

This is an Open Access document downloaded from ORCA, Cardiff University's institutional repository:<https://orca.cardiff.ac.uk/id/eprint/154417/>

This is the author's version of a work that was submitted to / accepted for publication.

Citation for final published version:

Chivers, Thomas and Allan, Stuart 2024. A public value typology for public service broadcasting in the UK. *Cultural Trends* 33 (2) , pp. 205-221. 10.1080/09548963.2022.2151340

Publishers page: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2022.2151340>

Please note:

Changes made as a result of publishing processes such as copy-editing, formatting and page numbers may not be reflected in this version. For the definitive version of this publication, please refer to the published source. You are advised to consult the publisher's version if you wish to cite this paper.

This version is being made available in accordance with publisher policies. See <http://orca.cf.ac.uk/policies.html> for usage policies. Copyright and moral rights for publications made available in ORCA are retained by the copyright holders.



## **A Public Value Typology for Public Service Broadcasting in the UK**

### **Abstract**

Rapid changes in audience habits, media technologies and market dynamics have prompted searching questions about the role and relevance of public service broadcasting (PSB) in the modern digital media landscape. In the UK, where cultural policymaking is increasingly politicised, the normative ideals traditionally associated with PSB are being openly contested. This article evaluates how PSB generates varied forms of ‘public value’ of benefit to viewing and listening publics, policy stakeholders and the creative sector. On the basis of its qualitative analysis of policy documents and related research literatures over two decades, a typology of six values—social, cultural, economic, industrial, representational and civic—is identified and critiqued across regulatory and institutional frameworks. In assessing the challenges, risks and opportunities for sustaining these public values, this article offers its typology for informing cultural and media policy debates on the future of PSB in the UK and beyond.

### **Keywords**

Public service broadcasting; public value; cultural and media policy; digital media ecology; BBC; Channel 4

### **Authors**

Tom Chivers is a Research Associate in the School of Journalism, Media and Culture at Cardiff University, UK. He contributes to the ‘Arts, Culture and Broadcasting’ workstrand for the Creative Industries Policy and Evidence Centre (co-ordinated by Nesta) funded by the AHRC. He holds a doctorate in Media and Communications from Goldsmiths, University of London.

Stuart Allan is Professor of Journalism and Communication in the School of Journalism, Media and Culture at Cardiff University, UK. He leads the ‘Arts, Culture and Broadcasting’ workstrand for the Creative Industries Policy and Evidence Centre (co-ordinated by Nesta) funded by the AHRC.

Contact: Tom Chivers [ChiversT@cardiff.ac.uk](mailto:ChiversT@cardiff.ac.uk)

### **Funder information**

We are pleased to acknowledge funding for this research was awarded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (grant number: AH/S001298/1) in support of the Creative Industries Policy and Evidence Centre (PEC).

### **Acknowledgements**

For their helpful comments and insights, we extend our gratitude to our workstrand colleagues at Cardiff University, particularly Richard Sambrook and Cynthia Carter, as well as to Bruce Tether and Eliza Easton at the Creative Industries Policy and Evidence Centre (PEC).

## **Introduction**

Public service broadcasting (PSB) faces an uncertain future in the UK, as in many countries around the world. While searching debates about its purpose can be traced back to its emergence almost a century ago, the last two decades have witnessed transformative changes. Across Europe, where public ownership and regulation of radio and television are commonplace, national models of PSB are being recast by rapidly evolving audience consumption habits, disruptive new technologies and intense market competition from global media producers. These fluid, uneven and inchoate dynamics present considerable challenges, not only for how PSBs commission, produce and distribute their content, but also for how diverse publics find, access and value what they watch or listen to across an array of devices and platforms (Lowe et al., 2018; Túñez-López et al., 2021). Evaluating the effectiveness and sustainability of PSB within transitioning media ecologies requires recalibrating the concepts and categories typically applied to assess analogue, over-the-air terrestrial broadcasting.

The open politicisation of national policymaking further complicates the efforts of PSBs to adapt to globalising media landscapes. In the UK, the Conservative government's embrace of Brexit and 'levelling up,' coupled with opposition to what they perceive to be the 'woke agenda' of 'liberal elitists', have coalesced to advance the party's long-expressed desire to commercialise public service broadcasters. The official White Paper on the future of broadcasting (DCMS, 2022) formalised the government's plans for two major reforms: the potential abolition of the television licence fee (the BBC's principal funding source) by 2027, and the imminent privatisation of the publicly-owned, commercially funded broadcaster Channel 4. Both changes threaten to crack the foundations of the UK's unique 'mixed' ecology of PSB—comprising various forms of public funding (BBC, S4C), not-for-profit (Channel 4) and public regulation of commercial services (ITV, Channel 5)—with the White Paper failing to secure evidence-led rationales, let alone specific proposals to replace them (Media Reform Coalition, 2022).

Against this backdrop, re-appraising PSB's evolving value proposition in digital-driven environments becomes a pressing priority. Prospective redefinitions of public service for advocates and critics alike will entail reassessing normative principles for PSB policy with an eye to measurable public benefits. This article contributes to critical modes of enquiry by examining the multifaceted dimensions of 'public value,' namely through a close, qualitative analysis of relevant academic research and PSB policy documentation published since 2000. On this evidential basis, we propose a new typology of six values—social, cultural, economic, industrial, representational and civic—characteristic of a PSB ethos in the UK. Detailing the legal, regulatory and institutional inscriptions of each value in turn, we examine how and why policymakers formulate strategic responses to risks and constraints, while also identifying opportunities to enhance future sustainability. In closing, we consider this typology's potential for PSB policy debates both in the UK and beyond, showing why we believe a public value-centred approach to policymaking enriches interpretative analysis and decision-making.

### **Public value as a strategic concept**

Beginning in the final years of the last century, a 'public value' agenda—Moore's (1995) initial conceptualisation being formative—emerged as a counter to certain prevailing administrative rationales of the 1980s, particularly those advocating the transposing of private sector logics onto public sector institutions as the best means of serving citizens-as-clients. In marked contrast, Moore proposed that the value of public services hinged on the trade-offs between three core functions: the distinct social benefits produced by the service; the sources of public

legitimacy that authorise a public organisation to provide the service; and the resources (finance, staff, skills, etc.) required to sustain the service (Bennington and Moore, 2011; see also Mazzucato and Ryan-Collins, 2019). As well as making a positive case for the role of government in organising socially and economically important realms of public life, Moore's model of public value stressed reflexivity, recognising the contested meanings associated with what the public values, both individually and collectively (Bennington, 2009:235; Coyle and Woolard, 2010:24).

For our purposes, it is useful to briefly highlight where these ideas correspond with efforts to model PSB and other public sector organisations for assessment. Applications of public value theory include reports by the Cabinet Office (Kelly et al., 2002), Arts Council England (Bunting, 2007; Rumbold, 2008) and The Work Foundation (Coats and Passmore, 2008), amongst others at the time. In the case of the BBC, it informed its 2004 document 'Building public value' (BPV), which embraced Moore's language to distinguish the Corporation's "unique contribution to the UK's broadcasting system" amidst a rapidly evolving media landscape (2004:8). BPV argued the BBC's unique PSB remit created value for the British public as both consumers (who gain personally from using, watching or listening to BBC content) and as citizens (benefitting collectively from the social and cultural impacts of BBC services), while also detailing the BBC's wider economic advantages for the creative industries (BBC, 2004:29; Collins, 2007). BPV applied this public value notion of PSB to a reformed regulatory model, requiring new or revised BBC services to pass a 'Public Value Test' assessing their scale, scope and delivery of democratic, cultural, educational, social or global value.

The government adopted the BPV model in full as part of the 2006 renewal of the BBC's Royal Charter, though the resulting regulatory processes and governance framework were replaced again as part of the next formal Charter review in 2016. During its short lifespan, however, the application and core assumptions of the BBC's public value framework attracted many of the same critiques sparked by public value theory more broadly. Some have noted the uneasy tension between, on the one hand, the normative vision of a more responsive, public-driven BBC and, on the other hand, the predominance of consumer research and concerns for 'market impact' that typified its application of public value regulation (see Lee et al., 2011; Martin and Lowe, 2014; Ramsey, 2017). The resulting system of public value assessments employed numerous quantitative measures, such as the reach, cost and value for money of a BBC service, while broader qualitative contributions to the democratic, cultural or social life of audiences received much less interrogation (Dawes, 2021:11; Oakley et al., 2006:7).

The model adopted by the BBC between 2007 and 2016 envisaged the public more as 'service users' with aggregated needs and interests, rather than as active participants in a "social dialogue of the commons in which plural perspectives about what is of value co-exist" (Meyrick and Barnett, 2021:79). Moe and Van den Bulck's (2014) comparative analysis suggests that many of the contradictions evidenced by the BBC's mid-2000s reforms are also apparent across European PSBs' applications of 'public value' (see also Grasnow, 2020). That is, as a vague umbrella term for traditional goals and rationales for public intervention in media (e.g. the Netherlands, Ireland); as a rhetorical device for defending against aggressive political reforms (Flanders, Norway); and as a conspicuously market-conscious tool in ex ante regulation (Germany, Austria, Denmark). Meyrick and Barnett (2021), in their analysis of Australia's arts and culture value measurement policies, similarly challenge the institutionalising qualities of a public value framework, and its inclination for fabricating "a bank of expert knowledge that generates a specialised discourse rather than engaging evaluation as a topic of general community concern" (2021:78).

Alert to these important critiques, efforts to employ public value as a strategic concept recognise its potential for interrogating PSB's guiding tenets anew in a climate of considerable uncertainty engendered by political, economic and technological disruption. To this end, we consider a typology-based approach to be analytically beneficial for generating dialogue and debate amongst stakeholders, each of whom likely to express alternative perceptions of value consistent with their respective interests. A typology represents a conceptual strategy, its explanatory power for policymaking expressed through the differentiation of organising principles to capture complexities in a simplifying—but not simplistic—schematic framework. As we will show in the configuration and application of our proposed typology, it proceeds by first identifying and then elaborating the definitional criteria and evaluative categories—normative, conceptual and empirical—informing the selective ordering of descriptive classifications. As we shall show, the six values pinpointed for scrutiny are interrelated and interwoven to varying degrees, with relative salience often a matter of emphasis in a hierarchy of contrasting perceptions. In this iterative process of counterposing statements and evidence, we recognise the importance of ensuring our typology is dynamic, and thereby suitably cognisant of contingencies. This entails being self-reflexive about our modes of abstraction, taking due care to avoid what Whitehead (1925:51) aptly called 'the fallacy of misplaced concreteness'.

### **Social value**

In accentuating the unique nature of broadcasting media as 'public goods' (Berg et al., 2014; D'Arma et al., 2021; O'Neill, 2016), long-standing justifications for PSB recurrently emphasise the significant benefit to society of democratising free, equitable access to content—particularly news and information—that fosters a national conversation. Current PSB policy for creating *social value* is broadly organised around two inter-related principles in the UK: *universality* and *accessibility*. Universality refers to public broadcasters providing programmes and services that cater to the diverse needs and interests of a national community and its constituent minorities (Donders, 2019; Trappel, 2014; Van den Bulck and Moe, 2018). The Office of Communications' (Ofcom) regulatory reviews recurrently specify "dealing with a wide range of subject-matters" and meeting the needs of "as many different audiences as possible" as the essential qualities each of the PSBs must fulfil (Ofcom, 2005:7, 2020b:8). The social value of universality remains an implicit goal, even if its underlying benefits—opening all audiences to viewpoints and experiences, building a shared national identity and dialogue, and drawing the public "serendipitously across different and unforeseen kinds of programming, whether less known, less popular or new content" (Born and Prosser, 2001:676)—are rarely stated explicitly.

Regulatory requirements for accessibility are intended to ensure PSB services are not limited by a person's ability to pay, their geographic location or the devices used to consume media content. UK statute requires the BBC's radio networks and all PSB TV channels be made available through a broad regime of spectrum allocation controls, 'must carry' obligations for cable and satellite providers, and Ofcom's regulation of prominence in electronic programming guides (EPGs). These regulations are often described in policy circles as the advantages conferred to broadcasters in exchange for taking on commercially onerous PSB obligations (House of Lords, 2019:28; Ofcom, 2020b:9). The social value of universal and accessible PSB emerges in unifying the country through shared experiences, especially in broadcasting significant events (e.g., elections, live performances, sporting and cultural occasions) otherwise not publicly available beyond subscription or pay-per-view providers.

Recent audience research suggests these objectives are widely valued by the public (DCMS, 2016:109; Ofcom/Jigsaw, 2020a:42). However, there is far less certainty in how social value might be measured in practice. Ofcom's statutory duty to monitor PSB provision provides rich datasets on hours of content broadcast and audience consumption habits, but seldom offers further interrogation of whether and how sufficiently PSB output actually contributes to social cohesion and development. The inherent difficulty in comparing qualitative ideals with quantitative market measures remains an unsettled issue (D'Arma and Labio, 2017; Goddard, 2017), not least given Ofcom's overarching aim to promote competition within an increasingly commercialised regulatory paradigm. Here the rapid growth of subscription video on-demand services (SVODs) is driving change, rapidly expanding how, when and where audiences can consume an almost limitless supply of content in contrast with 'linear' broadcasting (Van den Bulck and Moe, 2018).

To define the social value of PSB by its historic connection with earlier broadcast norms, conventions and formats would be reductionist. Although digital platforms such as YouTube and Netflix have rewritten the rules by which audiences discover, access and consume content, the new media ecology has not yet demonstrated "whether the sum of individual preferences and choices are adequate to satisfy the broader social, cultural and political interests of a collective group as a whole" (Berg et al., 2014:110-1). Public recognition of these social purposes will largely depend on how well PSBs adapt existing services (or even establish new ones) in an increasingly fragmented, non-linear and 'platformised' environment. This is likely to involve incorporating the 'big data' techniques and customisation features associated with their subscription video on-demand (SVOD) rivals (Murschetz, 2020). Although the recent White Paper (DCMS, 2022) includes proposals for updating prominence regulations to ensure PSB content is still accessible on popular digital platforms, wider proposals for a new PSB remit do not even mention universality as a core principle – leaving serious doubts over how PSBs will sustain a parity of service with all audiences.

### **Cultural value**

Alongside these social benefits, the UK's PSB model also creates *cultural value* for audiences, namely through providing high quality original content across different subjects and formats to enhance individuals' engagement and enrichment. "The arts not only improve our quality of life," as Genders (2020:71) points out, "but also make us better citizens through offering alternative perspectives on contemporary issues and fostering mutual understanding between cultures and communities."

Upholding cultural excellence in the creative standards of PSB content is a cornerstone of UK policy, entrenched in the Ofcom Broadcasting Code. While it applies to all licenced UK broadcasters, PSB licences provide for a more expansive conception of 'quality,' one guaranteeing the provision of original, distinctive programmes across news, education, the arts, history, music, children's education and religious programming. The BBC Royal Charter and its accompanying Operating Licence with Ofcom stipulate the purpose of each BBC service, setting out the minimum number of programming hours in these genres. ITV and Channel 5 are similarly regulated for current affairs and factual programming, while Channel 4's licence explicitly requires it appeal to "the tastes and interests of a culturally diverse society".

Recent Ofcom audience research suggests strong public support and appreciation for PSBs providing content that "is not, and sometimes could not, be replicated by other providers" (Ofcom/Jigsaw, 2020a:43). This value has been further demonstrated throughout the Covid-19 pandemic, with wide recognition of how specialist programming proved beneficial, not least

for children and young people unable to attend classrooms. Still, this does not mean PSBs best serve the public by operating solely as ‘market gap’ services, merely delivering genres that commercial broadcasters fail to provide sufficiently to meet audience needs (Goddard, 2017). As Pact, the independent producers’ trade association, argued during the last formal review of the BBC’s Royal Charter, “genres such as drama, entertainment and comedy are part of this country’s cultural heritage [and] ensure that a range of genres remain at the heart of BBC programming, delivering on what licence fee payers expect to see on-screen” (2015:10). The current mixed PSB ecology creates a competition for quality (in contrast to a competition for funding) in popular genres like drama and entertainment, while also ensuring specialised ‘merit’ content is widely available to all audiences.

A further dimension of PSBs’ cultural value is apparent in the production of UK-originated content that reflects issues and experiences relevant to the distinct audiences and communities of the British public. Measuring the volume of ‘UK first-run originations’ has become an important marker for broadcasters, demonstrating how levels of investment in national production translate into content provision. In this assessment, PSBs are vastly outperforming the major streaming and pay-TV providers that have taken up stronger market positions in recent years. In 2018, PSBs produced 29,800 hours of original UK content across a range of genres, compared to just 571 hours available on SVoD services (Ofcom, 2021:69). Despite the extensive production budgets available to SVoDs and their growing UK market penetration, these international companies are a considerable distance from matching the volume of PSB-originated programmes. As the Voice of the Listener and Viewer noted, while SVOD content adds choice, it “generally does not reflect the UK back to itself because it is usually aimed at a homogenous global market,” before adding “there is no guarantee of a diversity or range of content on SVOD platforms (VLV, 2019). Recent data examined by Enders Analysis (2021) also suggests the growing trend of SVoD co-productions has resulted in content “predominantly less ‘British’ than that commissioned directly by local broadcasters”, while Ofcom research reiterated how audiences themselves view UK-made drama and comedy as “more relatable than international content” (Ofcom/Jigsaw, 2020b:11).

The PSB model nonetheless faces stark challenges in sustaining, let alone enhancing its cultural value in the future. Rising production costs threaten to price out PSB investment in genres making up the core of broadcasters’ collective cultural offer, such as high-end drama and factual documentaries. The DCMS White Paper (2022:23) includes plans for requiring that PSBs produce more “distinctively British content,” but offers few details on how this will be classified or even funded. D’Arma et al. (2021:696) similarly note from comparative case studies of Flanders, Italy and the UK that collaboration with SVoDs with their focus on international audiences risks marginalising PSBs’ “distinctiveness as contributors to national culture”. Cuts in public funding and falling advertising revenues risk leading to PSBs offering a narrower range of programmes in specialist genres, thereby diminishing their distinctiveness from market services and weakening audience appeal. The UK government’s proposed privatisation of Channel 4 would almost certainly decrease commercial investment in both specialist genres and original UK production (Chivers and Allan, 2021), while the recent scrapping of the Young Audiences Content Fund subsidy scheme represents a major step backwards in funding for a recognised market failure genre (Children’s Media Foundation, 2022).

### **Economic value**

Economic debates about PSB have often focused on monitoring (and more recently limiting) the impact of publicly-funded structural interventions on commercial media markets. Where

the scale and scope of the BBC's provision are concerned, for example, Ofcom's newly acquired regulatory oversight places a telling emphasis on assessing whether the public value of a service "*justifies adverse impacts on fair and effective competition*" (Ofcom, 2017:2, emphasis added). Government policy and regulatory decision-making throughout the past decade has increasingly echoed the claims of commercial media interests and free market critics, including the contention the BBC's licence fee funding model stifles fair competition and crowds out private investment. At the same time, many PSB advocates make the case for greater investment, insisting changing conditions in both national and global media markets invite a reconsideration of the positive economic value PSB can generate in the wider creative sector.

The BBC, Channel 4 and ITV have each employed calculations of 'gross value added' (GVA) to demonstrate the positive rate of return their public service enterprises create for the creative sector and the UK's nations and regions. Analysing data inclusive of employment figures, spend on goods and services, investment in induced or indirect economic activities, and the like, recent studies present compelling evidence. "For every £1 of direct economic output," according to KPMG's (2021:4) findings, "the BBC generated a further £1.63 of economic output in the rest of the UK economy through the BBC's indirect and induced impacts" in 2019/20. The study also shows that more than half of the £4.9bn GVA created by the BBC was generated outside of London, while Mediatique's (2021:59) research identified £538m of value generated by ITV in the nations and regions in 2019 — amounting to an additional 78p of economic value for every £1 of payroll and supply chain expense. Channel 4 is similarly estimated to have created £992m of UK-wide GVA in 2019, including £274m in the nations and regions.

Such analyses point to a more holistic 'costs/benefits analysis' of PSB, balancing the impact on commercial competition with the broader value of public investment to both the national and regional economies. In weighing the trade-offs implicit to PSBs' broader social, cultural and democratic benefits, it is also important to consider how the legitimacy and sustainability of these benefits depends crucially on audiences' own evaluations of their personal transactional relationship with media providers. 'Value for money' is an institutional imperative of any major organisation, but one especially important for the BBC, both because of its receipt of compulsory television licence fee funding and its statutory financial reporting duties. Recent reports by the BBC have sought to emphasise the relative good value for money the current £157.70-a-year charge offers to the public, estimating that an equivalent hypothetical private subscription package of media services would cost £400 a year. Due to long-term efficiency savings and below-inflation increases in the licence fee since 2010, the BBC (2021b:30-31) suggests that its universal funding model enables it to keep overall production costs lower than currently achieved by SVODs and as a result is "providing much more to audiences now, for less."

The sustainability of these funding arrangements, however, ultimately depends on the public's willingness to pay for PSB services in exchange for the perceived consumer value they receive in return. Recent opinion polling complicates any easy assumption the public believes the licence fee always offers good value for money (YouGov, 2021), emboldening recent government efforts to subject the compulsory licence fee model to wider debate in time for the end of the BBC's current Charter term in 2027. A further challenge for the BBC's delivery of economic value is the increasing politicisation of appointments, funding settlements and budgetary decisions, making future planning for resource allocation more difficult to project. The recent two-year freeze in the TV licence fee means that the BBC will lose approximately £1.4bn (or 30% of its total income) every year until the end of the Charter period, leading



inevitably to compounding cuts in staff and services and further diminishing the BBC's ability to fulfil its core PSB objectives.

Across the entire PSB ecosystem, maintaining a positive contribution to the UK economy appears increasingly uncertain as broadcasters face declining commercial advertising revenues, intense competition from ascendant streaming platforms such as Netflix, Amazon and Disney+, and rampant inflation in production costs (Ebiquity, 2019). These challenges point to the importance of economic value both as a beneficial outcome of PSB interventions, and as an essential complement to other forms of value. If audiences do not allot personal value to PSBs' output, they are unlikely to view those organisations as economically effective or relevant to them. In turn, without a strong sense of the economic legitimacy of PSB, the public may no longer support mechanisms for the sustainable funding of PSB services that produce social, cultural, or other forms of value.

### **Industrial value**

Financial efficiency, value for money and consumer competitiveness are important markers of accountability for publicly funded organisations such as the BBC. These economic factors are not the only means by which funding and regulation outcomes can be measured, however. PSB also generates a distinct industrial value for individual media businesses, the creative workforce and, by extension, UK audiences. Through building up infrastructure, skills and technological innovation, investment fuels growth in the creative industries, while catalysing the quality of the UK's production base. The industrial value of PSB emerges from its cumulative 'market shaping' effect, where, in Mazzucato et al.'s (2020) words, it "crowds in private investment and creative processes through 'de-risking' or opening up activity in the media innovation chain" (2020:32). This process, while comparable to the spill-over effects generated by all producers in the media market, emphasises the wider potential of PSB investment to actively pursue socially beneficial public policy interventions in national or regional economies.

Related industrial benefits can be seen across a variety of top-down regulatory interventions, as well as in the investment activities of PSBs themselves. In recent years, the BBC, ITV and Channel 4 have played a formative role in establishing concentrated centres of employment and investment. BBC production activity in Cardiff is estimated to have supported over 2,200 jobs across the South Wales economy (KPMG, 2021:39-41), while analysis by EY (2021:29) similarly indicates that Channel 4's relocated Leeds headquarters and its Creative Hub in Glasgow are "allowing local external producers to grow and diversify, and ... attracting new local producers to the area". These clusters serve as localised 'anchors' for attracting a specialist supply chain of businesses and services for the UK's TV, radio, film and digital sectors.

Targeted measures like commissioning quotas and the 'Terms of Trade' agreed between PSBs and the independent production sector further ensure smaller, independent production companies benefit from PSBs' market interventions, retaining revenues and intellectual property rights over future distribution. The 2003 Communications Act requires independent productions account for at least 25% of hours of first-run PSB programming, while the 'publisher-broadcaster' status of Channel 4 and S4C, together with recent reforms of the BBC's commissioning, have resulted in PSBs comprising 77% of demand for UK independent production companies (Pact, 2021). This symbiotic relationship between PSBs and 'indies' distinguishes the industrial benefits of PSB's public ethos — investing in small- and medium-sized businesses across the country while widening the diversity of suppliers producing public service content — from the more profit-oriented rationales of global streaming services.

The mixed PSB model also enhances the competitive sustainability of the wider screen sector and creative industries, primarily through investing in a highly skilled workforce and sharing the benefits of new media technologies. These efforts are supported by a range of PSB policy measures and industry initiatives. The BBC is required to provide training that maintains skills and productivity across the audio-visual industry, while Channel 4's '4Skills' programme is likewise aimed at "attracting people from diverse backgrounds into our industry and progressing the careers of those already within the sector, with a particular focus on the Nations and Regions" (Channel 4, 2021:41). Licence fee funding for innovative technologies played an historic role in the development and public dissemination of HD TV programming, the digital switchover, digital archiving and, most significantly, video-on-demand streaming, all of which helped to de-risk market entry, incentivize investment in UK media and improve the overall quality of services available to UK audiences (Nesta, 2015). Netflix's founder and CEO Reed Hastings praised the innovation of BBC iPlayer, which he argued "blazed the trail" for meeting audiences' expectations for on-demand viewing before commercial SVOD platforms had established themselves in the emerging marketplace (cited in *The Telegraph*, 2014).

While political debate over the future of PSB often features clashing interpretations of economic value, a recognition of industrial value invites contrasting measures of the wider benefits of public investment for audiences, the creative industries and regional economies around the UK. However, there is a hanging question over whether industrial value is a component feature of PSB, or—as some critics suggest—simply a sub-set of economic value inherent to any public or private media enterprises. PSBs are placing greater emphasis on industry partnerships, training and co-productions as a means of maintaining flexibility and relevance in the dynamic global broadcasting marketplace, yet as Lowe (2016) notes, "collaborative works are fragmented in terms of who owns what, who contributed what, and who deserves credit (and which types) for what" (2016:45). Balancing different stakeholders' expectations of how and where industrial value should be created is likely to become even more difficult as policymakers look to merge current PSB approaches—including deregulating or removing existing industrial policies, such as Channel 4's publisher-broadcaster status—with attempts at regulating the role of SVODs and 'big tech' in UK media.

### **Representational value**

A PSB ethos prioritising universal access, cultural distinction and economic value serving all audiences on an equitable basis can be realised only when the interests, tastes and needs of minority groups are adequately addressed (McQuail, 2019; Nieminen, 2019). PSBs play a pivotal role in representing the diverse lifestyles and communities making up modern society, as well as tackling systemic inequalities and exclusion facing minority groups within the creative industries. Consistent with their obligations to serve all audiences, PSBs are ideally positioned to create representational value by ensuring the voices of multi-cultural society are heard in the national conversation — not just those from the largest, traditionally dominant groups. The representational value of PSBs is demonstrated primarily in two distinct, though inter-related, trends in recent policy and strategy: accurate and meaningful portrayal of the UK's nations, regions and minority audiences; and enhancing the diversity of talent and staff employed in the broadcasting industry.

While domestic commercial broadcasters such as Sky make valuable voluntary contributions to these efforts, PSBs are explicitly committed to achieving these aims within their respective licences and regulated remits. Channel 4's founding mission, established in 1982 and formalised in subsequent public licences, centres on providing content that "appeals to the tastes and interests of a culturally diverse society" (Ofcom, 2014:11), serving minority

audiences otherwise neglected by broadcasters. The BBC's renewed 2016 Charter similarly includes a public purpose to "accurately and authentically represent and portray" UK society (DCMS, 2016:12), while Ofcom's sector wide reviews of the core purposes of PSB have emphasised the importance of catering to under-represented groups for contributing to a more inclusive, tolerant and pluralist society. Across the range of programmes and services alert to the needs of ethnic minorities (e.g., BBC's Asian Network), UK nations (e.g. S4C and STV) and regions (e.g. ITV's regional news and programmes produced under the 'out-of-London' quotas), PSBs are responsible for producing the vast majority of content reflecting the diversity of lived experiences (Future of TV, 2016:103). As Channel 4 (2019:53) has noted, achieving this is essential for meeting audiences' expectations to see themselves and their communities reflected in media, "and that doing so contrasts with the international settings of most programmes offered on the biggest streaming services".

PSBs also create representational value by enhancing the role of under-represented groups as broadcasting talent, production staff and managerial or executive figures within their organisations and across the creative industries. This is a vital step for PSBs striving to re-envision their audiences within universalist ambitions for a participatory society. "Equality entails the capacity for minorities to directly control their own representation," as McQuail (2019:36) argues, "either by having their own media outlets or having sufficient representation in the staff of the main mass media." By widening the range of opinion, identities and expressions included in the routine content output, PSBs raise the standards for commercial broadcasters to emulate. Mazzucato et al. (2020:33) underscore this logic when pointing out how the BBC's decision to feature more women as lead presenters in sports coverage advanced gender equality in what has been a male-centered domain, engendering "the spillover effect of creating role models and 'normalising' new attitudes about women in sport".

This is not to suggest that PSBs have fully grasped the scale of structural inequalities relating to class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality and regional identities, amongst others, continuing to blight the wider UK screen industries (see Carey et al., 2021; McElroy and Noonan, 2018; and Rogers 2020). 'Measuring' the relative impact of initiatives is a complex process, with targets and quotas sometimes appearing tokenistic or improperly assessed. 'Doing diversity,' as Malik (2013:229) observes, "fails to speak to the range of issues that are involved in achieving a more equitable politics of cultural representation and consequently has limited potential to destabilise dominant power structures in institutional life." Even with currently reported data, improvements in workforce diversity across the UK broadcasting industry are taking much too long (see Carey et al., 2021). There is also a significant gap between how the UK public rates representational value as a PSB priority and how audiences rate the effectiveness of PSBs at delivering it. Reflecting the diversity is highly rated by audiences as an important value, yet in one recent Ofcom (2020a) survey only half of UK audiences felt PSBs were successful in accurately portraying their own nation/region to the rest of the country.

Moreover, the economic challenges facing all UK broadcasters pose a growing threat to the ability of PSBs to sustain a sufficient provision of content, particularly for minority-language broadcasters "expected to sustain linguistic and cultural diversity while also needing to retain political support" (McElroy and Noonan, 2018:161). The representational value that PSB offers is ultimately dependent on sustainable funding and investment in diverse services and content, which in turn is contingent on public perceptions of how well PSBs serve communal and individual interests.

## **Civic value**

The civic value of high-quality public interest journalism is widely recognised in both policy circles and academia as one of the defining benefits of PSB. Survey data confirm audiences concur, with UK adults rating the provision of balanced and accurate news reporting to be the most valuable benefit the PSBs deliver for society (Ofcom, 2020a:7). Related research confirms the status of the UK's free-to-air PSBs as the most used sources for news and current affairs amongst all major broadcast, print and online news providers. BBC News, ITV News and Channel 4 'newsbrands' earned the largest positive net trust scores of all major UK news brands, even as public trust in news generally has fallen by 20% since 2015 (Reuters Institute, 2020:62).

Grounded in legal commitments to impartiality, balance and accuracy, PSB news informs individuals about the world around them, raises awareness and understanding of issues affecting their lives and communities, and fosters audiences' sense of place in public life. PSBs "provide collective benefits in democratic societies," as Trappel (2014:133) maintains, in principle "enhancing non-partisan and independently informed citizenry, augmenting social empathy and equality among citizens by providing platforms for participatory controversy and discourse, and controlling the powerful in society by holding them to public account. Accurate, impartial news enhances public trust at a time when traditional news formats are under intense market pressure. Consolidation in the ownership of commercial print, TV and radio news, together with the increasing prominence of unregulated 'big tech' firms in determining how audiences find and access news, characterise a period of major disruption. Some 90% of the national newspaper market is controlled by three publishers, namely News UK, Daily Mail Group and Reach, while Facebook owns three of the top five social media services UK audiences use to access online news (Media Reform Coalition, 2021). In local news provision, three-fifths of local areas across the UK are not served by a single daily local newspaper (Plum Consulting, 2020:46-7). In this context, PSBs' extensive national, regional and local news services across platforms, together with initiatives such as the BBC's Local News Partnership – which currently funds 165 reporters who cover civic and democratic news for local news titles – demonstrate how this civic value resonates in public life.

In contrast with privately-owned providers, PSBs are publicly answerable institutions whose governance, funding and management are relatively open and transparent. Whereas commercial media organisations orient their business models to capitalise on the most profitable audience base, the institutional identities of the BBC, Channel 4 and S4C are founded on ideals of democratic responsibility. That said, the lines of PSB accountability often run through opaque regulatory bureaucracies, rather than direct public oversight, and have fallen increasingly susceptible to government pressure. While this interference points to a deeper challenge in guaranteeing the independence of public media, there are clear opportunities for PSBs to give citizens a more active role in the governance, commissioning and production of public service media (Vanhaeght and Donders, 2015:293). As pay-TV providers and SVODs continue to expand their commercial purview around content personalisation and curated recommendations, PSBs will need to foster a more open, inclusive culture of engagement and participation. Public trust and loyalty in an era of 'fake news' and disinformation will continue to be vital to their future legitimacy.

Noteworthy in this context are numerous studies of European countries charting apparently growing generational divisions in who uses public news services. "[C]onnecting with younger people and those with more limited formal education is a particular challenge" for PSBs, a Reuters Institute's (2019:29) report states, all the more "striking given that both private news media and platforms like Facebook and YouTube are often more widely used by younger people for news." For those less willing to pay for online news, the digital delivery of

‘traditional’ news outlets may appear to be out of step with “the content, format and style of how users [prefer to] interact with each particular platform” (Flamingo/Reuters, 2019:43; see also Kammer et al., 2014). In the UK, further systemic lacunae and impediments include the dwindling provision of PSB news services for children and young people, exacerbating issues of online safety and media literacy (Carter et al., 2021). Should the civic value of PSBs be undermined for this generation through declining service reach, future public support for the wider PSB framework is put at ever greater risk.

## **Conclusion**

It is hoped this typology will prove productive for ongoing efforts to reassess the strategic direction for PSB policymaking in the UK. While it is for others to evaluate its relative utility for further national contexts, our aim has been to help inspire fresh thinking about structural, organisational and operational challenges. In recognising the public as the principal stakeholder of PSB, this typology centres their needs, interests and priorities as drivers of change, while acknowledging the distinct modalities of ‘the public’ as individuals, citizens, consumers, and/or ‘investors’ in creative industries. At the same time, brings to light tensions reverberating across the varied conceptions of ‘value’ at stake, prompting new questions to emerge about the realignment of financial investment and regulatory reform to better deliver a public service ethos consistent with the civic demands of modern democracy.

In a media landscape beset by issues of mistrust, disinformation and hyper-partisanship, familiar assumptions about how audiences find, consume and value media content look increasingly outmoded. PSB policymaking in the UK, as elsewhere around the world, reveals broadcasters are under intense pressures to compete with ‘global players,’ while simultaneously nurturing resources vital to sustaining provision for national, regional and local communities. Compromises will be hard-won as PSBs respond to the challenges posed by those calling for privatisation, further reductions to public income, or ‘market friendly’ redefinitions of what counts as public service. Facing such uncertainties, we believe the case for the universality of the UK’s unique PSB ecology must be remade, not least for those younger audiences less than convinced about its value in public life. Accordingly, we invite policymakers, industry stakeholders, audience groups and other interested parties to engage in an open deliberation about our prospective typology, to recalibrate its guiding tenants and test its pragmatic usefulness for re-envisioning the future of public service broadcasting in the UK and beyond.

## **References**

- BBC (2004) *Building Public Value: Renewing the BBC for a digital world*. Available online: <https://downloads.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/policies/pdf/bpv.pdf>
- BBC (2021b) *BBC Value for Audiences*. Available online: <http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/reports/reports/value-for-audiences-2021.pdf>
- Benington, J. (2009) Creating the Public in Order to Create Public Value? in *International Journal of Public Administration*, 32(3-4):232-249.
- Benington, J. and Moore, M. (2011) *Public Value: Theory and Practice*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Berg, C., Lowe, G., and Lund, A. (2014) A Market Failure Perspective on Value Creation in PSM in Lowe, G. & Martin, F. (eds.) *The Value of Public Service Media*. Gothenburg: Nordicom, pp.105-126.
- Born, G. and Prosser, T. (2001) Culture and Consumerism: Citizenship, Public Service Broadcasting and the BBC's Fair Trading Obligations, in *The Modern Law Review*, 64(5):657-87.
- Bunting, C. (2007) *Public Value and the Arts in England: Discussion and conclusions of the arts debate*. Arts Council England. Available online: <https://www.artscouncil.co.uk/research/public-value-arts-england-discussion-conclusions-arts-debate/>
- Carey, H., O'Brien, D. and Gable, O. (2021) *Screened out: Tackling class inequality in the UK Screen Industries*. Creative Industries Policy and Evidence Centre, UK. Available online: <https://cdn2.assets-servd.host/creative-pec/production/assets/publications/PEC-and-ScreenSkills-report-Screened-Out-FINAL-April-2021.pdf>
- Carter, C., Steemers, J. and Messenger-Davies, M. (2021) Why children's news matters: The case of CBBC Newsround in the UK, in *Communications*, 46(3):352-372.
- Channel 4 (2019) *Channel 4 Television Corporation Report and Financial Statements 2019*. Available online [https://assets-corporate.channel4.com/\\_flysystem/s3/2021-04/C4\\_AR19\\_final\\_acc\\_updated%20200421.pdf](https://assets-corporate.channel4.com/_flysystem/s3/2021-04/C4_AR19_final_acc_updated%20200421.pdf)
- Channel 4 (2021) *Channel 4 Annual Report 2020*. Available online: <https://annualreport.channel4.com/>
- Children's Media Foundation (2022) *Young Audiences Content Fund Closure – CMF Reaction*. Available online: <https://www.thechildrensmediafoundation.org/archives/11879/11879>
- Chivers, T. and Allan, S. (2021) *Privatising Channel 4: The evidence behind the debate*. Creative Industries Policy and Evidence Centre, UK. Available online <https://pec.ac.uk/blog/privatising-channel-4>
- Coats, D. and Passmore, E. (2008) *Public Value: The Next Steps in Public Service Reform*. The Work Foundation.
- Collins, R. (2007) The BBC and “public value”, in *Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft*, 55(2):164-184.
- Coyle, D. and Woolard, C. (2010) *Public Value in Practice: Restoring the ethos of public service*. BBC Trust, February 2010. Available online [http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/assets/files/pdf/regulatory\\_framework/pvt/public\\_value\\_practice.pdf](http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/assets/files/pdf/regulatory_framework/pvt/public_value_practice.pdf)
- D'Arma, A. and Labio, A. (2017) Making a difference? Public service broadcasting, distinctiveness and children's provision in Italy and Spain, in *International Journal of Digital Television*, 8(2):183-199.

- D'Arma, A., Raats, T. and Steemers, J. (2021) Public service media in the age of SVoDs: A comparative study of PSM strategic responses in Flanders, Italy and the UK, in *Media, Culture & Society*, 43(4):682-700.
- Dawes, S. (2021) From Public Service to Public Interest and Beyond in British Broadcasting Regulation, in *French Journal of British Studies* XXVI(1).
- Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport [DCMS] (2016) *A BBC for the future: a broadcaster of distinction*. HM Stationery Office, CM 9242.
- Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport [DCMS] (2022) *Up Next: The Government's vision for the broadcasting sector*, CP 671.
- Donders, K. (2019) Public service media beyond the digital hype: Distribution strategies in a platform era, in *Media, Culture & Society*, 41(7):1011-1028.
- Ebiquity (2019) *TV at the tipping point*. Available online: [https://www4.ebiquity.com/1/109132/2019-01-30/6f9hsv/109132/78559/2019\\_Ebiquity\\_Report\\_TV\\_at\\_the\\_Tipping\\_Point.pdf](https://www4.ebiquity.com/1/109132/2019-01-30/6f9hsv/109132/78559/2019_Ebiquity_Report_TV_at_the_Tipping_Point.pdf)
- Enders Analysis (2021) *Outsourcing Culture: When British shows aren't 'British'*. Available online: <https://www.endersanalysis.com/reports/outsourcing-culture-when-british-shows-arent-british>
- EY (2021) *Channel 4's contribution to the UK: report for Channel 4*. Available online: <https://assets-corporate.channel4.com/flysystem/s3/2021-04/EY%20Report%20for%20Channel%204%20-%20Channel%204%27s%20contribution%20to%20the%20UK.pdf>
- Flamingo/Reuters (2019) *How Young People Consume News and The Implications For Mainstream Media*. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, Oxford University. Available online <https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/our-research/how-young-people-consume-news-and-implications-mainstream-media>
- Future of TV Inquiry (2016) *A report on the future of public service television in the UK in the 21st century*. Goldsmiths, University of London. Available online: <https://futureoftv.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/FOTV-Report-Online-SP.pdf>
- Genders, A. (2020) BBC arts programming: A service for citizens or a product for consumers? in *Media, Culture and Society*, 41(1):58-47.
- Goddard, P. (2017) 'Distinctiveness' and the BBC: a new battleground for public service television? in *Media, Culture & Society*, 39(7):1089-99.
- Gransow, C. (2020) A question of value or further restriction? Public value as a core concept in Savage, P., Medina, M. & Lowe, G. (eds.) *Universalism in public service media*. Gothenburg: Nordicom, University of Gothenburg. pp.113-131.
- House of Lords Communications Committee (2019) *Public service broadcasting: as vital as ever*. 1st Report of Session 2019, HL 16.

- Kammer, A., Boeck, M., Hansen, J.V. & Hadberg, L. J. (2014) The free-to-fee transition: Audiences' attitudes toward paying for online news, in *Journal of Media Business Studies*, 12(2):107–120.
- Kelly, G., Mulgan, G. and Muers, S. (2002) *Creating Public Value: An analytical framework for public service reform*. London: Strategy Office, UK Cabinet Office. Available online: [https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ukgwa/20100407164622/http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/strategy/seminars/public\\_value.aspx](https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ukgwa/20100407164622/http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/strategy/seminars/public_value.aspx)
- KPMG (2021) *An Assessment of the Economic Impact of the BBC: A report for the BBC for the Financial Year 2019/20*. Available online: <https://downloads.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/reports/reports/kpmg-economic-impact.pdf>
- Lee, D., Oakley, K. and Naylor, R. (2011) 'The public gets what the public wants'? The uses and abuses of 'public value' in contemporary British cultural policy, in *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 17(3):289-300.
- Lowe, G.F. (2016) What value and which values? in *Public Social Value: ORF annual research paper*. Vienna, Austria: ORF. pp. 36–46. Available online: [https://zukunft.orf.at/show\\_content.php?sid=147&pvi\\_id=1684&pvi\\_medientyp=t&oti\\_tag=StudieEnglish](https://zukunft.orf.at/show_content.php?sid=147&pvi_id=1684&pvi_medientyp=t&oti_tag=StudieEnglish)
- Lowe, G., Van den Bulck, H. and Donders, K. (2018) *Public Service Media in the Networked Society*. Gothenburg: Nordicom.
- Malik, S. (2013) “Creative Diversity”: UK Public Service Broadcasting after multiculturalism, in *Popular Communication*, 11(3):227-241.
- Martin, F. and Lowe, G. (2014) The Value and Values of Public Service Media in Lowe, G.F. & Martin, F. (eds.) *The Value of Public Service Media*. Gothenburg: Nordicom., pp.19-42
- Mazzucato M. and Ryan-Collins, J. (2019) *Putting value creation back into 'public value': From market-fixing to market-shaping*. UCL Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose. Available online: [https://www.ucl.ac.uk/bartlett/public-purpose/sites/public-purpose/files/public\\_value\\_final\\_30\\_may\\_2019\\_web\\_0.pdf](https://www.ucl.ac.uk/bartlett/public-purpose/sites/public-purpose/files/public_value_final_30_may_2019_web_0.pdf)
- Mazzucato, M., Conway, R., Mazzoli, E., Knoll, E. and Albala, S. (2020) *Creating and measuring dynamic public value at the BBC*. Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose. Available online: [https://www.ucl.ac.uk/bartlett/public-purpose/sites/public-purpose/files/final-bbc-report-6\\_jan.pdf](https://www.ucl.ac.uk/bartlett/public-purpose/sites/public-purpose/files/final-bbc-report-6_jan.pdf)
- McElroy, R. and Noonan, C. (2018) Public Service Media and Digital Innovation: The Small Nation Experience in Lowe, G., Van den Bulck, H. and Donders, K. (eds.) *Public Service Media in the Networked Society*. Gothenburg: Nordicom. pp.159-174.
- McQuail, D. (2019) Equality: an ambiguous virtue in Trappel, J. (ed.) *Digital Media Inequalities: Policies against divides, distrust and discrimination*. Gothenburg: Nordicom, University of Gothenburg. pp.31-42.



- Media Reform Coalition (2021) *Who Owns the UK Media? 2021 report*. Available online: <https://www.mediareform.org.uk/media-ownership/who-owns-the-uk-media>
- Media Reform Coalition (2022) *DCMS White Paper policy briefing*. Available online: <https://www.mediareform.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/MRC-Policy-briefing-DCMS-White-Paper.pdf>
- Mediatique (2021) *ITV in the Nations and Regions: Storied past, dynamic present, challenges ahead: A report for ITV, May 2021*. Available online: [https://www.itv.com/presscentre/sites/default/files/210510\\_mediatique\\_report\\_itv\\_nations\\_and\\_regions.pdf](https://www.itv.com/presscentre/sites/default/files/210510_mediatique_report_itv_nations_and_regions.pdf)
- Meyrick, J. and Barnett, T. (2021) From public good to public value: arts and culture in a time of crisis, in *Cultural Trends*, 30(1):75-90.
- Moe, H. and Van den Bulck, H. (2014) Comparing 'Public value' as a Media Policy Term in Europe in Lowe, G.F. & Martin, F. (eds.) *The Value of Public Service Media*. Gothenburg: Nordicom. pp.57-76.
- Moore, M. (1995) *Creating Public Value: Strategic Management in Government*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Murschetz, P. (2020) Big Data and Public Service Media: A literature review of key challenges and some theoretical propositions pertaining to the context of digital transformation, in *MedienJournal*, 3:69-86.
- Nesta (2015) *Public service coding: the BBC as an open software developer*. Available online: <https://www.nesta.org.uk/blog/public-service-coding-the-bbc-as-an-open-software-developer/>
- Nieminen, H. (2019) Inequality, social trust and the media in Trappel, J. (ed.) *Digital Media Inequalities: Policies against divides, distrust and discrimination*. Gothenburg: Nordicom, University of Gothenburg. pp.43-66.
- O'Neill, O. (2016) *Public service broadcasting, public value and public goods*. Appendix 3, Future of TV Inquiry. pp.172-175. Available online: <https://futureoftv.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/FOTV-Report-Online-SP.pdf>
- Oakley, K., Naylor, R. and Lee, D. (2006) *Giving them what they want: the construction of the public in 'public value'*. London: Burns Owen Partnership. Available online: [https://www.academia.edu/1393257/Giving\\_them\\_what\\_they\\_want\\_the\\_construction\\_of\\_the\\_public\\_in\\_public\\_value?from=cover\\_page](https://www.academia.edu/1393257/Giving_them_what_they_want_the_construction_of_the_public_in_public_value?from=cover_page)
- Ofcom (2005) *Ofcom review of public service television broadcasting: Phase 3 – Competition for quality*. Available online: [https://www.ofcom.org.uk/\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0017/15911/psb3.pdf](https://www.ofcom.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0017/15911/psb3.pdf)
- Ofcom (2017) *Assessing the impact of the BBC's public service activities: Ofcom's procedures and guidance*. Available online: [https://www.ofcom.org.uk/\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0025/95434/Assessing-the-impact-of-the-BBCs-public-service-activities.pdf](https://www.ofcom.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0025/95434/Assessing-the-impact-of-the-BBCs-public-service-activities.pdf)

- Ofcom (2017) *Operating licence for the BBC's UK Public Services*. Issued 13 October 2017, available online: [https://www.ofcom.org.uk/\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0017/107072/bbc-operating-licence.pdf](https://www.ofcom.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0017/107072/bbc-operating-licence.pdf)
- Ofcom (2020a) *Public Service Broadcasting: omnibus survey findings*. Available online: [https://www.ofcom.org.uk/\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0025/199105/psb-omnibus-survey-findings.pdf](https://www.ofcom.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0025/199105/psb-omnibus-survey-findings.pdf)
- Ofcom (2020b) *Small Screen: Big Debate – a five-year review of Public Service Broadcasting (2014-18)*. Available online: [https://www.ofcom.org.uk/\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0013/192100/psb-five-year-review.pdf](https://www.ofcom.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0013/192100/psb-five-year-review.pdf)
- Ofcom (2021) *Media Nations: UK 2021*. Available online: <https://www.ofcom.org.uk/research-and-data/tv-radio-and-on-demand/media-nations-reports/media-nations-2021>
- Ofcom/Jigsaw Research (2020a) *An exploration of people's relationship with PSB, with a particular focus on the views of young people*. Available online: [https://www.ofcom.org.uk/\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0024/199104/exploration-of-peoples-relationship-with-psb.pdf](https://www.ofcom.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0024/199104/exploration-of-peoples-relationship-with-psb.pdf)
- Ofcom/Jigsaw Research (2020b) *The impact of lockdown on audiences' relationship with PSB*. Available online: [https://www.smallscreenbigdebate.co.uk/\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0024/208761/psb-jigsaw-impact-of-lockdown-report.pdf](https://www.smallscreenbigdebate.co.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0024/208761/psb-jigsaw-impact-of-lockdown-report.pdf)
- Pact (2015) *Submission to DCMS Green Paper on BBC Charter Renewal*. Available online: <http://www.pact.co.uk/news-detail.html?id=pact-questions-bbc>
- Pact (2021) *Submission to Ofcom's call for evidence: public service broadcasters and the UK production sector*. Available online: [https://www.ofcom.org.uk/\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0017/218042/Pact-SSBD.pdf](https://www.ofcom.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0017/218042/Pact-SSBD.pdf)
- Plum Consulting (2020) *Research into recent dynamics of the press sector in the UK and globally: Study for the Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport*. Available online: <https://plumconsulting.co.uk/research-into-recent-press-sector-dynamics/>
- Ramsey, P. (2017) BBC Radio and public value: The governance of public service radio in the United Kingdom, in *The Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media*, 15(1):89-106.
- Reuters Institute (2019) *Old, Educated, and Politically Diverse: The Audience of Public Service News*. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, Oxford University. Available online <https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/our-research/old-educated-and-politically-diverse-audience-public-service-news>
- Rogers, J. (2020) *Diversity in broadcast peak scripted television*. London: Equity. Available online: [https://www.equity.org.uk/media/4062/equity\\_diversity\\_guide\\_2020-v3-sp.pdf](https://www.equity.org.uk/media/4062/equity_diversity_guide_2020-v3-sp.pdf)

- Rumbold, K. (2008) The Arts Council England's "Arts Debate", in *Cultural Trends*, 17(3):189-195.
- The Telegraph [Christopher Williams] (2014) *Netflix chief Reed Hastings takes on telcos, cinemas and global expansion*. Available online: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/newsbysector/mediatechnologyandtelecoms/media/11141864/Netflix-chief-Reed-Hastings-takes-on-telcos-cinemas-and-global-expansion.html>
- Trappel, J. (2014) Social benefits in Lowe, G.F. & Martin, F. (eds.) *The Value of Public Service Media*. Gothenburg: Nordicom. pp.127-144
- Túñez-López, M., Campos-Freire, F. and Rodríguez-Castro, M. (2021) *The Values of Public Service Media in the Internet Society*. Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Van den Bulck, H. and Moe, H. (2018) Public service media, universality and personalisation through algorithms: Mapping strategies and exploring dilemmas, in *Media, Culture and Society*, 40(6):875-892.
- Vanhaeght, A. and Donders, K. (2015) Moving beyond the Borders of Top-Down Broadcasting: An Analysis of Younger Users' Participation in Public Service Media, in *Television & New Media*, 17(4):291-307.
- VLV (2019) *Voice of the Listener & Viewer, Submission to the Lords Select Committee on Communications' inquiry into public service television in the age of video on demand*. Available online: <http://data.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/committeeevidence.svc/evidencedocument/communications-and-digital-committee/public-service-broadcasting-in-the-age-of-video-on-demand/written/100364.html>
- Whitehead, A.N. (1925) *Science and the Modern World*. New York: The Free Press.
- YouGov (2021) *Is the BBC licence fee good value for money?* Polling results available online: <https://yougov.co.uk/topics/media/trackers/is-the-bbc-licence-fee-good-value-for-money>