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**Funding Sources of Media in
Catalan, Basque and Galician
Languages:
In Search of Sustainability**

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Dr. Gregory T. Papanikos
President
Athens Institute for Education and Research

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Abstract

This paper analyzes the current funding structure of monolingual media in Catalan, Basque and Galician languages and the key financial problems. The information provided by media managers and directors allowed the authors to frame the current financing system within the conceptual frames of insecurity and grievance, which can derail the possibilities for a digital expansion and a sustainable overall development. This study can be set in the research areas of media economics and minority language media. The three language communities have ten million speakers approximately distributed in Spain and France. Methodology was based on questionnaires, field interviews and balance sheets and financial reports.

Key words: European Minority Languages, media, economy, funding system.

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Introduction

An adequate funding structure is a basic guarantee to have a reliable media system in any community¹ and, thus, this study puts its focus on the current funding structure of monolingual ($\geq 70\%$ of content in own language) media in Catalan, Basque and Galician languages, and their key economic problems and glitches.

As a general view, it is considered that the main funding sources of minority language media are advertising, public aid, sales in the case of print press, and additionally some other collateral revenues. This is the current funding system of minority language media, the topic of this paper, but it also the one present in mainstream media. Indeed not many scholars ever mention that, for instance, mainstream print press in many/most countries do receive public aid from the government in the form of postal subsidies (McChesney & Nichols, 2010). Probably the chief difference between the funding structure of minority language and majority language media, in terms of sourcing, would be the character and proportion of public funding and advertising.

The three communities under study are located in Spain and France and have 10.2 million speakers approximately: 7,5 million Catalan, 2.5 million and 0.8 million Basque and speakers.

The majority of studies on media economics turn to issues of news organizations in major languages (English, Spanish, French, etc.) and “standard” countries or States. In this comparative study the approach is different and the focus is on the often hidden reality of European autochthonous minority languages and media, stricken by the crises of economy and digitalization.

Literature on economic crisis and media

Concept of crisis. Before talking about the economic crisis of media, it might be convenient to briefly reflect upon the concept of crisis and understand it as a significant and relatively rapid process of *change* of a given reality that, having come about either by *evolution or circumstance*, creates a temporary state of *conflict*, uncertainty and insecurity among the *actors* involved in that reality due to the fact that the *standard methods* and procedures seem insufficient to control and steer that transformation, and *new instruments* and action models must be *decided*, developed and implemented to restore security among the actors and stabilize the *new reality*.

The term crisis comes from the Ancient Greek word “krisis”, which means decision, choice, and derives from “krinein” (choose, decide).²

Crisis might be *internal* or *specific* to the evolution of a reality, such as the transformation of the media sector in the areas of technology, business, content, services, audiences and interaction; or caused by *external circumstances* such as general economic recessions, wars and disasters. There

¹ We are very grateful to editors and finance directors of the media outlets of the three communities under study as well as to officials and executives of institutions that offer public aid to minority language media for their generous co-operation in this study

² Oxford Dictionary, <http://oxforddictionaries.com>.

may also be cases in which a crisis is a combination of both forms, internal and external, either because they started out at the same or similar moment, or because they coincided temporarily in their evolution.

Since any reality is in a constant process of transformation, often times imperceptible, we couldn't label it as a continuous or permanent crisis. There must be a decision, an acceleration that triggers a noticeable and qualitative change in a given reality.

As a consequence of the globalization of economy, and not so much of society, the 2005-2006 subprime mortgage crisis that burst in the United States, spread out its blast at the international level during 2007-2011, creating an initial financial crisis that turned into a systemic economic crisis in many countries, and especially in Europe. The third phase of the crisis could prolong several years more (Elliott, 2011; LEAP/Europe 2020, 2011).

Media crises. Media financing is currently affected by both types of crisis: the general economic recession that are suffering all areas of society and the media-specific crisis derived from the acceleration on the evolution and adaptation of media to new technology, new regulations and business models and new social demands. On the later, a series of concrete issues can be mentioned: Media proliferation, media ownership concentration, audience fragmentation, and digital and online services (Nobre Correia, 2010).

As a consequence of this combined crisis, many media organizations have reduced the budget and the workforce. Minority language media did not escape from those and other negative effects and there have been frequent closures of media outlets due to decrease or cancelation of public aids or because of government decisions to close down public radio and TV stations/channels. In the Catalan linguistic community, for example, the Council of Majorca decided in the summer of 2011 the shutting down of the corporation *Radiotelevisión de Mallorca*¹. The university of the Balearic Islands warned the decision implied a noncompliance with the Catalan Language Act². In the Basque community, along 2011, many Basque language media organizations voiced their concern about insufficient public aids and 80 of them signed a common statement urging the government and other public institutions to provide substantial economic support.³ With respect to the Galician community, along 2010 and 2011 several media outlets publishing in their own language were also closed down due to public aid reduction: *Chuzá* and *Vieiros.com*, two only-online news outlets, and the online version of the newspaper *A Peneira*⁴. But even

¹ Published on the web of *Panorama Audiovisual*, 29-7-2011 (Accessed 2/9/2011). <http://www.panoramaaudiovisual.com/es/2011/07/29/el-consell-de-mallorca-da-luz-verde-al-cierre-de-rtvm/>

² Published on the web of *Diario de Mallorca*, 2-8-2011 (Accessed 10/11/2011). <http://www.diariodemallorca.es/mallorca/2011/08/02/uib-dice-cierre-rtvm-ley/691840.html>

³ A news item published on the web of daily paper *Berria*, 16-2-2011 (Accessed 7/9/2011). http://paperekoa.berria.info/harian/2011-02-16/002/001/sostengu_ekonomikoa_eskatu_diete_euskarazko_hedabideek_instituzioei.htm

⁴ Published on *prnoticias.com*, 17/8/2010. (Accessed 6/9/2011). <http://www.prnoticias.com/index.php/home/553-internet/10059151-tres-medios-gallegos-echan-el-cierre-este-verano>.

more dramatic was the cancellation in 2011 of *Galicia Hoxe*, the only daily newspaper in Galician, attributed to heavy reduction in public funding.¹ As for advertising, it is estimated that in Spain, between 2008-2009, the drop of advertising in the press sector was worth 800 million Euros (Vargas, 2010:96). This effect may have been even greater at the local and regional level. It is estimated that the regional press has lost 22.5% of advertising income and local television, where the economic crisis concurred with the transition from analogue to digital, 25.5% (Farias & Roses, 2009).

Classification of minority languages

In terms of regulation, The European Council passed in 1992 The European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages. It entered into force in 1998 and has already been ratified by 23 nation-states.

The European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (1999), set up by the European Parliament in 1982, established a five-category system to classify minority, regional or lesser used languages. The five categories are: 1) National languages of small nation-states which are lesser-used or threatened, as it is the case of Irish; 2) Languages of communities residing in a single nation-state, as Breton, Galician and Welsh; 3) Languages of communities residing in two or more nation-states, as it happens with Basque and Catalan; 4) Languages of communities, which constitute a minority in the nation-state in which they live, but are majority languages in other countries, as with German minority in Belgium, Turkish in Germany, Croatian and Slovenian speaking communities in Italy and Austria, among others; and 5) Non-territorial languages, which are traditionally spoken in one or several nation-states, but can not be identified with a particular area, as the Romany language.

In this study the ten languages under analysis belong to categories one, two and three.

Media and sociolinguistic structure of the three communities

The *Catalan language community* is located in three regions of Spain (Catalonia, Balearic Islands and Valencian Community), the state of Andorra, Catalunya Nord in Southern France, a few valleys of Aragon in Spain and the city of Alghero (in Catalan *L'Alguer*) in the Italian island of Sardinia.

It is estimated there are 7.2 million (55.5%) Catalan speakers out of a total population of around 13 million inhabitants, of which 6.2 million live in Catalonia, 5.1 million in the Valencian region, 1.1 million in the Balearic Islands and less than 0,1 million in Andorra.

¹ Published on web of *Público*, 27/6/2011 (Accessed 5/9/2011).

<http://www.publico.es/televisionygente/384141/cierra-galicia-hoxe-el-unico-diario-de-pago-en-papel-en-lengua-gallega>. See also the web *Diario Digital*, 27/6/2011 (Accessed 5/9/2011).
<http://www.periodistadigital.com/periodismo/prensa/2011/06/27/cierra-el-unico-diario-en-gallego-galicia-hoxe-tras-la-caia-de-las-subsenciones-de-600-000-a-135-000-euros.shtml>

Catalan is the only official language of Andorra, and it is co-official in the three mentioned regions of Spain.

As for 2009, the estimate was of 796 monolingual media outlets in total, including magazines, newspapers, radio and TV channels, most of them located in Catalonia. In regard to major media organizations of general content and diffusion and daily publishing/broadcasting, there were 25 outlets (5 dailies, 8 weeklies, 6 radio and 6 television stations). The total number of full-time journalists working in Catalan language media was estimated to be 3,952 (Zabaleta Urkiola et al., 2010).

The *Basque language community* is located in two regions of Spain (Navarre and the so-called Autonomous Community of Euskadi) and one of France. The former have their own regional governments with certain degree of autonomy but the latter, even though it is known as “Pays Basque” in French, does not have any specific administrative institution for its own population and it is embedded within a larger region.

The population in 2009 was estimated in 3.1 million inhabitants: 2.2 million in Euskadi, 0.6 million in Navarre and 0.3 million in the provinces of the French part.¹

It is estimated there are 0.8 million Basque-language speakers, which represents 28% of the population. The Basque language is co-official in the whole Autonomous Community of Euskadi, but only in one small area of Navarre. In the French area it is not official at all.

As for 2009 the Basque language media system consisted of 108 monolingual outlets, of which 64.8% were in the print press sector, 28.7% in radio and 6.5% in television. The number of major media organizations of general content and diffusion amounted to six outlets: one daily newspaper, one radio channel, one TV station and three weeklies of general information and diffusion. The total number of full-time journalists was estimated to be 633.

The *Galician language community* is mostly placed in Galicia, a historic region of Northwestern Spain. There is a population of 2.7 million of which 2.2 million (81.5%) speak Galician. It is co-official along with Spanish.

As for 2009, the monolingual media system was comprised of 45 outlets, with the radio sector (66.7%) holding the lead. There were three major news organizations: one daily paper, one radio and one TV channel. In 2011 the daily newspaper Galicia Hoxe was closed down. The total number of full-time journalists was 464.

Research questions

1st RQ: What is the current funding system of the media outlets in Catalan, Basque and Galician languages?

2nd RQ: How is that funding system or structure distributed along the variables of media type and ownership?

3rd RQ: What are the main problems and necessities of the current funding system according to their editors and financial directors?

¹ Instituto Nacional Español INE www.ine.es; (<http://www.ine.es>), Euskal Kulturaren Erakundea http://www.eke.org/es/euskal_herria/iparralde/iparralde_biztanlegoa (accessed 30-5-2011).

Methodology

The method applied in this study was based on the technique of questionnaires complemented with field interviews to directors and financial managers of the Catalan, Basque and Galician media organizations and with the search and gathering of annual balance sheets and financial reports of the companies.

Monolingual media. This paper only takes into account *monolingual media organizations*, operationally defined as those outlets (newspapers, magazines, radio and TV channels) with 70% or more of their content in the minority language; published or broadcast with a frequency higher than one year (daily, weekly, monthly and six-monthly for example); with general or specialized content; and local or general diffusion level.

Informants. In each of the three communities the informants were the financing directors and/or other high rank executives of the media organizations.

Period. As for the period under analysis the majority of data belong to 2009 and in a few cases, due to circumstantial reasons, to 2010. During that year of 2009 the international economic crisis worsened but it did not still severely affect some minority language media organizations because their budgets as well as their public aids were approved one or two years ahead, at the outset of the international economic crisis.

Questionnaire. Since this study is part of a larger scientific project on financing, the questionnaire consisted of nine open-ended and closed-ended questions about the following areas: 1) Current funding structure; 2) most important funding problems and deficiencies in the specific media organization and among the media outlets of the community; 3) design of a new financing scheme to get an adequate and sustainable media development; and 4) effect of digitalization on media funding. The areas we consider here are the first, second and third.

On the first area, devoted to the funding structure, the data were about the percentage of revenues from advertising, public aids, sales and subscriptions in the print press sector, and other type of ancillary revenues (sale of contents and/or rights, raffles, money-raising activities, etc.). Informants were also asked whether that annual balance was higher or lower than that of two years earlier, that is, 2007 in most of the cases. In the case that the answer was lower, a follow-up question was asked about the reasons and, likewise, the concepts or categories (advertising, public aid, sales, others) in which the loss had happened.

On the second area, where informants were invited to pinpoint the actual main problems and shortages, the qualitative answers were varied and conceptually rich. Therefore, it was necessary to create a system of categories and subcategories with different levels of abstraction and focus that would reduce the dispersion of those answers and establish a meaningful interpretation frame where quantitative and qualitative responses could be coded and combined.

The questionnaires were written in the three languages under analysis: Catalan, Basque and Galician.

Coding categories. To analyze the financial problems and shortages emerged in the qualitative replies, a standard procedure was carried out: First a pilot study to define and determine a provisional set of categories; then review and validation by a second coder in conjunction with the first one; coding of all questionnaires by the first coder; then a new correction of the coded answers and categories by the second coder; and finally retrieval of results. The inter-coder reliability was over 95%. The coding categories were classified in two general groups: problems either directly or indirectly related to funding.

- ***Problems directly related to financing:*** 1) Small amount of advertising; 2) Little public aids; 3) Little sales and/or subscriptions; 4) Lack of multi-annual financial planning (public institutions' aids to private and social media as well as financing of public broadcasting outlets may not be part of a strategic plan for three or more years); 5) High costs of production; and 6) Difficulties with banks to manage and subscribe credits.
- ***Problems indirectly related to financing:*** 1) Problems of media distribution (the distribution of print press copies is expensive and difficult due to the wide geographical area of some communities, few press distributors, high costs for a small number of printed copies or circulation; 2) Status problem (language and media are not properly valued in society and, likewise, informants do not perceive enough political determination to support them); 3) Problems of markets (audience and readership are small because the speaking population is little too, and there are few businesses that can place advertising); 4) Problems of personnel (the number of journalists is short, their journalism skills aren't qualified enough, and/or their language competence is insufficient); 5) Legal status problems (difficulties to get a broadcasting licence, regulation that prohibits advertising, as in social media in France; and 6) Other problems such as programming and content devoted to older audience and not to youth, etc.

With the objective to establish a more conceptual and elevated interpretation frame of the previous categories, all responses were coded again along the following analysis axes.

- ***Insecurity:*** The responses that pointed to financing problems suggest insecurity and even the risk of media closure. They can be broken down along three lines: subsistence, dependence and uncertainty. The notion of *subsistence* indicates that the current funding structure can only subsist, survive, without any possibility to grow and develop a powerful media system that will have adequate online and Internet presence and reliable financing. *Dependency* implies that the current funding depends on public aid, does not have financing capacity of its own, and therefore its improvement is limited. *Uncertainty* suggests that the current financing structure does not have a clear future because it depends on government policy, the status of language is low, and there isn't a multi-annual or strategic plan of public aids or on other external factors such as the general economic crisis.

- **Grievance.** In this area we place those answers that entail a perception that media outlets suffer injustice and underestimation of its own value. *Injustice* is perceived in the distribution of public aids. *Underestimation* is related to insufficient recognition of the importance of the language and media by public institutions and society.

Variables. The variable under study is the funding system of the media outlets. It is operationally defined as the annual amount and percentage of different income types that support the financing structure of the media organizations. The dependent variables are media type (print press, radio and TV), ownership (public, private and social or not-for-profit outlets) and diffusion level (local and general reach).

Media universe. Based on previous studies conducted by this same research group (Zabaleta et al., 2007) and updated later, it was estimated that in 2008 the total universe of monolingual media (papers, magazines, radio and TV channels with 70% or more of their content in the autochthonous language) in the three minority languages comprised 949 outlets, of which 44.4% (421) were print press; 37.8% (359) radio; and 17.8% (169) television.

With regard to ownership, 46.1% of all the media organizations of the three communities were public, 32.1% private and 21.7% social, that is, owned by non-for-profit organizations. Looking at the variable of diffusion, 87.1% of the outlets were local (town, county) and 12.8% had general diffusion (linguistic or political community).

By communities, it is estimated that as for 2008 there were 796 media outlets in Catalan, 108 in Basque and 45 in Galician.

Sampling. A stratified media sample with random selection of items was designed for each community. The strata were based on the mentioned variables of media type and ownership. There were 40 Catalan media outlets, 30 Basque and 22 Galician. In the case of Catalan and Basque media we also took into consideration the political and institutional division. Thus, the total sample consisted of 92 news organizations and one questionnaire was filled out for each one of them, which considering a margin error of 5% and response distribution of 50%, gives a confidence level over 68%. Or putting it another way, with a confidence level of 95% the confidence interval is of 9.71%.

Results

The funding structure is analyzed from a general viewpoint, comprising the three communities, and from an inter-community comparison. The types of revenues that finance the monolingual media outlets may be advertising, public funding, sales and subscriptions, and other revenues no directly related to the information or communication function.

General financing system

The general financing structure, calculated as the total of the three communities and total of all types of media (press, radio, TV) is the following: Close to three-fourths of the revenues (72.9%) come from public institutions; almost

one-fifth (18%) from advertising; sales and subscription represent only 2.1%; and income from other concepts, 7%.

Table 1: General financing system

	Advertising	Public funding	Sales and subscriptions	Other	Total
Catalan	19,5%	70,4%	2,0%	8,2%	100,0%
Basque	16,4%	73,0%	5,4%	5,2%	100,0%
Galician	12,7%	84,0%	0,3%	2,9%	100,0%
Total	18,0%	72,9%	2,1%	7,0%	100,0%

N= 92. Note: Decimal values are rounded following the standard procedure that if a digit is greater than or equal to five, the last numeral is increased on one and digits to the right of it are dropped.

Making an inter-community comparison we can see some differences and similarities:

- *Public financing*: In the Galician community it reaches a very important value (84%), which is significantly higher (over ten points) than in the other two communities, where public funding is on the level of 70% approx. (70.4% Catalan and 73.0% Basque).
- *Advertising revenue*: It's moderately higher in the Catalan community (19.5%) than in the Basque (16.4%) and Galician (12.7%), something that seems normal due to the fact that the Catalan language and media system are notably more developed than the other two. However, those differences do not seem relevant.
- *Income from sales and subscriptions*: It's exclusive to the print press but measuring its participation in the general funding system we can see it is very low in the three communities. It reaches 5.4% in the Basque media system, 2.0% in the Catalan and a very insignificant 0.3% in the Galician press.
- *Income from other concepts*: This revenue, not directly related to the communicative activity, contributes to the funding structure with 2.9% in the Galician, 5.2% in the Basque and 8.2% in the Catalan community.

Funding structure according to media type

As for the total of the three communities, the funding structure of the broadcasting sector (radio and TV) is distributed the following way: between 75-80% is public funding; 17-18%, advertising; and 1.2-7.9%, other types of income. Evidently, revenue from sales and subscriptions is zero. Thus, both radio and television have very similar financing structure, excepting a little dissimilarity on the category of "other", where TV gets six points more, due probably to the sales of programming rights and other supplementary revenues. As for the funding structure of the print press sector, public financing only represents 13.8%, sales and subscriptions 40%, advertising is very close with

38.9%, and other types of revenues (money raising, etc.) contributes with 7.3%.

Therefore, while in the print press sector sales and advertising make up about eight out of ten Euros, in the case of radio and TV public institutions provide that quantity.

Table 2: Funding system by media type

	Advertising			Public funding			Sales and subscriptions			Other		
	Pres s	Radi o	TV	Pres s	Radi o	TV	Press	Rad io	TV	Pre ss	Rad io	TV
Catalan	43.7 %	18.6 %	18.6 %	6.1 %	80.7 %	71.8 %	42.5 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	7.7 %	0.7 %	9.5 %
Basque	27.8 %	26.6 %	13.0 %	28.6 %	70.2 %	82.0 %	36.5 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	7.1 %	3.2 %	5.0 %
Galician	39.3 %	13.9 %	12.2 %	33.9 %	83.9 %	84.8 %	24.7 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	2.1 %	2.2 %	3.0 %
Total	38.9 %	18.6 %	17.0 %	13.8 %	80.3 %	75.1 %	40.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	7.3 %	1.2 %	7.9 %

N= 92.

Inter-community comparison. There are some relevant differences among the three communities.

- *Advertising income:* This type of revenue is notably high in the Catalan (43.7%) and Galician (39.3%) print press but significantly lower in the Basque case (27.8%), over eleven points lower. With regard to broadcasting, Catalan radio and TV get equal values, 18.6% of advertising each of them. Galician media too get almost identical percentages in both radio (13.9%) and TV (12.2%). However, a noticeable difference is detected in the Basque media since radio advertising climbs to 26.5% and TV only gets 13.0%.
- *Public funding:* This type of financing is very low in the Catalan language print press, only 6.1%, while in the Basque and Galician communities it rises to 28.6% and 33.9% respectively. With respect to broadcasting the three media systems have approximately similar values of advertising funding. The average of the three communities could be established at about 79%, going from 70.2% of advertising funding in the Basque radio to 84.8% in the Galician television. The Catalan broadcasting percentages are between those two values.
- *Sales and subscriptions:* This type of revenue, only present in print press, has similar percentages in the Catalan (42.4%) and Basque (36.5%) media systems, but in the Galician case it drops to a low 24.7%, about twelve points below the Basque and eighteen with respect to the Catalan press.
- *Other:* The incidence of this type of revenue is very small, below 3% in the Galician community and somehow higher, between 5-6% in the Basque and Catalan media systems.

Funding structure according to media ownership

As for the media ownership variable, the funding structure of the three communities together shows clear differences in some revenues. The advertising percentage is almost analogous on private (39.7%) and social media (36.4%) but it decreases very sharply on public media (16.8%).

The percentage values on public funding perhaps reflect best the real nature of the three types of ownership. Over three-quarters of the funding of public media (76.3%) is money given by public institutions and that figure declines to 45.7% on social media, a figure that seems a bottom line or minimum for this kind of media. Thirdly, private media only get 13.8 of public funding; a percentage that perhaps should be higher due to the specific problems inherent to minority language media.

Table 3: Funding system by media ownership

	Advertising			Public funding			Sales and subscriptions			Other		
	Priv.	Pub.	Social	Priv.	Pub.	Social	Priv.	Pub.	Social	Priv.	Pub.	Social
Catalan	44.4%	18.2%	29.9%	6.2%	73.6%	41.9%	41.7%	0,0%	22,0%	7,7%	8,2%	6,2%
Basque	27.9%	13.5%	36.3%	28.5%	82.2%	46,8%	34,2%	0,0%	8,1%	9,5%	4,2%	8,8%
Galician	46.6%	12.2%	53.6%	29.5%	84.9%	8,9%	20,5%	0,0%	33,9%	3,3%	2,9%	3,6%
Total	39.7%	16.8%	36.4%	13.8%	76.3%	45,7%	38,6%	0,0%	9,3%	8,0%	7,0%	8,6%

N= 92.

Inter-community comparison. Comparing the three communities, some interesting results can be highlighted.

- *Advertising revenues.* Among private media, it calls our attention the low percentage of Basque outlets (27.9%), sixteen points lower than the value of Catalan (44.4%) and Galician (46.6%) private media. Another remarkable result is the important percentage of advertising revenue on Galician social media (53.6%), notably higher than on Catalan (29.9%) and Basque (36.3%). However, we should bear in mind that the amount of social media outlets in the Galician language media system is extremely low. Finally, there are no significant differences among public media since their advertising revenue is between 12-18% in the three communities.
- *Public funding.* The funding provided by Catalan institutions to Catalan private media is very low (6.2%), which can be a cause of serious financing limitations on the one hand but can also suggest that this kind of Catalan language media has a notable degree of development. On the other two communities percentages are very similar, 28.5% for private Basque and 29.5% for private Galician media. On the category of social media, Catalan and Basque outlets have very equivalent values, 41.9% and 46.8%

respectively, but Galician social media, atypically, only get 8.9%, which comes up against the percentage received by the already mentioned private media (29.5%). But as we said before, a note of caution is needed here since Galician social media has little weight.

- *Sales and subscriptions.* On this type of income one can find two noticeable results. Galician private print press (20.5%) get less funding than Catalan (41.7%) and Basque (34.2%) private press. But this situation changes on social media, where it's Basque press the sector where income for sales is lower (8.1%).
- *Others.* This type of income represents a low percentage of the total income and it's equivalent on the three communities, below 10%.

Financing problems

As for the total of the three communities, 60% of the problems pointed out by the respondents were directly related to financing and 40% indirectly related.

In regard to the types of concerns directly related to funding, insufficient public aid was mentioned by 23% of the media editors and financial directors. The scarcity of advertising was brought up by 22% and the lack of multi-annual funding planning by public institutions was pointed by 10% of the informants. The rest of categories (little sales and high costs of production) only summed 5%.

In the category of problems indirectly related to funding, the size of the market (16%) –understood as small population of speakers, audience and even businesses that could advertise– is the biggest issue, followed by the insufficient recognition of the language and their own media (11%), a complain we have labelled as lack of status. Other categories, including among then the one related to difficulties to get digital broadcasting licences, sum 13%.

Table 4: Problems of the current financing system

	Directly related to funding						Indirectly related to funding				
	Aid	Adv.	Planning	Sales	Prod.	Subtotal	Market	Status	Legal	Other	Subtotal
Catalan	17%	23%	9%	6%	3%	57%	20%	6%	6%	11%	43%
Basque	10%	33%	13%	3%	0%	60%	20%	10%	7%	3%	40%
Galicia	44%	7%	7%	4%	0%	63%	7%	19%	0%	11%	37%
Total	23%	22%	10%	4%	1%	60%	16%	11%	4%	9%	40%

N= 92. Notes: "Aid" means insufficient public aid; "Ads", insufficient advertising; "Sales", insufficient sales and subscriptions in print press; "Planning", lack of multi-annual funding planning by public institutions; "Prod.", high costs on production; "Market", insufficient market (audience, speakers, businesses); "Status", insufficient language and media recognition; "Legal", difficulties to get digital broadcasting licences, etc.; "Other" problems.

Inter-community comparison. Data on the table indicate that differences among the three communities are below 10 points in all types of problems. There is one exception though, and refers to the strong problem surfaced among Galician media about insufficient public aid (44%), which is contrasted

with the fact that few responses (7%) report that their market (audience, speakers, businesses) is insufficient.

Framing insecurity and grievance

All the previous problems that emerged in the responses given by the media directors and financing executives led the authors to work on a higher level of theoretical abstraction and establish the transversal frames of insecurity and grievance.

Thus, 78.6% of all problems revealed by the respondents could be coded as issues of insecurity and 21.4% as of grievance.

Table 5: Framing insecurity and grievance

	Insecurity				Grievance		
	Subsist.	Uncertainty	Depend.	Subtotal	Injustice	Undervaluation	Subtotal
Catalan	53,1%	12,5%	15,6%	81,3%	12,5%	6,3%	18,8%
Basque	59,3%	14,8%	7,4%	81,5%	7,4%	11,1%	18,5%
Galician	56,0%	16,0%	0,0%	72,0%	16,0%	12,0%	28,0%
Total	56,0%	14,3%	8,3%	78,6%	11,9%	9,5%	21,4%

N= 92.

Furthering the analysis of each of the two frames and carefully looking at the responses, the issue of insecurity was subdivided in subsistence, uncertainty and dependence. The concept of subsistence was observed on 56.0% of the responses, uncertainty on 14.3% and dependence on 8.3%.

As for the issue of grievance, answers entailing a perception that media suffer injustice and undervaluation or lack of esteem were placed in this frame. The subcategory of injustice got 11.9% of the responses and the notion of undervaluation of the media 9.5%.

It's noteworthy to call the attention that both frames and their subcategories obtained similar percentage values on the three communities, with a difference lower than seven points.

Discussion

Generally speaking, without considering media type or ownership, the current financing system of Catalan, Basque and Galician language media is mostly grounded on public funding: Close to three-quarters come from the regional government and institutions and only one fifth from advertising. This situation is more serious among Galician media. It's an overwhelming indication that public institutions do intervene in the financing of autochthonous language media and have long-standing policies on that. But the drawback is that it also may cause some sort of economic uncertainty and dependence on public institutions and, worse, on the ideological preferences of the political parties in power.

Evidently, the financing system of public, private and social media reflects noteworthy differences. Public financial support covers over three-fourths of the budget of public media (broadcasting outlets of radio and TV); close to half of the income of social media; and barely over one out of ten in the case of private media. The ratio scale could be set as 8-5-1 approx. The second most

important revenue source, advertising, counterbalances public funding and it is quite important on private and social media (40% approx.) but low on public media (17%). Therefore, we should qualify the previous general statement of media dependence on public funding and admit that, while public and social minority language media depend on public budgets and grants, it is not the case with private media.

As for the problems concerning the funding system, about one fourth of the responses indicated that public financial support, being significant, was insufficient and advertising scarce. Other problems that were shared by respondents of the three communities were the lack of multi-annual funding planning by public institutions, the insufficiency of the market and the poor status of the language and media due to a deficient recognition of their social, cultural and economic values.

The current situation of the funding structure and the problems associated to it, as revealed by the media people that participated in the questionnaire, gave way to identify the transversal concepts of insecurity and grievance. About eight out of ten responses could be placed within the concept of financing insecurity and two out of ten within the notion of financing grievance.

The core elements of insecurity were that their current funding system only allows for media subsistence, financial uncertainty and public aid dependence. These negative factors undermine any adequate development and a qualitative leap on the digital arena.

The central ingredients of grievance were the perception of injustice on the policy of support and financing programmes carried out by public institutions on the one hand, and the sentiment of low esteem, that is, that their media were not appreciated sufficiently.

Therefore, given that general consensus on the existing problems, it seems evident that the current situation deters a sustainable financing scheme. Indeed, minority language media deserve a funding system that is balanced, with varied income sources, among which public funding will remain being significant but based on a multi-annual planning and policy that is not dependent on the upheavals of politics. This way Catalan, Basque and Galician media could achieve a full digital development to serve the communication and information needs of their community.

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