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TV AND INTERCULTURALISM IN BRITANY, GALICIA AND WALES

*Margarita Ledo Andión**

There is a fine line that is drawn by the construction of Identity, that links the lesser used languages and Public Broadcasting services, in this case of Britany, Galicia and Wales, in the awareness of multicultural Europe. This is a sign of our times, when the information technology and telecom industries meet the programme content suppliers, and so establish the terms of convergence that underlie new models of competition. Such new models seek to recover the ethical components, social components rather, in the fields of production, dissemination and consumption of symbolic assets; as well as to further co-operation between academic researchers and professionals of the audio-visual field.

Our work then follows this fine line, from a holistic approach that looks at the diversity of models by which our countries are represented, at the diverse television policies as regards public responsibilities and production and distribution activities, and at the state of realisation of Identity. Concrete actions may be derived from the above, both in terms of time and space, now that the way to understand the European audio-visual space is changing dramatically.

For the first time the concept of "cultural and linguistic diversity" became associated to the idea of Program, appearing unto us as a material advantage, as a market asset. It also provides a way to define the public and what may be of public interest. The concept of diversity in Europe, expressed in terms of its peoples, its regions and overall cultural mosaic, carries forward proposals to foster production and distribution of audio-visual output, designing strategies around the factotum that we call competition, ever present in any open discussion about Identity.

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Older paradigms have proven to be of little use, and the structure of modern States barely resists the integration of territorial variances that are essential to audio-visuals in a globalising world. The desideratum of a single market by means of implementing USA-type standards having failed has taught us not to limit ourselves to analysing the symptoms by their causes. Nor do we trust what is publicised as profitable by a simple, contingent process of accrual: border suppression, deregulation, the fall of the Berlin wall, increased corporativism vs. declining collective spirit; all of which have coincided in time with what has been called the logic of telecommunications .

Thus the need arose to speak in the plural. To speak of imageries. Of markets. Of territories and of the political audio-visual agents. The discussions and responsibilities leading to decision-making in the sector tied the political and administrative institutions to the world of business, and so economic issues and cultural notions started hybridising. Academics, especially in Public Universities, may no longer sit back and watch comfortably. Training has now proven to be of essence, such as was expressed by Commissioner Joao de Deus Pinheiro in July 1994 to the participants at the European Audio-visual Conference. The latter event contained the seed of a new era that brought about Media II in 1996, where noteworthy proposals are expected to issue from, both during the oncoming Conference on the Digital Age , called for by the British Government when it started its round of Presidency of the Union, and in the outcomes of the Top Level Reflection Group working under the auspices of DG X for the convergence of Europe's programme content industry. The role of government instances before the industrial and cultural challenges is also addressed, as did Mr. Oreja's speech at the 9th Forum of Television and Cinema in Europe (EIM-Lisbon, Nov. 1997), to recognise the importance of public interest and ethical considerations within this new audio-visual context.

Until then the concept of "cultural exception" had been considered a mere defensive slogan, surely conceived for a transitional period in light of the poor capacity of European production to meet the demand and redress the absolute dominance of *Major*. It now became the core of a gradual discussion where emerging spaces for communication appeared as a part of European policy, with manifold representations, even minimally as a "mosaic of languages and cultures". Meanwhile, the new concept of audio-visual production and consumption as being unalienable elements of identity, a concept used also to justify commercial viability, is replacing the stubborn, scarcely operative idea of an eclectic, aseptic European global market with an aftertaste of Europudding. We approach the

complexity of the phenomenon freed from the excess of bias that forestalled previous discussions, and we are now encouraged to further actions within its own context, that is national and trans-national.

The corpus for analysis of Television and Interculturalism , Brittany, Galicia and Wales shall focus on audio-visual production and distribution, looking at aspects such as quality and professionalism. In the title, however, we have chosen to concentrate the three angles from which we see ideas for the future: the national, the exchange of content and the existence of public broadcasters.

With "Television and Interculturalism" we started the countdown for an experience issuing from the I Congress of "Communication in the Atlantic Periphery" (Santiago de Compostela, 7-10 November 1995), that later materialised into the first joint project by the three Universities: Haute Bretagne-Rennes 2, Wales Aberystwyth and Santiago de Compostela. This project involves national public instances from Brittany, Galicia and Wales, as well as superstatal instances, i.e. the DG XXII of the European Commission, that add on to its marked diversity.

This report has surveyed the state of production and broadcasting in each of the languages of these countries, seen from the different systems of public television and the priorities given to identity goals at each society, the latter being language in Wales, an own Public Television for the Media in Brittany, and co-production policy and developing independent mediatic authorities in Galicia and to play in the field of competition within the parameters of Information Society as well as to bring professionalism to programme production. The history studied thus differs in each case, as do the ways in which political and institutional representation is provided to each national reality: the Autonomous Parliament of Galicia, the recent *Devolution process* in Wales, functional decentralisation in the case of Brittany.

There are obviously many consistencies across the three countries: similar populations – between 2.5 and 3 million inhabitants – common aspects in folklore and morphology, as well as in their subsidiary role to hegemonic classes and social groups issuing from centralised power. In the 60's the idea of inner colonialism' was coined, no longer were emigration, the looting of resources and dismantling understood as having been fortuitous events. Thence came the organisation in crescendo of social and political movements: through awareness, the will became as well as the need to pursue this nationalitarian model, language being a key symbol for identity.

Furthermore, the imagery and memory from which the difference is construed, sometimes referred to as "celtism", bring together in these three countries the ideas of freedom and otherness, essential to interculturalism. This is manifest and materialised in the very process of mutual relations, interfacing with parameters that establish one's position and the others', the very basics of communication. The signals must be recognised that issue from each beacon, and every move traced in order that our proposals, as they are different from one another, may engage in mutual relationships under expectations of reciprocity and not just similarity or assimilation.

The time has come to construct intercultural processes as another way to partake of reality, as it transforms into a symbolic arena that could be titled "Atlantic Arc for Communication". Cultures of roots that are Scandinavian, Celtic, Latin, having maintained contact over the seas, not only establishing common solar and lunar systems and common forms of self representation, but also sophisticated figures for language and register – here again ironically – that would be difficult to decode inside other cultural spaces. Mixed, nomadic, maritime cultures are those of Brittany, Wales and Galicia. The mermaid, the dragon, otherness – material and immaterial – incorporated to identity as an evolving historical process whereby the exchange of fiction and informative audio-visual production is made possible, the same way that the exchange took place in the field of music and literature, ranging all the way from cultural circuits and cinema festivals to television, and in doing so expanding freedom of expression.

Our basis for assumption, the "fixed ideas" on which we found the terms for analysis and theoretical confrontation, is that television systems – whatever their broadcasting coverage, property and functions (public sense or commercial prevalence), and even their characterisation (thematic, generalist, pay or universal access) – follow the logic of economics, besides that of identity, when it comes to production, acquisition or exchange of programmes. This other level may thus not be forsaken, as they are active agents at the audio-visual marketplace, through production and distribution of programmes. The influences should be highlighted of cultural and linguistic policies on the communication policies of Brittany, Galicia and Wales.

Another basis is thinking in terms of these television systems differing from the mainstream, constructing models at State level. This is tantamount to questioning the globalisation of such State models and considering that "small countries" television systems may have the chance to grow in a flexible, multiple formulation, leading us back to problems of identity and culture. It

takes us from marketing to citizenship, and could be used as a trump in the struggle between the industry of Europe and North America. It leads us to consider the need to establish concrete strategies for production, multi-versions and distribution.

At the very beginning of the project, we became aware of the tendency to address the issue from a standpoint of ideology, culturalism or with an exclusively interpretational attitude. Nevertheless, we proposed to go into a deep quantitative analysis of the audio-visual sector, addressing the financial and business aspects, the evolution of production and employment, the importance of training and the prospects for distribution. The core goal of each case study – Breton, Galician or Welsh – is to describe within information science the evolution of the sector along a three-year period, with an outlook for the overall prospects in the European Union. The sector is expected her to grow by 70 per cent in the next ten years, and may go from 1.8 million jobs to 2.6 million, increasing production hours from 650 thousand to 3.5 million by the year 2000 – bearing in mind that through digitalisation, the number of channels shall increase from the current 120 to around 500. Comparative analysis may allow for setting the bases of discussion for effective distribution and co-production plans.

The role of Television itself, especially of public broadcasters – be they of a national/regional or even local nature –, in constructing identity and providing it with visible representation is not far from quantitative analysis. The role of television goes beyond political and territorial branding, coverage or own-culture based content production, as it ought also be a part of the generalist, universal access television that is to eventually represent 65 per cent of the European market and around which multimedia shall revolve.

There are no similarities between the models underlying each television of those studied, which tells us about the differences in the relevant general processes that brought about their inception. Whereas the French model sticks to the age of initial regionalisation, in the 60's, in both the Galician and Welsh cases the public televisions were born from parliamentary mandates in the 80's and their articles and programming principles provide for the defence, normalisation and cohesion of the national languages and cultures. Here again, the political formalisation is specific to the history of each country. In the case of S4C in Wales, it is that of a broadcaster, not a producer, that is supplied by independent companies: BBC, Channel 4 and HTV; in the case of TVG, 70% is own production, mostly consisting of flow programmes, but it is also supplied by other companies in the sector.

The basis for the quantitative analysis started from an overview survey that was conducted in the sector with many items for each category, receiving ample generic feedback – over 70% in Brittany and Galicia, around 50% in Wales. Many companies, however, found it difficult to respond to queries concerning business volumes or training and distribution policies. Closed-format interviews added onto the study to address key issues that concern all those involved in a process. This was the case for Galicia, evidencing a great need for proper legislation and for more resources, usually disguised as subsidisation, seed capital, etc.. "Television and Interculturalism in Brittany, Galicia and Wales" is the most representative of existing studies that allows for conclusions and recommendations that be in line with the principles of European audio-visual policies. Its prospective nature starts by identifying the problems to then draft a programme with which to reaffirm the co-operation of Universities, political and cultural institutions and professionals, both in training and in analysis and research, to overcome the stagnation that is holding back the potential for contemporary research in the field of Information Science.

The opportunity should not be missed of an observatory to monitor audio-visual productions in the three countries, together with some sort of an intranet to keep on line catalogues and information about the programme content industry. Concrete experiences of programme exchanges between the three broadcasters – France Ouest, TVG and S4C – should also be pursued and should be start by animation productions "Roger the Rooster", "Os vixiantes do camiño" and the Oscar nominated "Famous Fred".

All international Forums are addressing the issue of culture again. Culture is yet again approached as being a part and parcel of the economy of communication, as a basis for productivity. The field of meaning for Culture is extended to signify the collective memory that facilitates communication between the members of an historically established community. Thus the creation of content is made possible (expressive function), that relates to its environment (economic function), and is granted argumentational capacity for the implicit conventions in social relations (legitimating function), as per Aramand Mattelart's classifications in Communication/World. Culture, and the interaction of different cultures that bring meaning to one another through mutual contact. Meaning: the will between abstract and concrete, between awareness and experience, between subjectiveness and collectiveness.

The question must be raised again of Democracy between Cultures as an active principle to establish communication policies, at times of increasing

alliances and mergers in the private side to programme content and distribution, ever more closely connected to the computers and telecom industries. Any Network recalls ideas of webs and of secretiveness, of re-monopolised information and hegemony, and so we need to think about the institutionalisation of access to a rare resource: the media, the media through the discourse is constructed, the understanding of the world and the possible ways to change it. The need for public control over technological developments, as discussed in its day under DG XIII, involves public Television and that is why it becomes so urgent to redefine its role.

The liberal, historical, humanistic idea of television open to everyone, without discrimination against minorities, different creeds, races, social classes... Pluralistic Television, fostering a sense of citizenship to stand up against the reduction of persons to mere consumers, especially now that the growth of the audio-visual sector shall depend largely on the direct expenditure by the users, turning them into consumers. And so television shall enter into competition and play its human capital and archival assets, and work to improve the technology and contents, and so bring the rights of the collective subject called civil society to the heart of the multimedia industry. Because society today with the Media, from the Media and against the Media, builds relations of culture, political pluralism and communications.

Measures and policies that promote dubbing and subtitling, as well as multiple versions during production, are essential for all of Europe and especially urgent for minority languages. Whichever the situation of each language may be (why is Breton in danger, why does Galician suffer from linguistic policies that perpetuate linguistic diglossia and have not yet achieved to normalise the social use of the language), they are one of the cornerstones of the sense of belonging to a national community. This, in turn, never minding the degree of institutional formalisation of such a community. That is the reason for the support to research issuing from *DG XXII*.

In this panorama it is usually understood that a "minority culture" is one that issues from a limited domestic market and does not achieve to position its production in the standard circuits, precisely because said production is in a lesser used language. In this panorama, that we adapt as we go, it is well known that access of television and audiences to such productions did not arise from market forces but from political lobbying. This was the reason for the laws passed in Spain – establishing the "3d channel" – or in the UK, governing S4C.

In this panorama, moreover, unique offers are to be reinforced, including "proximity programming", that should not enter into conflict with "identity programming", nor drift away from the notion of public interest: that being the

first and foremost responsibility of publicly owned broadcasters as well as of the other agents that add up to the audio-visual panorama.

Interesting times for the coupling of Television/Identity, and for an ideology that came to act in due course upon the considerations adopted by the Council of Europe on June 17th, 1997 in Amsterdam, linking public broadcasting directly to the democratic, social and cultural requirements of any collective community as well as to the need to preserve pluralism in the media. Happy times when the coupling becomes a value for change, no longer considering it to be an archaeological relic but a valuable contribution towards multiculturalism in Europe. In these times the "small countries" – small in terms of presence in the sector, not necessarily in size – should not become passively incorporated into the process of globalisation. They need to participate of the programme content industry, and achieve awareness as to their contribution to diversity, through the binomial that is established between the oncoming technological convergence and the shape that competition shall eventually assume. Between concentration, on the one hand, and the possible effective dissemination and exhibition of specific projects, on the other, projects that are recognisable because of their identity referentials, be they Neo-Realism, the Arthurian cycle, or the single-hero dramas of Ibsen or Kinoglaz. These times of ours when for the first time we have policy in our favour and the technology too, and maybe because many other forecasts failed, it has become the more evident that there is no single market in Europe, that there are many markets and so many forms of co-operation should be pursued. Old clichés must be overcome, such as the limiting of public service strictly to information, to insist precisely upon the fact that fiction and entertainment are a very efficient, as well as profitable way to development identity in television.

We start from Breton, Galician and Welsh as languages that are to make themselves seen and heard through products designed for the Media, instead of by setting value indices in the number of speakers. We start from three very specific linguistic situations that may not be reduced to a single common denominator. And we start from public television: as a political requirement, as a market element and support for intercultural dissemination, as one of the ways in which to act locally in a situation that demands thinking in global terms.

As we stated at the beginning, "Television and interculturalism in Brittany, Galicia and Wales" is set inside the general framework being drawn for the

audio-visual sector in Europe, that of the political measures being discussed, and of the role of identity as part of public interest, from both the standpoint of regional differences and of nations without a stateless nations.

The detailed study in each case, the problems there presented and the need to deepen into anything that may relate to broadcasting and training all derive from comparative analysis. Experimental broadcasts of thematic blocks between France Ouest, TVG and S4C, such as musical or animation programmes, add on to the practical implementation of some of the conclusions.

In the world of University, we share the ideas of Prof. Tapio Varis, from Finland, who noted at the Congress "Communication in the Atlantic Periphery" that interculturalism, interrelationship, interconnections, and easy access to the information networks may only make sense for the small countries if they may also partake of programme content. And for the field of training, Prof. Varis recalls, a very European and relevant word that identifies the most decisive moments in the changes of everyday culture, Constructivism vs. Instructivism. It is thus a question of combining materials, ideas, communication spaces that play the game of a morbid imagery that floats on Atlantic waters when the material history of culture is portrayed on television, in the production and distribution structures that be Galician, Welsh and Breton.

CONCLUSIONS

Our investigations have encountered some limitations in that most companies in the sector seldom show any systematic elements surrounding their overall activity, however different these may be, and that there is a tendency not to disclose information about the financial aspects that define the sector nor about the nature of specific contents. Other aspects that need to be urgently addressed are the excessive dependency on subsidies and public institutions, as well as low levels of professionalism, especially in the field of promotion, co-production and marketing in general. Therefore it is our intention to contribute towards a better understanding of the situation and progress in the sector, by means of establishing a Monitoring Centre for the Audiovisual during the biennial periods of 1997/98 and 1999/2000.

The hypothesis that came to be confirmed are such that link the development of the sector in the lesser used languages, or languages of nations without a state – the case for Galician – to the existence of public Televisions whose identity policies are defined minimally – the Welsh case –, based on historic and cultural references as well as those defined by expression.

Another core aspect, the extent of involvement in the international market through competition and how it is understood, make us aware of the need to change certain traditional paradigms and to start thinking of competition not as a struggle between similar products at the same time and place, but as issuing from communicative flows to recover any product at any time and in any context. So in order that there be interest when selecting a product, it is necessary that its existence be made known, and also that the difference be perceived as compared to other products. To build upon the brand image for each sector thus becomes one of the foundations on which the presence of products constructed in Breton, Welsh or Galician shall add to the richness of Europe's cultural industry.

In this sense, from a European perspective, audio-visual productions issuing from different cultures become assets that may benefit from the changes brought about by technological convergence and new forms of competition.

Therefore, neither the issues should be antagonistic that surround identity and markets, especially in terms of thematic niches, nor should the inter-cultural processes of creation and realisation of new products starting from the contacts between different realities that are those of the sector in Brittany, Galicia and Wales be so.

In spite of certain analogies at cultural and political levels, and especially in what refers to goals, a series of warnings are called for before reading into these conclusions. First, there is the difference in timing for the progress from a monopolistic state-type television system towards a mixed, commercial system, that took place in Brittany and Galicia less than a decade ago, as opposed to the four decades of experience in the Anglo-Saxon space, where ITV has been there and regional. Together with the public broadcaster BBC, the private broadcaster ITV has contributed, and continues to do so, by supplying programming in Welsh language to S4C.

Secondly, there are differences as to the development in the discussions about identity and the relevant commitment on behalf of the professional culture in the sector, even when they relate to the lines of programming in public television. This is because in general broadcasters have not yet fully assumed their role as constructors of visions and versions that are collective, since it is easier to accept the political role for the language albeit forsaking the political role of the discourse, i.e., the content itself; and to reach awareness of the historical, cultural and social factors that take part in the interpretation and reception of said contents.

Let us, for instance, consider the case for Galicia. Although the public television broadcaster was established by Parliamentary mandate in 1985, the identity question is of recent appearance, since the philosophy in its first ten years of existence was closer to that of minimal, proximity television rather than that of public television as an essential medium in the process of constructing a nation's identity in direct relation to other aspects of social life. One such aspect being the market, and from the market, relating to methods of production and dissemination of certain assets of symbolic nature. Assets that face the challenge of competitiveness and the obligation to add on to real pluralism as demanded by the true manifestations of global exchange.

It is accepted nowadays that diversity is not brought to the sources of programming that European citizens might enjoy by simply creating new channels or new means of distribution, stated Bob Collins as assistant director to Radio Telefis Eireann during the 8th European Television and Film Forum, held in Amsterdam in 1996. In the meantime, the political orientation was being revisited that had left broadcasting exclusively to market forces, whereupon it was concluded that the key element in order to achieve understanding was that audiences should be viewed as a part of communities and not just as mere consumers. Audiences should be seen as living elements, in spite of being called «users», as they resist forsaking participation in their own history.

Such a key element requires, however, decision-making. This is lacking in the Breton case, where there are no competencies in mass media and thus no autonomous public television. The variant of de-centralised television is not representative of other contemporary modes of territorial broadcasting, that we do nevertheless find in the cases of Galicia and Wales, as integrating the cultural industry. The legal framework, in the case of Galicia, is the Statute of Galicia and for S4C the subsequent Broadcasting Acts. In both cases there are proper agencies for management and control and so they are in a position to overcome the false prejudice of the languages as being a hindrance to dissemination in a global market. This puts them in a position to place audiovisual productions into the communication flows by means of trans-regional strategies and of projects, in the short term, for cataloguing, dubbing, subtitling, and especially, co-producing. As regards profitability, only S4C mentions in its annual reports any increase of sales since 1995, and right now TVG is undertaking to exploit its archives for thematic offers.

Public television is, in the three cases studied, the driving force for audiovisual production. Nevertheless, the tradition is in each case a different one,

both in quantitative terms – amount of product, jobs and business volume – and in the circulation and nature of such products. Thus, grossly speaking, fiction is the dominant genre for Wales, where most of S4C's investment during 1996 went into Drama; informative pieces, including news, prevail in Brittany; and in all cases documentaries are also feeding the sector. Feature films and animation are the products most likely to achieve projection in other markets, in all three cases.

In Galicia, the offer in documentaries and fiction for television is quite balanced. Recent announcements that TVG is to support film-making with an expected investment amounting to one billion pesetas along the next three years refer us directly to the Welsh model as the immediate priority for the field of production: remember the nomination to an Academy Award for best foreign language film in 1994 given to Hedd Wyn, and to the animated film Famous Fred in 1998.

In the Breton case, as there is practically no production in Breton language, the timing is crucial in order that proper plans be drafted to bring life into the sector and overcome the mere ethnographic effect, and so start aiming at specific audiences, such as young urban people, where the number of speakers of the language is known to be increasing. This all leads us to believe that future actions shall depend ever more on nationalitarian policies, such as those that define the Galician and Welsh cases, than on the endogenous capacity of the sector in itself. It is difficult, though, to establish comparisons amongst the degree of visibility that any such productions may enjoy abroad. The Breton and Galician cases are similar, having sold around 10 hours in the last three years. The Welsh case, however, stands out both as regards co-production schemes – with French (La cinquieme), Irish (RTE), Canadian and American companies, and through the network that sells in over fifty countries on different support media. An indicator of this is the fact that the children's series Super Ted became the first European animation to be broadcast by the Disney Cable Channel.

Besides the differences in business culture of the public broadcasters that served as a model, influencing for the better in the case of BBC over S4C, and negatively in the case of TVG's protective TVE-based model, the Welsh case is the best in order to locate the emergence of an audio-visual industry around the origin of S4C itself. It is defined as a broadcaster, and the contents arrive there in Welsh language but supplied, not only for news, reportage and magazine shows, but for the star series – Pobol and Cwyn – by the BBC itself

as well as by HTV and other independent companies that arose due to the emerging demands of the Welsh channel. In its turn, should TVG have not been designed as a protector, not only broadcaster company, it may never have come to exist, as the sector was lacking that was required beforehand as a support, and also due to the fact that the public television at state level was not willing to co-operate except through legal imposition in producing programmes in Galician language. Since the separation of public and private media are something very recent in both Spain and France, it has only been in the last few years that the relevant sector and its relation to the broadcasters have achieved sufficient significance in order to become the object of a study such as this one.

It is also noteworthy that is has been during the last five years, especially since 1995, that the audio-visual sector has grown at all in Galicia, Brittany and Wales, a process parallel to that of European policy in general. During this period companies are starting to specialise, and it is also when professional associations are established (ABAP, AGAPI, TAC). These associations carry out some sort of lobbying before the cultural and administrative instances, inside and out of their relevant territories, and undertake negotiations with the broadcasters. Moreover, they are the meeting points for information that is of interest to producers, and they generally devote much action to training and qualification, to overcome major problems as well as to assist their associates in business matters. The degree of involvement in training differs in each of the three cases, and it provides us at the Universities of Haute Bretagne – Rennes 2, Santiago and Wales with interesting data in order to deepen, from an academic standpoint, into curricular and research actions directed towards meeting the relevant demands. These are the design, production, dissemination and policy-making in promotion, that are the weak spots in the Galician as well as Welsh cases.

One thing is clear for the three cases, and that is that any future impulse or even possible extinction, shall derive from whatever knowledge is achieved of the complexity in the lines that are to be drawn for the progress of communication, on the one hand, and on making the most of the measures being implemented in European policy on the other, in order to drive the production in smaller countries, and, as an unalienable right, the production in their own languages, to a greater or lesser extent. To this respect, and because in any case concern for multimedia is a core issue both for broadcasters and producers, we call attention towards the recommendations under the final report

Building a European Information Society for everyone, of the Group of Top Level Experts at the European Commission/ Directorate General for employment, industrial relations and social affairs, drafted in April 1997, from which we quote out of 11b) Feeding the multi-cultural Europe:

> The use of technologies for information and communication may maintain a multi-cultural vision in Europe inside the information society – considered to be a focus of cultural development and transmission of ideas and facts proper to civilisation, promoting direct contacts between different groups (in general dispersed) and of support to multi-lingualism in European society. Co-operation shall be positive with similar programmes outside the borders of Europe, as well as by co-ordinating actions with international organisations that play a role in this domain».

The digital challenge: national, independent commercial identity as an inter-cultural asset.

The language and the national imagery as a value towards change, a growing audio-visual sector, community directives favouring digital compression and expanding inter-cultural relations... all point towards the Welsh case as the one where the awareness soon developed of Identity as a part of a commercial asset, both in the domestic market – development of corporate image campaigns in other television channels, qualitative studies around receptiveness, etc. as well as abroad. This idea of Identity shall deepen as a mark to confront its plans with the digital age.

Likewise, the reinforcement of the consideration of Identity as an element for promotion also emerges in TVG's lines of action, that shall also become an element requiring Galicianisation of the sector, as we may come to confirm in future analysis.

The awareness as to the changes that shall be brought by digitalisation and technological convergence for communication and competitiveness at the international market are manifest through producers opting towards multimedia, but more so through the actions of public televisions such as TVG or S4C, whose specific plans to be present at the digital arena are expressed in the words of Prys Edwards and Huw Jones, President and Executive Director of S4C: «for the first time ever the Welsh language has been given parity with English at the start of a technological revolution».

TVG's signal is transmitted throughout the territory of Spain via satellite (Via Digital) and cable (CTC, Cable i Televisión de Catalunya), or to territories that are close geographically (Asturias), or culturally (Portugal), as well as to Latin America, a continent where there are many emigrants, both

due to economic as well as ideological reasons (the latter after the civil war in 1936). This is done through cable in Argentina and Venezuela, satellite in Mexico and using both systems in Uruguay. All this indicates that the Galician language also enjoys another means of circulation. From this starting point, it shall have to face new requirements, further to those of a linguistic nature, to identify the contents and their quality, the same way that S4C intends to pursue this year, 1998, when it shall start to offer programming through Multiplex 3, including 30 minutes daily for Scotland in Gaelic language, and SDN, S4C Digital network Ltd; and via satellite to broadcast across Europe. Subtitling policies are envisaged to allow viewers in other countries to incorporate Welsh products into their everyday lives, given the good results obtained at home using the standard marketing formulae, reinforced since 1995 in the same manner that the language is being revitalised domestically. "The task now is to define the nature of the services which S4C might offer to viewers and to create for ourselves a unique identity in a multi-channel age".

RECOMMENDATIONS

To enter the multi-channel age from a multi-cultural philosophy, ensuring coverage of spaces and defining the identity of products as advertisement and also as a means to reach equal participation, free of discrimination, whatever the volume turned over by the sector.

To design policies for subtitling lesser used languages, by offering them on equal terms to versions in other major languages, as well as dubbing policies for each language together with research projects that may detect market niches and variety in a universe of reception: user features and cultures; starting at the countries in the Atlantic Arc to follow by potentiating the corporate image of public televisions in each country.

To discuss the role of the Authorities in the media, their duties towards the business and the public interest in the next fifteen years of transition from the old analogue towards the new digital sets, which discussions shall be of special interest to public broadcasters in small countries, as these are televisions that become a guarantee for the existence or even survival (the case for Breton) of original and pluralistic supply, both by reasons of costs and of political and cultural goals.

To expand on the traditional categories that define quality, in order to include therein Identity, attaching to it the sense of democratic and anti-xe-

nophobic values in learning about difference, otherness as inter-cultural values and implementation of difference with the basic tools of indexing, marketing and copyrighting.

To attract, after all, the unavoidable political and commercial logic of the cultures towards the logic of telecommunications, forsaking the delusion of similarity and recognising ourselves, to quote the words of Dominique Wolton, in a mutual acceptance of radical differences that make up the European space, but in order to make it profitable as it becomes visible.

Santiago de Compostela, April 1998