### PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTING CONCEPT AND PRACTICE: A PRELIMINARY OVERVIEW OF THE IDEALS AND SOME SWEDISH EXPERIENCE

Admassu Tassew

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- ADMASSU TASSEW

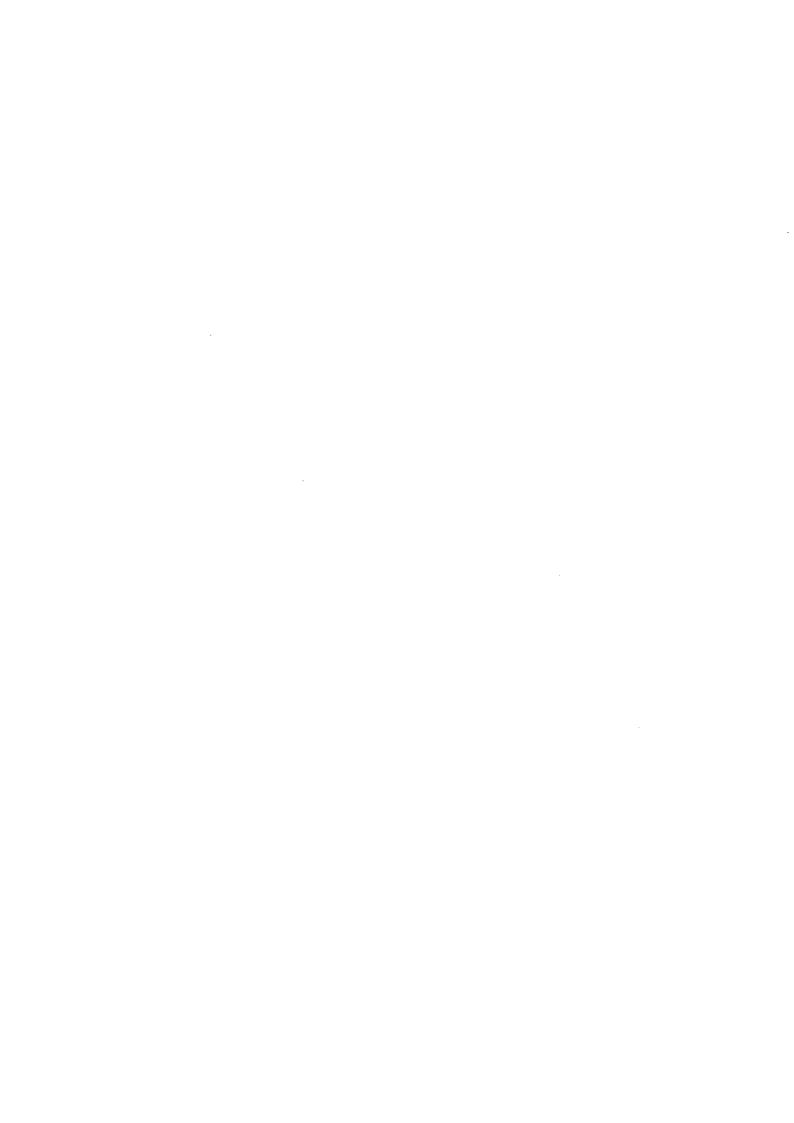
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#### 1. INTRODUCTION

Institutions and other bodies that are aimed at serving the public and fulfilling a national goal meant to preserve or upgrade culture and other national artifacts have had their appearance at the world stage at different times. Public service broadcasting which always has the BBC as its reference is one of these public bodies that seem to have endured a lot.

Nonetheless, as the recent developments in the communication technologies and media practice show, the endurance level of public service broadcasting seems to have reached its limit as it shows some signs of instability. Its monopolistic and commanding position is now being questioned and at times rejected. The oft mentioned guiding and consensus keeping nature of this body is also being probed in light of the development of the new communication technologies which opened every nation state and home to every available medium and message without any restriction.

In light of the above mentioned state of affairs, this paper shall then attempt to briefly look at the concept and practice of public service broadcasting since its beginning days with the BBC. It shall also glance at the Swedish experience in relation to the public service broadcasting concept and practice. Finally, it shall attempt to have a brief overview of the discussion on

the probable future of public service broadcasting.

# 2. PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTING: AN OVERVIEW

The advent of broadcasting via the wireless initiated another form of mass communication than the then widely used print medium. It was in 1908 that the first trial of broadcasting using the wireless was done (SOU, 1965:45). Nevertheless, this trial only remained at an experimental stage up until the end of the First World War.

Radio started its broadcast in a regular basis in the 1920s (Ibid; Lindblad,1970:11; Rolland and Östbye,1986:120). In the U.S.A. it is the Westinghouse company which is given the credit for this initiation. In the European continent, it was in 1920 that regular broadcasting started in Petersburgh, whilst the BBC followed suit in 1922 (SOU,1965:45).

The BBC which in the beginning was associated only with radio, does also provide its public service via the television.

Television which is the other broadcasting medium, had its initial existence only under experimental basis in the U.S.A. and Britain during the 1920 and 1930s (Lindblad, 1970:11; Briggs, 1985:161). Regular daily transmission using this medium began in the Berlin Olympiad of the mid 1930s (Gustafsson, 1987:59; Briggs, 1985:161). Then in 1936 the BBC became the first enterprise to broadcast programs on a regular basis - though it was discontinued due to the War (Lindblad, 1970:51). In the U.S.A.

regular tv broadcasting was initiated in the spring of 1939, though only in limited areas (SOU,1965:58; Gustafsson,1987:59). After the Second World War, the discontinued transmission of BBC TV commenced in June 1946. Thereafter, regular TV service started in France in 1950, Netherlands in 1951, West Germany in 1952, Belgium and Switzerland in 1953 and also Denmark and Italy in 1954 (SOU,1965:58).

Having had a brief glance at the facts relating to the start of broadcasting using Radio and TV, it is worth noting that broadcasting is organised in different ways with differing concepts of providing service. To take some examples, it would suffice to mention that in the U.S.A. it was established purely on private basis by different private companies; whilst in much of Western Europe it was organised under the public service concept and practice. And it is this public service broadcasting concept and practice (taking the BBC and Swedish Radio as examples) we shall then be briefly discussing in the coming paragraphs.

#### 2.1. THE BEGINNING

The First World War which called for the 'centralized control' of resources as a matter of 'exceptional wartime measures' in turn paved the way for accepting 'public service utility' (Seaton,1988:120). The birth of the BBC is then said to be connected with solving the problem of 'scarcity of air waves' that was created. This scarcity then had its effect in

influencing the different radio set manufacturers to work for one jointly owned station which resulted in the BBC - British Broadcasting Company.

The BBC and the erection of the first institution of public service broadcasting is accredited to the first Director General of the BBC, Lord John Reith (Burns, 1977:36; Lindblad, 1970:257). Refering to Lord John Reith's concept of public service broadcasting, Tom Burns(1977) quotes Asa Briggs where he says:

Reith's theory of public service began with the conception of the public. Without such a conception the conception of public service itself becomes bleak and arid.... The "publics" are treated with respect not as nameless aggregates with statistically measureable preferences, "targets" for a programme sponsor, but as living audiences capable of growth and development. The BBC, in brief, was to be dedicated to the "maintenance of high standards, the provision of the best and the rejection of the hurtful". Reith had no sympathy with the view that it is the task of the broadcaster to give the customer what he wants." It is occasionally indicated to us that we are apparently setting out to give the public what we think they needand not what they want- but few know what they want and very few what they need .... In any case it is better to overestimate the mentality of the public than to underestimate it". (quoted in Burns, 1977:36)

Lord Reith while laying out his 'programme policy' for public service had assumed that there is a homogenous culture in the British society and that is what BBC is 'representing' (Seaton, 1988:161; Burns, 1977:42). Nonetheless, it still remains vivid and beyond any doubt that what is assumed to be the culture and value of the whole of the population is but the culture of the upper and upper-middle classes to which Lord Reith associated himself (Burns, 1977:42; Kumar, 1977:245).

On the other hand, public service broadcasting, according to Lord Reith, ought to have 'no profit nature', should be able to have a 'national coverage', have to have a 'unified control' or monopolistic structure and finally it ought to maintain 'high standards'. Furthermore, James Curran (1988:292) asserts that the public service broadcasting's central tenet is that its ownership and service is entirely public oriented. The balancing and impartial nature of the political content of the programmes and also the presence of licence fee as a payment for the service rendered are also some more of the facts of public service broadcasting (Siune, 1986:44). According to a Swedish government official commission set up to study the future activity of radio, radio's service to society comprises providing the news, entertainment, cultural programmes, highlighting societal problems and reflecting some of the tasks for international cooperation (SOU, 1946:24-38). This can then be extrapolated and understood as fitting the functions of public service broadcasting as the Swedish Radio is organised under a public service broadcasting ideal.

Moreover, when we talk of broadcasting as a public service, it is meant serving all sectors of the society and the whole country thereby guiding 'public opinion' (Seaton, 1988:263). Going a bit further, Seaton(1988:120) mentions that public service broadcasting corporations are the result of "...the rejection of both market forces and politics in favour of efficiency and planned growth controlled by experts".

Furthermore, when scrutinizing public service from the Western European angle and practice, Ingemar Lindblad(1970:257) points out three tendencies which he calls idealist, professional and group oriented. Lindblad notes that Lord Reith and his contemporaries in the Nordic and other European countries belong to the idealist ideology, Whilst the present day practice of BBC and other continental corporations belong to the professional, leaving the Italian and to some degree the German ones to the group oriented tendencies - where political parties, church organisations and other powerful interest groups influence the programming.

Having said that, it ought to be clear that it is the 'BBC's code of practice' and experience that has played a leading role in the formation of the generally accepted concept of public service broadcasting (Burns, 1977:3). The BBC's work practice which is the brain child of Lord John Reith is seen being replicated in many parts of the world.

# 2.2. BBC: THE FIRST PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTING INSTITUTION

It was in 1922 the then British Broadcasting Company (BBC) made its appearance in the world stage of media organizations (Burns, 1961:363). And it was mainly the radio manufacturers that were instrumental to its establishment. The company's coming into existence, according to Burns(1977:7) is "...to transmit broadcasts in the sure hope that this would expand the market for wireless receivers manufactured by the member firms...". By so

doing, the wireless manufacturers laid a very firm organisational foundation for the now ideal public service organisation, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC).

The British Broadcasting Corporation had its beginning in the December of 1926. The BBC's board of governors are appointed by the government and also the British government 'can veto BBC activities' which the government seldom did so (Siune, 1986:48). The BBC gets paid for its services by a form of licence fee.

The BBC, according to Asa Briggs (1985:361) "...had not only reflected but had helped to mould culture as patron and as provider....It had done little to determine the shape of national -or local- politics, but much to influence the way in which political issues were presented and discussed". It had also its influence on 'education' and 'the pronounciation of standard English', thereby fulfilling a purpose of what Jean Seaton calls 'training character' (Seaton, 1988:161; Briggs, 1961:243).

Furthermore, talking about the relationship found between the government and the BBC, for example, Jean Seaton (1988:129) says that in the 1930s the BBC was engaged in 'courting' different government departments to 'evade press restrictions'. Commenting on one of the oft cited incidents that mark this said relationship, i.e. the 1926 General Strike, Krishan Kumar (1977:235) remarks that "in 1926 the BBC quite clearly accepted dictation from the government who should broadcast ..." as speakers from the Labour party and the Trade Unions were not

allowed to broadcast. Besides, according to Asa Briggs (1961:371) during the 1926 General Strike, the news that was broadcast was "...usually right, although much news was excluded. There was no fabrication, no attempt to twist or to distort". Neverthless, this type of reporting according to Seaton (1988:128) vividly showed "...the end of the propaganda based on lies and the start of a more subtle tradition of selection and presentation" (emphasis added).

Moreover, due to the changed political environment, where parties and other interested groups 'proliferated' and where the 'gap' between the established parties widened, the BBC started to face problems of 'striking balance'. Besides, the censorship of a program on Northern Ireland and the involvement of MI5 in the 'selection and promotion' of the corporation's personnel, left the corporation helpless in the face of mounting attacks (Burgelman, 1986:175; Seaton, 1988:266; Curran, 1988:300).

Nonetheless, despite the criticisms and possible shortcomes, it is the BBC that stood as a model for the establishment of other similar public service broadcasting institutions in Western Europe and other Western countries like Canada and Australia. Even Japan which is the foremost radio and tv nation, has both public service broadcasting as well as commercial stations. The Japanese TV station, Nippon Hosa Kyokai (NHK) is organised under the BBC model, whilst the commercial broadcasting sector is set up in the fashion of their American counterparts (Lindblad, 1970: 78).

Talking about commercial television, Seaton (1988:263) remarks that in the case of Britain, where broadcasting is tacitly understood to be a public service, even the organisation of commercial tv is done under the public service ideal. Channel 4 of the British TV service is a good example of "...reinterpretation of the public service of broadcasting", where "...the freedom of creative individuals to risk making the programmes they want to make is seen as the guarantor of public good" (Seaton, 1988:208).

Finally, in a form of summary, Continental Europe which is the birth place of public service broadcasting in particular and the wireless broadcasting in general could be mentioned of having some main features in its broadcasting system. According to Denis McQuail and the Euromedia Research Group (1990:314-15) these main features include; public accountability and public service goals, reflecting 'national character' and 'monopolistic' control, a presence of 'politicised' nature which results either by 'enforced political neutralization' or 'balanced representation' and finally upholding 'non-commercial' principle.

### 3. SWEDEN AND PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTING

The broadcasting media and especially radio had its beginning in Sweden in the very early days of its introduction to the world stage of media. It was in the autumn of 1922 that Sweden joined the number of nations that have had an introduction to the new

medium (SOU,1935:73; Lindblad,1970:98; Hellström,1979:113; SOU,1965:45; Hultén,1980:121; Gustafsson,1987:41). In autumn of 1922 the Swedish telecommunications board started broadcasting very short programs every night from its station in Vaxholm. Then, this practice was followed by other different stations with varying programs (Hultén,1980:123).

While discussing about the development of radio as a broadcasting medium in Sweden, it is worth mentioning that there were a few interested parties that have played an important role in the development process. Of these interested groups were found; the private radio clubs, 'telegrafverket', electronic industries and radio set producers and media organisations -especially the press (Hultén, 1980:122; Gustafsson, 1987:41 & 45; Hellström, 1979:113). Radio receiver producers like AEG of Germany, L M Ericsson, AGA and later the English Marconi even went to the extent of establishing the Swedish Radio Ltd. in 1919 (Gustafsson, 1987:40). This incident reminds one of a similar happening that took place in Britain which resulted in the BBC, and also in the U.S.A. which brought about RCA. Having said that, it still is very interesting to note that the Swedish Radio Company which was organised by government decree was also supposed to protect Swedish produced radio sets, again reminding one of the first British case with the establishment of the BBC. Nonetheless, criticizing this policy of protectionist activity, the Swedish Radio Club at the time had queried what is there to protect as " för övrigt skulle det vara omöjligt att definera vad som är svenskt materiel, eftersom komponenter och patent ändå

importeras" (Hultén, 1980:130).

It was in January 1.

Radiotjänst' sta ast from the stations of stockholm, Göt en. When AB Radiotjänst started telecommunications authority took respo e technical side relating to production and transmis stafsson,1987:48, SOU,1946:48).

Though, the overall broadc sting activity was done by 'AB Radiotjänst' and 'televerket', the licence incomes, however, were not only shared by these two groups as the government treasury has always been the third partner (Gustafsson, 1987:48).

Despite the fact that the government treasury had a hand on the licence incomes, 'Sveriges Radio AB' nonetheless, has remained to reflect and uphold the principles and aims of a public service corporation. Furthermore, according to Lindblad (1970:110)

"rundradion (etermedierna) i vårt land hör i realiteten hemma inom den offentliga sektorn, trots att programföretaget Sveriges Radio har formen av ett aktiebolag, i vilket folkrörelserna, pressen och näringslivet innehav aktierna".

The Swedish Broadcasting Corporation is a company with private share holders of which the public organizations ('folkrörelse-organizationer') own three-fifth, the press one-fifth and also other firms 'within the media industry' own one-fifth (Siune, 1986:48). At this instance, it is worth noting what the Swedish public service body's arrangement brings to light, i.e. a new

element in the ownership side -'folkrörelseorganisationer'- which is absent in the BBC and probably in many other public service broadcasting institutions.

The organisation of public service broadcasting in Sweden is done in such a way that the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation and 'Televerket' share the work involved the broadcasting process. 'Sveriges Radio' does the production of programs, while 'Televerket' is involved in construction of transmission networks, collecting and adminstering the licence fees (SOU, 1965:215). The Swedish government telecommunications board has also laid down three fundamental principles for public service broadcasting activity in Sweden. These three principles according to Olof Hultén (1980:126) are; the presence of licence fees, national broadcasting monopol and state ownership of the transmission stations.

The Swedish public service broadcasting activity like other undertakings of the same nature is financed by licence fees. One hopes that this sort of financing will help the organisation keep its independence and non-partisian character.

When the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation (the then 'Radiotjänst') started its regular transmission in January 1925 there were about 40,000 registered listeners (Hellström, 1979:115; SOU, 1935:55). By the end of the 1930s, Sweden had the highest density of registered listeners per 1000 population in Europe (SOU, 1946:7). Concerning the hours of broadcasting performed, it

is noted that 1559 hours of transmission was done in 1925. Whilst, in 1939 the transmision hours rose to 3918 excluding the short wave transmission (SOU, 1946:8).

The Swedish state official commission on broadcasting (SOU, 1946) in its comment on the performance and ideals of the Swedish Radio had stated that "radiotjänst har efter tjugu års verksamhet blivit ett organ för kvalificerad underhålning och en mångsidig kulturinstitution, som svenska folket icke vill mista" (P.7). This then brings nearer to Sweden, the visions of Lord John Reith, where he thought of the BBC and public service broadcasting as patrons and guardians of what he believed to be the "nation's culture". On the other hand, still harping on the visionary ideas of Lord Reith, one can also wonder if the statement of the Swedish government official commission (SOU) of 1935 where it says "radioprogrammet innehåll måste dag för dag växla, dess utformning måste uteslutande ske på radioledningens ansvar och denna måste därför ha fria händer att forma det efter de alltjämt skiftande kraven och möligheterna" (P.15), does also go in line with Reith's philosophy of giving the listeners what the broadcasters think the public needs.

#### 3.1. THE COMING OF TELEVISION

The Swedish Radio broadcasting service did not continue developing without any difficulty of some sort as the 1950s saw the coming of a rather competitive medium - television - on the media scene. This new medium in its turn shared and competed for

potential audience among the Swedish public. It was the Swedish government commission of 1951 (SOU, 1965:60) which suggested that television like its predecessor, i.e. radio , be organised around a licence fee, on a national level under one corporation and thereby have a public service character. Then in 1956, regular and official tv transmission started from the Nacka station (Gustafsson, 1987:58; Lindblad, 1970:99). At this instance, it ought to be remembered that the year 1956 is not the first time that television came to Sweden, as Gustafsson(1987:59) notes that the first tv transmission in Stockholm (note it is not regular transmission) happened in 1938 - for example, in England tv transmission started in the Autumn of 1936. On the other hand, Karl-Hugo Wiren (1986:33) remarks that the Swedish Film Industry had displayed Baird's mechanical television in Stockholm in the year 1930, thereby marking that television as a new type of medium had its introduction in the early days of its appearance in the world.

With the introduction of TV in the world stage at large and for that matter Sweden, the interest to make use of this media also developed parallely. In Sweden the board for television was set up in 1947 by interested industrial and governmental parties like L M Ericsson, Swedish Radio Ltd. and Telecommunications Authority (Wiren, 1986:57). And finally, in line with the 1951 government commission's decision with regards to the organisation and financing of television, television followed the same type of organisation and financing as happened with radio.

When the Swedish television started its transmission in the autumn of 1956, the daily broadcast was two hours on average. But, as time went by, there was an increase in the transmission time. For example, in 1957/58 there was 16.5 hours/week and 850 hours per year, and also in 1963/64 there was 43.5 hours of transmission per week, and 2270 hours of transmission per year (SOU, 1965:289).

### 3.2. SOME ISSUES STIRRED BY THE INTRODUCTION OF PSB

Having looked at the organisational development and related matters, when we glance at the different debates that went on during the organising stage and even after, in relation to financing and nonpartisianship etc., we come across a lot of issues and heated discussions that are common in any similar type of public body like the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation. For example, in regards to commercials on TV, there were different groups that stood for and others who opposed it. Among the groups that opposed TV commercials, it is interesting to note that the Swedish newspaper publishers association was one of them. The others which were among the active opposition included, the social democrats and 'Radiotjänst'. 'LO', 'bildningsförbunden' and other cultural organizations were also among the ones that gave their "passive support" in opposing commercials in TV (Wiren, 1986:161). Karl-Hugo Wiren(1986) wonders and then states that the two most active opponents of TV commercial, 'Radiotjänst/SR' and the newspapaers publishers association had differing interests; as in the case of the newspapers publishers

association, what they are worried about was the loss of their incomes due to commercials. It is also very interesting to note that this debate on commercials on tv has made a come back to the Swedish media scene, when one recalls the most recent debate that the Swedish government undertook and the followed reaction as to the establishment of a third channel financed by advertisement incomes or letting one of the existing channels be financed by an income from the commercials (Göteborgs-Posten, p.12, March 6,1991 and p.12, March 7,1991).

On the other hand, the organisation and function of SR under the guidance of the Swedish state has flared a number of debates. According to Olof Hultén (1980:127) "de politiska skälen för statlig ägande ligger i risken för ensidigt politiskt utnyttande av det nya kommunikationsmedelt, som i princip kan nå alla landets invånare". In the election year of 1924 a number of political parties wanted to make use of radio for their campaign purposes, but what followed was a fierce opposition that understood radio to be outside politics (Ibid).

Moreover, in the formative years of radio broadcasting in Sweden, the government saw the need for control of the undertaking in the interests of the public. "I orätta händer kunde radion missbrukas för intressen som stod i strid mot statens och allmänhetens. Staten hade på så sätt ett direkt intresse av att kunna – om så behördes – påverka och styra så väsentliga programområden som nyheter, bildning och religion" (Hultén,1980:131). Furthermore, one of the three important laws on which the Swedish public

service broadcasting service is based is also concerned with the accord between the state and Swedish Radio -the other two laws are, 'Radiolagen' and 'Radioansvarighetslagen'. According to this accord, "...i en konfliktsituation kan staten - som en gång skapat programföretaget - fråntaga Sveriges Radio ensamrätten" (Lindblad, 1970:112).

In regards to the state's influence and control in the public service broadcasting, Karl-Hugo Wirén (1986), Jan Arvid Hellström (1979) and Ingemar Lindblad (1970) all agree that the state's influence is exercised and guaranteed by its representation in the broadcasting corporation's board and also its responsibility in licence fee collection, allocation and adminstration. Karl-Hugo Wirén (1986) goes further and comments on the nature of the said 'control mechanism' exercised by the government as follows:

...kontrollmekanismerna har brukats så att säga negativt, för att hindra andra krafter, främst industrikapitalet, att få kontroll över SR. Huruvida denna negativa kontroll övergått i positiva, aktiva kontrollåtgärder återstår att utreda. Jag har funnit en del exempel på budgetprutningar som haft en viss likhet med regeringskontroll över programpolitiken, men i övrigt inte undersökt fenomenet. (P.283)

Last but not least, it is also important to point out that there is a tendency to study and go over through things carefully in consideration to other related matters (usually conducted in special committees) before Sweden introduces a novel idea or practice meant for societal use. The different state commissions (SOU, 1935; SOU, 1946; SOU, 1965) set up to study the introduction of different forms of the broadcasting media are but examples of this style of work. Therefore, in a society which encourages and

values more of group work and collective decision making based on very careful and thorough investigation especially in matters of public or state affairs, the type of Lord John Reith and his working style is rare if not absent.

# 4. WHITHER PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTING ?

Public service broadcasting since its inception had to fight differing interests to ascertain its importance to society and its being the only available choice to fulfil a national interest with a minimum cost and energy. Its limited boundary, i.e. operating within a nation-state, has given it a monopoly right where it also made it the unquestioned guarantor, agenda.setter and/or "national culture" preserver and promoter etc. This state of affairs, however, did not develop unheeded, as a parallel development in the communication technologies, media market and also media politics had its influence on the development and future progress of public service broadcasting.

The development of new communications technologies like satellite transmission, home video (VCR), compact disc, cable transmission, FM radio, teletext, videotext etc. all have their pronounced effects on the status of the present day public service broadcasting concept and institution (Rolland and Östbye, 1986:125; Burgelman, 1986:173 & 182). Commenting on the present development of the new communication technologies and their place in public service broadcasting, Jean-Claude Burgelman (1986) says that this development of the new media will also stir changes at

different levels in regards to the nature of public service broadcasting. And, according to Burgelman (1986:186), these changes are : " to begin with, politically it becomes very difficult to defend public service broadcasting on both traditional and factual grounds. Most new media of both generations use television simply as transmitter or as an instrument for making visible electronic codes : the television becomes a 'visual displaying unit'. As a consequence, the strong association between a TV set and the broadcasting of programmes emanating from a national broadcasting organisation will disappear...". Furthermore, Burgelman argues that as the availability of number of networks is rather large, it becomes difficult to 'raise support for one particular station' of public service broadcasting nature. In other words, the greater the number of choices and the greater the access to many stations one wonders why one should care or for that matter fight to keep only one.

On the other hand, the availability of varied TV channels with varied programmes open up a greater choice for the public. This 'increase in consumer choice' and also what Burgelman (1986:181) calls the 'privatization of communication' where market principles of demand and supply regulate media production, could also have their lasting effect in shaking the endurance level of public service broadcasting concept and practice.

As to the new media politics, it is said to have 'supra-national orientation' unlike the typical national orientation of the old

order. Besides, politicians or the broadcasting elite no more dominate the media scene; and its concern is with matters of industrial and commercial nature unlike the old practice of concerning media with cultural and ideological matters (McQuail and The Euromedia Research Group, 1990:329). Therefore, these changed nature of the media politics left public service broadcasting no other choice except to abandon the fight and/or join the bandwagon.

Furthermore, as Denis McQuail and The Euromedia Research Group (1990) have correctly observed, "the new politics of a more integrated Europe seems to work against, rather than for, the protection of culture at national level" (P.317). This then goes against Lord Reith's principle of public service broadcasting standing for or being guarantor/patron of national culture. It in turn points to the fact that public service broadcasting has either to adopt to the objective conditions which seem to be in a flux of change, or await its unfortunate and fastly approaching end. Moreover, still having in mind the nature of present day media crossing borders (in regards to ownership and coverage), one wonders if the monopolistic nature of public service can hold for long.

Meanwhile, Jean-Claude Burgelman (1986) vehemently asserts that public service broadcasting (PSB) concept and practice is 'out of date' and does also have 'structural weaknesses' on three levels:

First of all, financially, neither PSB institutions nor their 'owners' have the appropriate means to take commercialism. This is not to question the principle of public service financing on the whole, but why should

broadcasting be financed solely by public funds if there are alternative sources of funding? Second, PSB is an anachronism both conceptually and politically. Cultural paternalism, mistakenly viewed as an integral part of the welfare state, was certainly a driving force behind the development of broadcasting, but it should be left today....a 'majority public'-with homogenous tastes fully understood by enlightened producers and creative staff- does not exist. Instead, a number of 'minority publics'exist, each having different tastes and preferences, and each developing and requiring different cultural practices .... Finally, on the level of management, PSB as a public corporation does not seem the most appropriate organisational structure to stimulate new conceptual strategies. (P.189, emphasis added)

Having looked at the problems and crises facing public service broadcasting today, what one tends to query is if it is possible to forecast how the future of PSB will look like. As to the imagined probable future of public service broadcasting, there have appeared a number of ideas by communicators and others involved in the field. James Curran (1988:320) talking about the future of the British media, suggests a possible independence by getting away from the government and the big 'communication conglomerates', and extending its 'political and cultural diversity' by encompassing whole sectors of the population (class or/and culture wise). Burgelman (1986:197) on the other hand, suggests what he calls the Le-Monde type of cooperative structure so as to maintain the supply of 'independent' and 'high-quality information'. Denis McQuail and The Euromedia Research Group (1990:329) do also envisage the survival of public service broadcasting to be made possible by its either 'specializing' in 'cultural, informative and political services' or by playing the same game as the commercials do -'popular programming'.

Public service broadcasting have so far come to a stage where it is confronted with a realisation that idealism ought to give way to realism for a possible survival. It, through a hard way is also learning that it has to adopt to changed conditions, to situations in different countries, and also go in line with actual developments in any given society. Therefore, the future of public service broadcasting lies in its resilience and evolutionary adaptive qualities.

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