1978 and the passing of the Statutes of Autonomy have allowed the creation of seventeen Autonomous Regions, which fall into two groups. First, those which were created through Article 151 of the Spanish Constitution (Catalonia, the Basque Country, Galicia and Andalusia) whose regional governments have the power to establish, control, support and govern their own TV channels<sup>15</sup> in the distribution of the state administration between central and regional governments. Secondly, those which were created through Article 143, and whose statutes of autonomy assert that they would assume and handle those issues that were made explicit in the juridical statute of RTVE — the Spanish public television system (Garitaonandía, 1982). This statute states that only by prior authorization from a law passed in parliament, can central government license these Autonomous Regions to create their own channels for their geographic area, and manage them under the same charter as RTVE. Thus, on 26 December 1983, the changes began with the passing of the 'third channel law'.<sup>16</sup>

In this context, some of them have already established their own autonomous television channels. In 1983, Basque (Euskal Telebista) and Catalan (TV3) TV stations started broadcasting, and the Galician channel (TVG) started in 1985. Now, the Catalan and Basque TV stations have two channels each. In 1989, other third channels started up: Andalusia (Canal Sur), Valencia (Canal 9) and Madrid (Telemadrid). The creation of the autonomous regional channel has very much favoured regional communication. It has also promoted the use of vernacular languages — known as linguistic normalization — in all aspects of social life (politics, culture, sports, entertainment, etc.). One cannot overemphasize

the importance of this linguistic issue, as it affects more than one-third of the Spanish population in six of the seventeen Autonomous Regions (Catalonia, Valencia, Balearic Islands, Galicia, the Basque Country and Navarre), where Catalan, Basque or Galician are spoken.

The RTVE has had to regionalize its network in order to accommodate such a variety of language users and to compete with autonomous television. Since 1971, an 'establishment of TVE regional stations' has been developed throughout various Spanish regions. Nevertheless, it is clear that this policy was never more than a 'TV decentralization' policy whose *raison d'être* was based on cost-effective production rather than a desire to approach the local and regional landscapes. Once Spain became an autonomous state, the public Spanish television network (RTVE) created regional stations in each of the seventeen Autonomous Regions, which could compete with the autonomous television stations in terms of regional programming and local commercials. In 1990, 404 hours of regional programmes were broadcast monthly by the TVE regional stations. They contributed 44 hours to national programming and 17 hours were interchanged among those regional stations: hours produced amounted to 465. Undoubtedly, the Catalan regional TV station is the most significant with four-and-a-half hours broadcast daily in Catalan.

#### **European Community Policy**

The audiovisual policy of the EEC has not helped so far in the process of regionalization of television in Europe. Until now it has focused on the known triptych (Garitaonandía, 1990): definition of the rules of the game, development of the programme industries<sup>17</sup> and promotion of the new technologies — in particular, high-definition TV. This policy, the main aim of which is to create a wider European market and favour European audiovisual productions, has paid little attention to the regions.

On 30 October 1987, the European parliament passed a resolution on the languages and cultures of ethnic and regional minorities. The recommendations that emerged from the resolution that deserve special consideration are those concerning media and the cultural infrastructure in the member states of the EEC.<sup>18</sup> This resolution, which in fact put the European Commission in charge of ensuring European common television dedicated enough broadcast time for regional cultures, has had little effect.<sup>19</sup>

In fact, the directive of the Council of European Communities on 'Television without Frontiers',<sup>20</sup> which was passed on 3 October 1989, does not include any provision relating to regional cultures and languages. However, it does account for the need to make the European states ensure that the larger part of the broadcast time by the television institutions and enterprises of their respective countries is dedicated to European productions (Dupagne, 1992). Furthermore this directive empowers each one of the European governments to lay down stricter rules in accordance with linguistic criteria for programme planning in relation to the broadcasting institutions which come under them (Art. 8).

It is important to remember the directive of the Council of European Communities in 1986 relating to the common technical specifications of the MAC/packet family,<sup>21</sup> which was revised in 1991. The principle of this directive, which aimed to unify criteria as far as satellite TV and cable television were concerned, was based on the possibilities MAC systems offered in terms of multi-sound channels for broadcasting the same television programme in several different languages: 'what is particularly important for the promotion of the European collaboration and cooperation and for the encouragement of good understanding between peoples from different regions, nationalities and countries'.<sup>22</sup>

The EEC's audiovisual policy, the main aim of which was to create a wider European market and eliminate the frontiers to European audiovisual productions, has largely ignored the problems of those regions with particular cultures and languages. When the multilingual issue has been discussed, debate has focused on the existence of nine official languages in the EEC and the need to break through linguistic barriers (promoting dubbing, subtitling, distribution, etc.) with the aim of reaching the European market which consists of more than 343 million people from twelve countries.

However, in its most recent papers and resolutions, the EEC has taken regions and their cultures and languages into consideration. Indeed, the aim of one MEDIA programme, called BABEL, is to encourage and promote multilingualism in every way, in the production, postproduction and distribution of European audiovisual productions. BABEL (Broadcasting Across the Barriers of European Language) was created by the European Communities, together with the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) and the European Alliance for Television and Culture

(EATC). Of the 235 million ECU, 10 million was granted to the MEDIA programme<sup>23</sup> and has been directly invested in the BABEL project for the period 1991-5. The project grants a certain amount of ECUs by way of assistance for dubbing/subtitling for those audiovisual works (fiction programmes — mainly intended for young people, pilot series, original documentaries, other programmes of international interest) into minority languages.<sup>24</sup> In 1992, MEDIA started SCALE, a new project to help those European countries which have a less well-developed audiovisual production.

Regions can also take advantage of other projects and pilot schemes (which have been running since 1987 in production, distribution, training and financing) of the MEDIA programme: EFDO (European Film Distribution Office, for the distribution of low budget European films), EVE (Espace Vidéo Européen, for videotape movie distribution), EURO-AIM (setting up a promotional structure for independent productions, especially in the major European and worldwide audiovisual markets), European SCRIPT Fund, MEDIA Investment Club, CARTOON, etc.

#### Some Conclusions

Since the end of the 1960s, a high proportion of European administrations have been undergoing a so-called process of regionalization. This process also led to the regionalization of their public television networks. It must also be noted that regionalism (which emerged from deregulation processes at a national level and the reduction of the national broadcasting and telecommunications monopolies) has been curbed by the reregulation process on a European level (which emerged from an increase in the number of terrestrial television channels with national coverage, easier access to other countries' television programmes via cable and the growing number of programmes distributed via television satellites).

In some countries (for example: France, Italy and Great Britain), regional TV public channels have been slowing their regionalization policy since the second half of the 1980s. Some regional channels have even moved towards centralization. This policy has decreased the role of regional TV stations and has increased their production output in relation to national programming.

In recent years, the creation of regional television stations has

advanced regionalism through the production of regional programmes which have aimed to counteract the lack of identity associated with the old public broadcasting services in many European countries, and the increased expansion of the mass media to the international landscape. Furthermore, these regional frameworks strengthen the regional audiovisual industries (broadcasting programmes produced by regional producers — into minority languages, in some cases, supporting original documentaries, movies, etc.); and encourage the necessary synergies with local media.

Regional television programming on the whole consists of regional news output. Occasionally it also includes entertainment programmes (documentaries, cultural and sports programmes). Furthermore, regional production from those regional stations, which increasingly depend on powerful television networks, contributes to national programming (for economic reasons).

There are some European countries whose public television system has traditionally been — and will continue to be — based on regionalized broadcasting structures. These audiovisual policies have been based on linguistic criteria (the Belgian PSB organization or the Swiss SSR, for example, reflect the fact that Belgium and Switzerland are multilingual countries, and production facilities are distributed across the language regions), as well as political criteria (the organizational and legal structure of German television corporations is defined in *Länder* laws, resulting in a decentralized broadcasting system with production centres in every region of the country). In these countries the power of regional TV stations (in terms of viewing shares has decreased considerably during the last decade because of the competition from commercial channels (over-the-air, satellite and cable).

It would appear, then, that the autonomous regional television stations (except for those in the German *Länder*, or those in multilingual countries) are really exceptional in Europe. Thus, the establishment of the six Spanish autonomous television networks since 1983, has been a landmark in the regionalization of European television.

It is likely that only regional television which is based on actual regional communities (which could be either within the bounds of a nation or transfrontier region) with economic interests and particular cultures and traditions, will remain and will be able to compete with the growing number of TV channels in the future.

The promotion and strengthening of those regional television networks will depend (as indeed they do now) on how the European Community Treaty incorporates regional policies relating to the role played by regions in the European process of integration and to their political autonomy (as far as audiovisual policies, for example, are concerned). So far, the EEC's communication policy has been concerned with the construction of a television free market and the rise of European audiovisual production. It has not been as concerned with the development of regional television broadcasting.

In the particular case of regional TV programming in the European vernacular languages, the criteria should not be based on audience ratings and percentages of the language-speaking population, nor on strict, economic cost-effectiveness. One of the objectives of the cultural and communication policies of the European Community should be to secure, strengthen and restore the vernacular languages of all the member states (40 million of the EEC's 340 million citizens speak a vernacular European language other than the nine official languages), while bearing in mind that new communication and broadcasting technologies (interactive communication on video disc, television programmes by satellite or via cable networks, HDTV, etc.) tend to use and promote exclusively the most widespread languages (English, German, French).

The problems considered throughout this brief account of regional television do not suggest simple conclusions. Although when I have spoken of the television channels (in every country) which broadcast on a regional level I have used the generic term 'regional television', it is worth stating at this point that those television stations are not similar in every respect. There are many differences relating to their autonomy and dependence on national television networks; their legal framework; their television organization and structure; their ownership and economic aspects; and programming policies.

#### Notes

This paper has been compiled within a research group on television in the nationalities, regions and small countries of the European Community (EUROR-ETV). It is led by Professor Miquel Mòragas (Autonomous University of Barcelona) and Professor Carmelo Garitaonandía (University of the Basque Country) and supported by the CICYT, attached to the Spanish Ministry of Education and Universities.

1. There are important differences among the twelve regional production centres of FR3 in the number of hours of regional production and their contribution to national programming. Take for example FR3 Bretagne and FR3 Normandie: while in 1990 the former produced 587 hours for the regional programme and 83 hours for the national one, FR3 Normandie only produced 177 and 4 hours respectively.
2. Region: 'Regions may be defined in terms of single or multiple features or in terms that approach the total content of human occupancy of an area. The most common features in social science are ethnic, cultural or linguistic (Provence), climatic or topographical (the Tennessee Valley), industrial or urban (the Ruhr), economic specialization (the cotton belt or North America), administrative units (standard government regions in Great Britain) and international areas (Middle East)' (Encyclopaedia Britannica).
3. This is the case in the following programmes: *Vis a Vis*, made by the French FR3 Alsace and the German *Sudwestfunk* (SWF); *Pyrénées-Pirineos* by the French FR3-Aquitaine and FR3 Midi Pyrénées-Languedoc-Rousillon and the Spanish RTVE-Basque Country, RTVE-Aragon and RTVE-Catalonia; *Eurosud*, by the Portuguese RTP-Oporto, the French FR3-Aquitaine and the Spanish RTVE-Basque Country, *Euro 3*, *Alice*, etc.
4. Nordeutscher Rundfunk (NDR), Radiotelevision Bremen (RB), Sender Freis Berlin (SFB), Westdeutscher Rundfunk (WDR), Hessischer Rundfunk (HR), Saar Landischer Rundfunk (SR), Sddeutscher Rundfunk (SDR), Sudwestfunk (SWF) and Bayerischer Rundfunk (BR).
5. Deutschlandfunk (DLF) and Deutsche Welle (DW).
6. WDR, with a staff of 4260 employees, makes 25 percent of the programming; NDR (with 3450) 19 percent; BR (2956) 17 percent; SWF (2260) 9 percent; SFB (1320), HR (2010) and SDR (1910) contribute 8 percent each; and RB (640) and SR (730) 3 percent of the programming each.
7. The proposal to create the centre of this TV network in the SFB station failed (on 23 April 1991) by the opposition of the Meckenburg-West Pomerania parliament. Another proposal (based on the regional NDR) has already been put forward; and it seems that all parties agree, with the exception of CDU (Woldt, 1992).
8. *European Media* No. 20, 5 October 1992.
9. Flemish, Walloon and German-speaking and Brussels as a separate area — Gewest.
10. Source: IP, January–June 1992.
11. Law of 2 March 1982.
12. FR3 Alsace, FR3 Aquitaine, FR3 Bourgogne-Franche Comté, FR3 Bretagne-Pays de Loire, FR3 Lorraine-Champgne-Ardenne, FR3 Limousin-Poitou-Charentes, FR3 Midi-Pyrénées-Languedoc-Rousillon, FR3 Nord-Pas de Calais-Picardie, FR3 Normandie, FR3 Paris-Ile de France-Centre, FR3 Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur-Corse, FR3 Rhône-Alpes-Auvergne.
13. While FR3 has an average audience share of 11.6 percent (Source: *Médiamétrie*, 1991), the audience figures for its regional news programmes reaches 30 percent.
14. Because of bankruptcy La Cinq ceased broadcasting on 12 April 1992.
15. Basque Statute of Autonomy, Constitutional Law 3/1979 of 18 December, Art. 19. Catalan Statute of Autonomy, Constitutional Law 4/1979 of 18 December,

Art. 16. Galician Statute of Autonomy, Constitutional Law 1/1981 of 6 April, Art. 34. Andalusian Statute of Autonomy, Constitutional Law 6/1981 of 30 December, Art. 16.

16. This Law keeps a great amount of control with RTVE; and not only does it award few rights to the autonomous channels but it also puts a curb on their production, organization and programme plans. And so, RTVE has kept the sole right and competence relating to the transmission of international sports competitions and other events. Federation pacts between two or more autonomous channels are strictly forbidden; distribution of signals for broadcasting continues to be a state monopoly; and this legislation specified cable and satellite television to be used by RTVE.

17. This project is known as MEDIA and it has been granted 235 million ECUs for the period 1991–5, about \$300 million.

18. The resolution urges that member states make it possible for the stations that broadcast in minority and regional languages to have access to the local, regional, national, public and commercial radio and television stations; to take the necessary steps to allow minority groups to receive the same management and financial aids as the majority groups; to subsidize the training of journalists and media professionals; to put all the newly acquired technologies at the disposal of the minority and regional languages; to develop dubbing techniques and methods with the aim of promoting audiovisual productions that have been produced in regional and minority languages; and to provide mechanisms for transfrontier co-operation.

19. PE DOC A 2-150/87. Report made by the Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sports Commission of the EC relating to the minority and ethnic cultures and languages in the European Community. Speaker: Willy H.G.J.M. Juiipers.

20. Paper passed by the Council of the European Community on the co-ordination of several legal, statutory, regulation and administrative dispositions for the member states as far as television broadcasting activities are concerned. (Official Report of the European Communities, No. L298/23, 17 October 1989.)

21. Paper passed by the Council of the European Community on the common technical specifications of the MAC/packet family as far as direct broadcasting by satellite is concerned (DO L311, 6 November 1986).

22. Report made by the Economic and Social Issues Board of the Commission of the EC, IND/272 (Brussels, 23 April 1986).

23. Paper passed by the Council of the European Community relating to the launching of a programme which intends to reanimate the European audiovisual industry: MEDIA 91–95. 90/685/CEE.

24. Since BABEL was set up in 1988, and until 1991, this programme has granted aid by way of assistance for dubbing/subtitling some 52 audiovisual works (documentaries, fiction, television series, youth programmes, magazines, etc.) for about 102 broadcasting companies and channels into different languages in around 13 countries. Over 30 have come from 'small countries' (COM(90) 132. Brussels, 4 May 1990: 11).

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## Global Harmonies and Local Discords: Transnational Policies and Practices in the European Recording Industry

Keith Negus\*

This article focuses on processes of globalization in the music industry by examining the transnational practices of the major record companies in Europe. Outlining various pan-European repertoire policies and working arrangements, it describes how tensions arise between staff in different national divisions of record companies; over the unequal exchange of musical products and due to the way in which locally produced music is deprioritized in favour of material produced by artists from Britain and the USA. It also describes how various local state and community interests attempt to support musical activity, assuming a position explicitly in opposition to that of the major entertainment corporations. In general, this article argues that a complex series of nation-state, commercial market and civil society relationships concretely mediate processes of 'globalization', intervening as the global strategies of corporations are actively translated into specific local cultural practices.

During the latter half of the 1980s the entertainment corporations that own the major record companies began describing themselves as global organizations and projecting images of the planet Earth in their annual reports and advertising literature. For example, the electronics giant Thorn-EMI announced that its music division had been refocused into a 'truly global organization' (Thorn-EMI, 1990: 22); Bruce MacKenzie, the Senior Vice-President of Polygram — one of the world's largest recorded music producers and publishers — described his company as a 'European based global recording group' (Polygram, 1989: 5); Sony Music Entertainment began using images of the globe in their corporate advertising, accompanied by the slogan 'Our artists mean the world to us . . . wherever you're listening, our music is there.' And, Time Warner, owners of Warner Music International, added far less altruistic connotations to the 'Feed the World' messages of recent years by informing shareholders: 'There is a global hunger for information

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