Music radio and public service: who cares?
The CCMA does

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Abstract

Music radio is a fundamental part of many public media corporations in Spain. This article presents the case study of music radio stations at the Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals (CCMA). Specifically, it takes an in-depth look at the policies that defined them and how they have developed their public service mission through programming and digital strategies. The results show how the two stations' strategies have been based upon the public service idea. Both Catalunya Música and iCat.cat are solid and relevant proposals for citizens. However, in recent times they have faced several difficulties due to the economic crisis.

Keywords

Music radio, public service media, communication policies, digital strategy, Catalonia, CCMA, iCat.cat, Catalunya Música.

Resum

La ràdio musical és una part fonamental de moltes de les corporacions audiovisuals públiques a Espanya. Aquest article presenta l'estudi de cas de les emissores musicals de la corporació pública de Catalunya, la Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals (CCMA). S'aprofundeix específicament en les polítiques que les van definir i en el desenvolupament que ha seguit la seva missió de servei públic fins a l'actualitat a través de les estratègies programàtiques i digitals. Els resultats mostren la construcció de dos models diferenciats i basats en el concepte de servei públic. Tant Catalunya Música com iCat. cat són propostes sòlides i rellevants per a la ciutadania, però que en els darrers anys han patit diverses vicissituds a causa de la crisi econòmica.

Paraules clau

Ràdio musical, servei públic, polítiques de comunicació, estratègia digital, Catalunya, CCMA, iCat.cat, Catalunya Música.

1. Introduction

From the beginning, the radio has been the main loudspeaker for the music scene and industry (Frith 1987). In this context, music radio began to form part of public service media and to become one of its main justifications, a role ignored by several players. On the one hand, we have the policymakers, who tend not to pay attention to it but at the same time praise its work without question. On the other hand, we have the corporations themselves, more concerned with information than culture, leaving music radio in the hands of the workers. Lastly, there's the academic world, which has tended to see it at best as a minor field of research to which it has dedicated very few exclusive studies and, when it has been mentioned, this has merely been as a footnote.[1]

Culture, the great defining feature of public service, has gone from monopoly to exception and the main justification for public service along the lines of "if not us, then who?" (Jakubowicz 2007). Music has a vital position within cultural manifestations. However, the ups and downs of radio (Gutiérrez and Huertas 2005) and also of television (Llorens and Aymerich 2007), for example with the closure of Canal Sur 2 in Andalusia (Hoyos 2015) or the merger of the cultural channel 33 with the children's channel 3XL in Catalonia, have ended up placing the radio, the most musical of all media, in a resilient position within the ecosystem of public media in Spain, a situation amplified with the changes brought by the internet to the distribution of music and also of radio (EBU 2014; Nylund Hagen 2015). It is therefore important to highlight the position of some public media corporations in Spain that have specialised music radio stations which fulfil their public service mission in a heterogeneous way (Costa Gálvez 2015).

This article refers exclusively to the area of public music radio in Catalonia and specifically addresses the case study of the

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CCMA[2] music stations Catalunya Música and iCat.cat with the following research question: how is CCMA's music radio defined from the public service perspective?

The Catalan public corporation has two radio stations devoted to classical music and six to popular music, grouped under two umbrellas: Catalunya Música for classical music and iCat.cat for pop music. This study does not focus on the history and background of already important stations (30 years in operation in the case of Catalunya Música and 12 years in the case of iCat.cat) nor on the economic and employment ups and downs experienced by the CCMA. Rather it focuses on the Catalan corporation's music stations from a public service perspective, as survivors from better times and prime examples of innovation and culture, albeit ignored both by the corporation itself, by not examining their role, and by academia through lack of interest in their study.[3] In particular, the article observes how their public service mission is defined and how these functions are translated into programming and digital strategies.

2. Methodology

For this article, data from a research project carried out by the author in 2015 was partially reused.[4] Table 1 describes the study sample.

The methodology is quantitative and qualitative. In the quantitative area, two research techniques have been used: documentary analysis of legal and corporate texts relating to the CCMA since its creation until 2014 and a descriptive analysis of the stations' programming and digital profile from 2011 until 2014. On the other hand, qualitative methodology has been used to extract information from interviews conducted with the directors and programming managers of the stations that form part of the sample, specifically: from iCat.cat, Carles

Aledo (director) and Lucía Flores (music coordinator), and from Catalunya Música, Àlex Robles (director) and Marc Canals (programming and content manager).

3. Music radio and the CCMA: two proposals with the same purpose

Exclusive music radio burst onto the scene in the Catalan corporation in 1987. That year, Catalunya Cultura, the precursor to iCat.cat, and, most importantly, Catalunya Música were created.

Catalunya Música was created almost at the same time as the corporation and also embraced the shared goal of disseminating content in Catalan, with the added fact that they were the only ones dedicating their programming exclusively to classical music "from a Catalan perspective, which forms part of our culture" (Robles 2014). Over the years, the corporation's classical music station has developed a programming schedule based prominently on a classical aesthetic, hence its slogan: "Intensely classical" (*Intensament clàssics*). The offer is intended for an adult and enthusiastic listener with deep knowledge of the content, although it also makes an effort to popularise "with a desire to reach a wider public" (Robles 2014). In 2008, Catalunya Música became the first non-state member to form part of the EBU[6], which provided the station with an extensive archive of live recordings that stands out as "a competitive feature of the corporation" (Conselleria de la Presidència, Conselleria d'Economia i Coneixement, CCMA 2014, 35). Indeed concerts, recorded in Catalonia and elsewhere, form a fundamental part of the station's programming, combined with specialised programmes focusing on genres such as jazz or sound art and morning programmes where the listener's participation is essential.

Table 1. Outline of CCMA music radio (2015)[5]

Type (programming)		Name	Year set up	Type of broadcasting	
				Analogue	*Bitcaster*
Specialised	Music radio format	CatClàssica	2008		X
		iCatJazz	2005		X
		iCatMón	2012		X
		iCatRumba	2012		X
		iCatrònica	2012		X
		TotCat	2005		X
	Music theme	Catalunya Música	1987	X	X
		iCat.cat	2005		X

Source: compiled by the author based on data from the CCMA website.

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Catalunya Música's offer was completed in 2008 with the creation of CatClàssica, a bitcaster that broadcasts works exclusively by Catalan performers and creators (CCMA 2008, 202). At first, this online broadcasting was intended for a young audience, both local and residents living outside Catalonia, as part of the intention to popularise expressed by the coordinator: "It's not about what's offered but how it's offered" (Lobo 2014). In 2013, the economic crisis put an end to programming and CatClàssica hasn't broadcast any new music selection since and is living, in the words of its coordinator, Carles Lobo, in a "semi-closed" situation (ibid).

In 1987, Catalunya Cultura was set up to replace RAC105 after its sale; it was conceived as a cultural vessel that perished due to its extremely low audience (Catalan parliament 2008). Therefore, on Saint George's Day 2006 (Catalonia's saint's day), iCat FM was created. It was based on three pillars: "cultural consumption, new technologies, and non-commercial music media" (Catalan parliament 2009, 32) and was intended for a younger audience than the Catalunya Cultura listener. Over the course of the years, the station has distinguished itself for discovering new talent from the Catalan music scene and for making room for key cultural events in Catalonia, such as *Sónar* and *Primavera Sound*, following a process in which "there are minority artists that were only played on iCat, now they're in the media and they're the most mainstream" (Aledo 2014). iCat.cat's programming focuses largely on Catalan and non-commercial music but also on international indie music and, to a lesser extent, on culture, which is divided into "bulletins" throughout the music selection that occupies most of the programme schedule. From the beginning, iCat FM was conceived as a cross-media project, called "multimedia radio" (CCMA 2010b, 2011) and with a website considered "part and parcel of the radio station" (CCMA 2011). It was therefore the pioneer that led the rest of Catalunya Ràdio's

stations towards the so-called "*icatisation* process" (CCMA 2010b, 298). Innovation was a constant for iCat FM, which could even be heard on the Wii console. In 2012, the project suffered a serious economic setback and, in addition to losing budget and staff (Catalan parliament 2013), it also lost its FM signal. Therefore, iCat FM came to be called iCat.cat, a shift the corporation referred to as "ending FM broadcasting and boosting the website" (CCMA 2013a, 204) although a return to FM broadcasting has been announced for September 2017[7]. Following the technological trail forged by "icatisation", under the umbrella of iCat.cat we have a series of bitcasters called "themed channels" which handle very specific genres and styles to complement and specialise iCat.cat's offer. These channels respond to a demand that was already brought up in 2006, when the director of Catalunya Ràdio considered the need to create a specific channel dedicated to jazz and another to music by Catalan artists (Minobis 2006). These channels are exclusively dedicated to genres and styles that are related to the Catalan music scene (Costa Gálvez 2015), such as Catalan rumba or music in Catalan, but also other styles such as jazz or electronic music. The content has varied over the years but it has always remained active, as Table 2 shows.

4. Definition of the public service mission: well-constructed but with holes
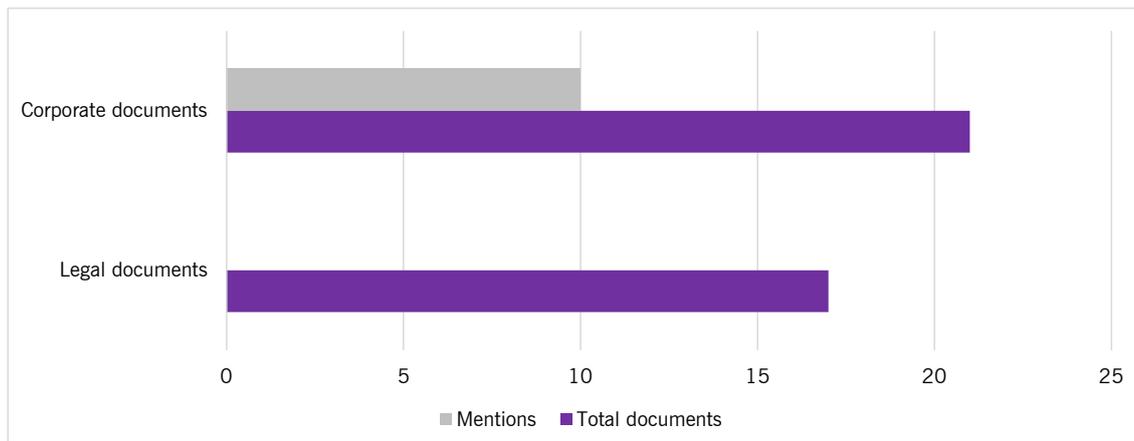
Radio has always been left out of policies at a European level and considered as an issue for each Member State (European Council 1991). Spain hasn't really specified the functions of public service radio broadcasting either. Moreover, with regard to music radio, a *laissez faire*, *laissez passer* strategy has been followed and, therefore, in general terms, there are few allusions to music radio in legal and corporate texts in Spain (Costa Gálvez

Table 2. Description and period of activity of iCat.cat's bitcasters (2011–2014)

Name	Description	Period of activity				
		2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
iCatJazz	"Dedicated to jazz"	X	X	X	X	X
MusiCatles	"A rich, varied, and truly heterogeneous selection of music from around the world"	X	X			
TotCat	"Dedicated exclusively to music in Catalan"	X	X	X	X	X
Mediterràdio	"Dedicated to Mediterranean music and culture"	X	X			
iCatrònica	"Specialised in electronic music"			X	X	X
Xahrazad	"Female artists station"	X	X			
iCatMón	"The channel for world music"			X	X	X
iCatRumba	"Focused on Catalan rumba"			X	X	X

Source: compiled by the author based on the iCat.cat website.

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Figure 1. Number of mentions of music radio in the CCMA's legal and corporate texts (1980–2015)

Total: 38

Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA (2008, 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2011, 2012, 2013a, 2014, 2015) and the CCRTV (2004, 2006, 2007).

2016a). Nevertheless, of all the Spanish media corporations, the CCMA presents the greatest number of references to music radio, contained exclusively in its corporate texts, as Figure 1 shows.

The institutional discourse around Catalunya Mùsica has been quite stable and repetitive when it comes to the terms used. Mentions of "classical music" are, evidently, constant (CCRTV 2004, 2007; CCMA 2010a, 2012, 2014), and especially in the CCMA 2013 report where the station is defined as "exclusively

Figure 2. Terms used in reference to Catalunya Música and CatClàssica in the CCMA's corporate texts and by the interviewees (1987–2015)

Total: 16

Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA (2008, 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2011, 2012, 2013a, 2014, 2015) and the CCRTV (2004, 2006, 2007).

dedicated to classical music" (CCMA 2014, 71), and dedicated to "the greatest hits of classical music" (ibid, 76) and "classical music favourites" (ibid, 71). In terms of programming, from 2011 the variety of "classical genres and styles from throughout history" (CCMA 2011, 20) began to be emphasised, as well as the promotion and dissemination of the Catalan scene, highlighting the station's role in the "discovery of artists" (CCMA 2014b, 71). Moreover, coinciding with the closure of iCat.cat's FM, Catalunya Mùsica has gained importance in the CCMA's activities plans, where its role in the "internationalisation of Catalan music culture" is highlighted (CCMA 2012b, 2). With regard to CatClàssica, the mentions are scarce. The few terms recorded refer almost exclusively to "identity", since it's programmed entirely with Catalan composers and musicians (CCMA 2010a, 2014). Moreover, in the beginning, its exclusive presence online was stressed as "the first step towards Catalunya Música's online launch" (CCRTV 2007, 202). We can see all of this in the following tag cloud (see Figure 2), which combines the responses of the interviewees (in green) and the content of the corporate texts (in black).

The most noteworthy aspect of iCat.cat is its cultural function, with claims such as: "33, iCat FM, and Catalunya Música form part of the mainstay of culture in Catalonia" (CCMA 2010a, 44). In the 2009 report, it was defined as a "never-ending source of cultural offerings" (CCMA 2009, 70) and, in fact, before the closure of FM, the station was extensively present in the CCMA's activity plans, guaranteeing the promotion and increase of cultural consumption (CCMA 2010a, 2011). Indie music programming and the promotion of the Catalan scene (CCMA 2011, 2013a, 2014) constitute the pillars of iCat.cat's programming schedule, especially in contrast to commercial

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stations: "iCat FM has a largely musical base but with the aim of discovering new music, new artists and new voices for the listener that are different to those programmed by conventional radio formats" (CCRTV 2006, 62). In 2011, two key aspects of its programming began to be stressed: independent music and the promotion of the local scene, defined as "non-commercial" (CCMA 2011, 2) or "emerging" (CCMA 2014, 14). We can see

Figure 3. Terms used in reference to iCat.cat in the CCMA's corporate texts and by the interviewees (2006–2015)
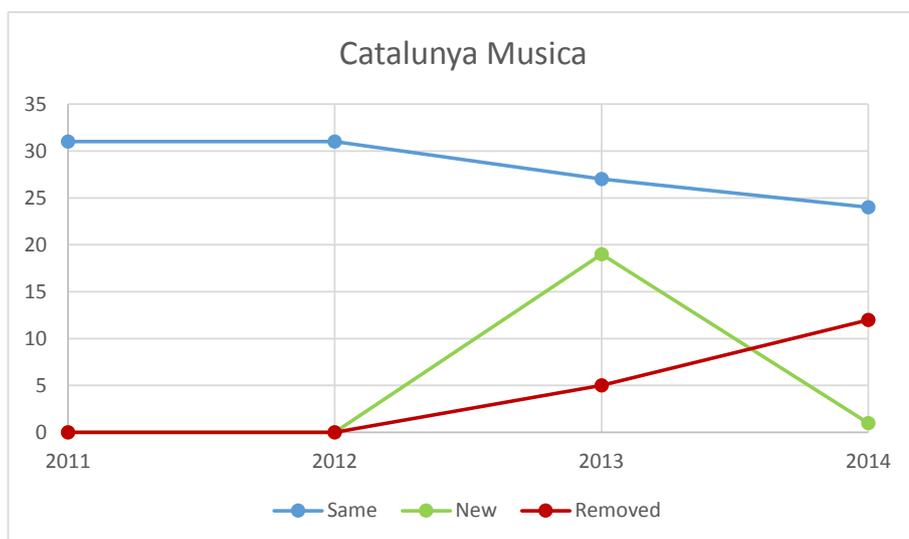

Total: 16

Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA (2008, 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2011, 2012, 2013a, 2014, 2015) and the CCRTV (2004, 2006, 2007).

this reflected in the following tag cloud (see Figure 3), which combines the responses of the interviewees (in red) and the content of the corporate texts (in black).

5. Programming strategies: "there are two types of music: good and bad"[9]

What should a public service music radio station look like? This is a question we can answer with another question: what should be programmed on a public music radio station? In a fully digital context, it's important to highlight the relevance of the content, especially when the media treatment of music is increasingly disparate.[10]

One way to determine radio content is by establishing quotas. In Catalonia, the CAC[11] is in charge of safeguarding compliance with the language quotas of the Language Policy Law (Llei de Política Lingüística) (CAC 2007, 2011), which obliges stations with at least 75% of programming dedicated to music to broadcast at least 25% of that music in Catalan, something which is not applied to classical music stations or online radio. Therefore, neither Catalunya Música nor iCat.cat is obliged to fulfil the quota, although the interviewees referred to in this article indicated that they, in fact, exceed it. Indeed, internal quotas are another way to determine programming. In the case of the CCMA, the only reference in this regard is contained in its programme contract proposal (Conselleria de la Presidència, Conselleria d'Economia i Coneixement, CCMA 2014), which establishes, following the CAC's recommendation (2013, 13), that at least 40% of programming on generalist cultural radio

Figure 4. Trend (number) in programming on Catalunya Música (2011–2014)

Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA website.

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should be dedicated to, among other things, music content, excluding classical music and emerging Catalan artists; areas covered by Catalunya Música and iCat.cat. Indeed, the main function of both Catalunya Música and iCat.cat is to support music "made in *casa nostra*, focusing on language, tradition, and the new culture we create here" (Canals 2014), combining the promotion of the music industry with support for the emerging scene. In general, programming on CCMA music stations moves between the concepts of quality, education, and culture: "we want to get away from the idea that public service should be somewhat above the established standards; rather, it should aim to lead the market" (Lobo 2014); versus the search for audiences and impact among citizens: "we want to reach the maximum amount of people possible; however, as a public service we have to do other things and there are programmes that a strictly commercial station would never do" (Aledo 2014).

Good programming costs money and all the interviewees indicated how the cutbacks that have mainly affected employment have also indirectly affected content.[12] The present analysis of programming was undertaken in this context of economic crisis (2011–2014). During this period, programming on Catalunya Música has been stable, although 19 programmes were created in 2013, many of them live broadcasts, as we can see in Figure 4.

Programming on iCat.cat increased after the digital switchover in 2012. Thus, in 2013, 11 new programmes with diverse themes appeared. Some of them, such as jazz, electronic and techno, hadn't been covered before and were broadcast, as well as online, on Catalunya Ràdio, Catalunya Música and the stations of the Xarxa de Comunicació Local, a change that iCat.cat's director calls "opening new windows" (Aledo 2014). This evolution can be seen in the following figure (Figure 5).

Although with some exceptions, programming on Catalunya Música is based on a classical aesthetic. The choice of the so-called great repertoire (16th, 18th and 19th centuries) is directly related to the programmes of Catalan auditoriums and concert halls, to which a large part of the station's schedule is dedicated with live broadcasts. This easy/difficult listening strategy is also directly related to the degree of acceptance of the listeners "who at times may accept new content but, be careful, because they don't want many surprises, that's the reality" (Robles 2014). Indeed, level of difficulty is a fundamental aspect when it comes to classifying music and there are categories ranging from the "greatest hits" to contemporary music and sound art and 'new releases', which reflect the desire to promote music by new artists (Canals 2014). These categories make up a type of programming that fulfils a notably informative and educational aim: "Classical music requires a phase of initiation, not to mention music created more recently, such as contemporary music, but our commitment and our mission is to fulfil this cultural and educational objective" (Robles 2014). Another of Catalunya Música's main programming strategies is to include other genres and styles, which have found their place on the programming schedule, even if at the time they were used to justify the station's loss of audience (Catalan parliament 2007). Indeed, when iCat.cat's FM signal was switched off, Catalunya Música's programming was somewhat modified, since access to the EBU archive allowed for the reincorporation of jazz and world music (Canals 2014). Such references to genre and style abound in the description of Catalunya Música's programming (see Figure 6).

CatClàssica's programming has been the most affected by the cutbacks. The channel is still active but its content has not been renewed since 2013 (Lobo 2014). During these years, the

Figure 5. Trend (number) in programming on iCat.cat (2011–2014)

Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA website.

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Figure 6. Terms used to describe Catalunya Música's programming (2011–2014)

Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA website.

Figure 7. Terms used to describe iCat.cat's programming (2011–2014)

Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA website.

strategy has been based on exclusively programming performers and composers from "all periods of Catalan history" (Lobo 2014), although with less focus on the classical repertoire, which is the basis of programming on Catalunya Música. Like the latter, the balance between easy and difficult listening is complicated, especially for a channel that broadcasts exclusively online:

"I assumed the audience was mainly Catalan, so contemporary music was played more at night, but not too much because I wanted the channel to be listened to beyond our borders" (Lobo 2014).

Support for the music scene forms a fundamental part of iCat.cat's mission, which at times makes the balance difficult between the interests of the industry, the independence of the programmer, and the promotion of emerging artists, which forms part of the programming. The emerging scene is reflected especially on the short programme *Sona9*, which plays new talents on the Catalan scene (Costa Gálvez 2017) that are also included throughout the programming schedule: "we have artists that have self-released but the criterion is still the same: is it good quality? Then we'll play it" (Flores Muñoz 2014). Although it defines itself as cultural, in practice iCat.cat is primarily a music radio station, as its music coordinator indicates: "in information and programmes, 80% of what we play is music" (Flores Muñoz 2014). Music selections interspersed with cultural information take up most of iCat.cat's programming, avoiding anything too raucous during the working day: "for the rest of the day that demands your attention, you want music, but when you get home, you want influencers" (Flores Muñoz 2014). This music selection defines a programming schedule that, during the week, is supported by the morning show and evening shows and, during the weekend, opens up to an array of genres and styles. The music content falls under the umbrella of very contemporary pop music (the "modern oldies" are from the

1990s (ibid)), although there's also room for other genres and styles such as jazz, blues and world music. Within this genre strategy we find iCat.cat's themed channels, which welcome specifically Catalan genres such as Catalan rumba but also others that form an important part of the Catalan independent music industry, such as electronic. These aspects can be observed in the terms used to describe iCat.cat's programming (see Figure 7).

6. Technological innovation: from enterprise to maintenance

Technological innovation has been incorporated into public media, especially through strategies that pursue citizen engagement (Debrett 2014; Vangaeght and Donders 2017). Innovation in the technological field has been a constant both for Catalunya Música and iCat.cat (Bonet et al. 2011, 2013). Moreover, in the case of iCat.cat, it's a strategy that has been followed since it was first set up, as "iCat was born 100% digital and with the goal of being the group's spearhead" (Aledo 2014). In fact, its appearance motivated the so-called process of 'icatisation' (CCMA 2010b, 298), which in the case of Catalunya Música ended up with the creation of CatClàssica and the beginning of a fully digital era: "We shouldn't resist new technologies because we're a classical music station; on the contrary, we believe they open up many possibilities" (Robles 2014). Indeed, the digital profiles of both stations are quite similar (see Table 3).

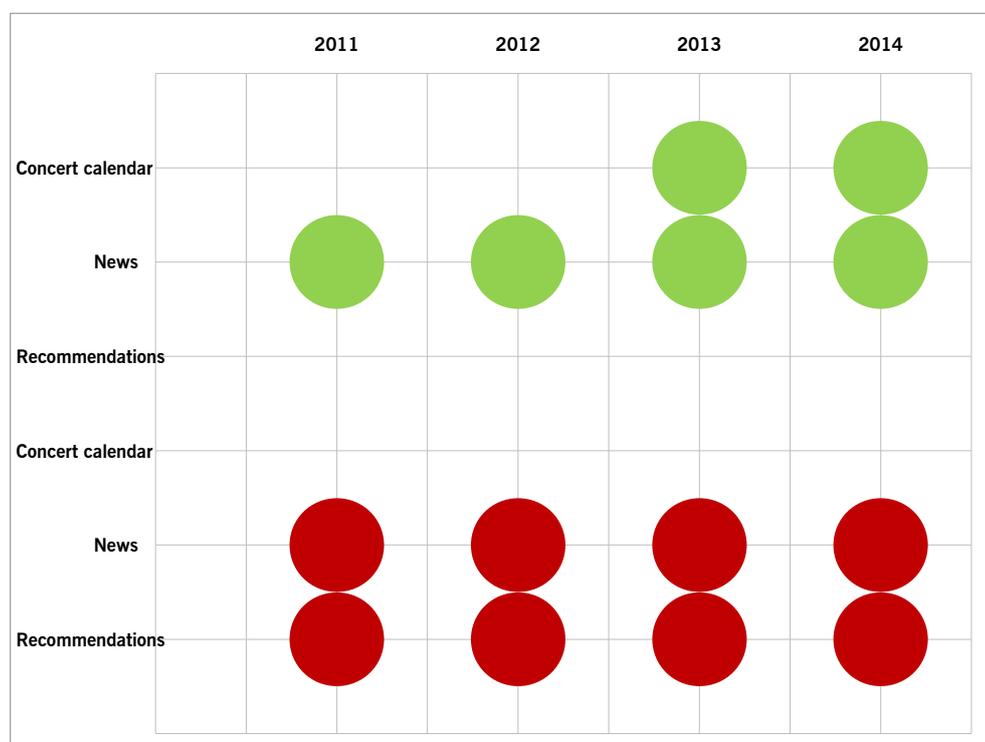The websites form the framework for the digital content. They have also served as a basis for developing the exclusive Catalunya Música and iCat.cat apps, available to download free for the main operating systems (Android and Apple) and developed by the corporation itself. A fundamental section both of the websites and of the apps is dedicated to podcasts, a very

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Table 3. Digital profiles of Catalunya Música and iCat.cat (2011–2014)

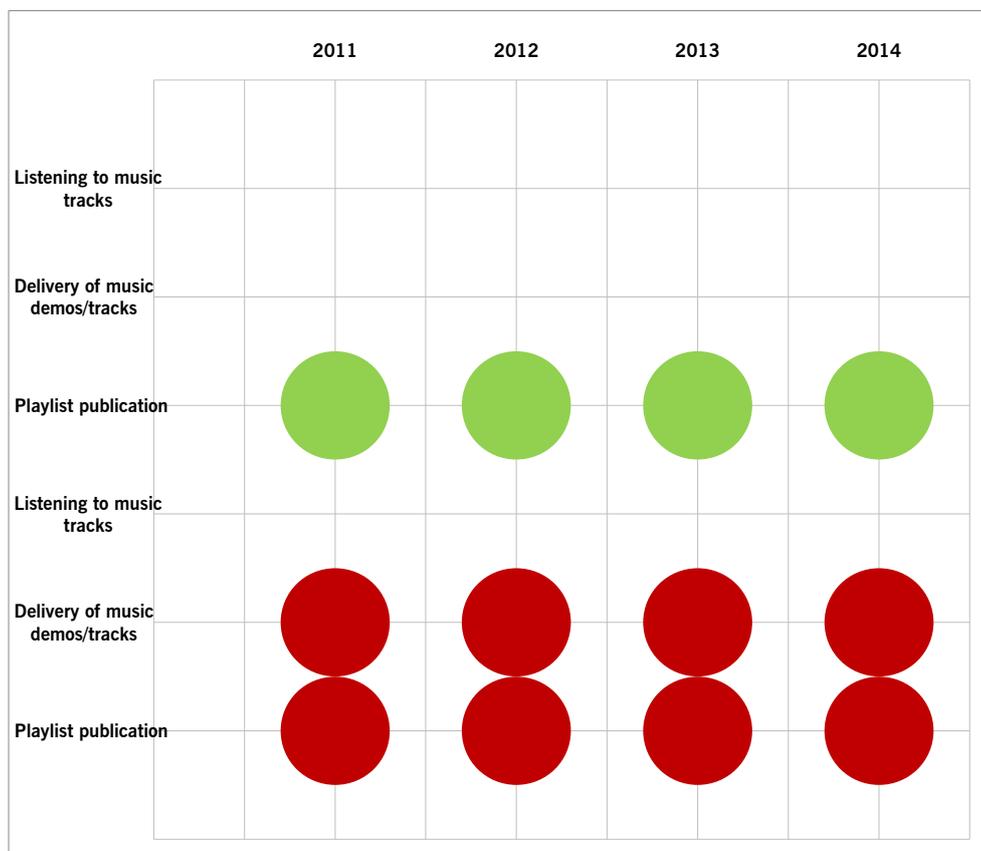| Name	Website	Social network profiles			Podcast			Music streaming service profiles		Blog	App
					Website	Podcast subscription services					
		Facebook	Twitter	YouTube		iVoox	iTunes	Spotify	Deezer		
Catalunya Música	X	X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X
iCat.cat	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X

Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA website.

Figure 8. Informative content on the Catalunya Música (green) and iCat.cat (red) websites (2011–2014)

Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA website.

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Figure 9. Music content on the Catalunya Música (green) and iCat.cat (red) websites (2011–2014)

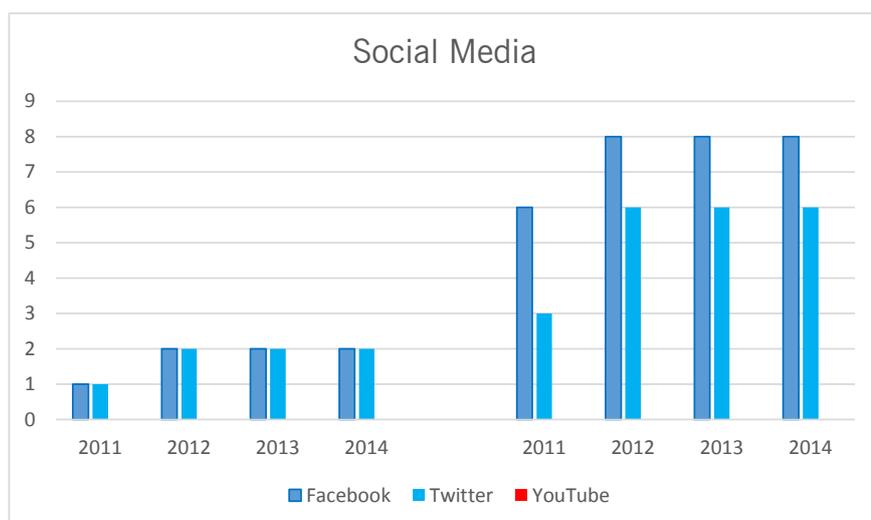Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA website.

important type of content for maintaining radio's prescriptive function (Sellas 2012). The strategy followed by the corporation in relation to podcasts is to offer content on the websites and apps rather than use repositories such as iVoox, with a profile that is very irregularly updated. In addition, after iCat.cat's digital switchover, programmes were created exclusively in podcast format, such as *iCatTappes* and *PerVersions*.

Both Catalunya Música and iCat.cat offer three types of content on their websites: news, concert calendar and music recommendations (the latter are closely related to the prescriptive function of music radio), as we can see in Figure 8.

Regarding strictly musical content, it is not actually that common. One programme that has stood out for publishing a large amount of musical content is *MPClàssics* on Catalunya Música, where a playlist was published for evaluation by listeners and its inclusion in the programme. Indeed, the publication of playlists was an important part of iCat.cat's digital strategy (Costa Gálvez 2013) and this is something that Catalunya Música and CatClàssica have adopted and continued using. However, in the case of the pop music station, this aspect has been affected by the ups and downs it has experienced in recent years, resulting in the disappearance of playlists from the iCat.cat website, which at the time caused complaints from listeners to the Ombudsman for consumers (CCMA 2013b).[13]

Social media are a primary part of radio's digital strategy (Bonini 2015). However, there was a time when blogs were at the forefront of digital approaches. Both Catalunya Música and iCat.cat only keep two programme blogs active. In fact, even one of iCat.cat's most visited blogs, *iCat Convida*, where they raffle tickets to different cultural events, is now just a section of the website called *Experiències iCat*. The use of social media is very widespread both on Catalunya Música and iCat.cat. However, in the case of the classical music station, the strategy is focused on maintaining the station's profile and only two programmes have profiles (*Una tarda a l'òpera* and *Només hi faltes tu*). On the other hand, many of the iCat.cat programmes are on social media (and even two of the bitcasters, iCatJazz and iCatTrònica, have profiles on Facebook), as we can see in the following figure (see Figure 10).

We cannot end this section without mentioning one of the changes with the greatest impact on the music industry: music streaming services and specifically the most popular one: Spotify. Music streaming poses a certain threat to music radio, which at times can be seen as an opportunity to "promote loyalty among the audience and liven up our model, spreading our message beyond conventional broadcasting" (Robles 2014), something which will never replace "the prescriptive function of a presenter" (Aledo 2014). It must certainly be

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Figure 10. Catalunya Música's and iCat.cat's social media profiles (Facebook, Twitter and YouTube) (2011–2014)

Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA website.

noted that public music radio has yet to establish a presence on such sites (Costa Gálvez 2016b) but during the period of analysis a certain interest in experimenting in this field was observed. Thus, Catalunya Música had a station profile and one programme profile, *MP Clàssics*, and in the case of iCat.cat, three programmes had profiles on Spotify: *Cabaret Elèctric*, *Els Experts*, and *Delicatessen*.

7. Conclusions

In this article, we have provided an analysis of CCMA's music stations, Catalunya Música and iCat.cat, from a public service perspective. This is a very specific focus within public service media studies, a field widely researched in the academic world but which, however, has often ignored the combination "music, radio and public service".

Since the beginning, the CCMA has been committed to public service music radio. The first station to emerge was Catalunya Música, which has played a pioneering role in promoting classical music in Catalan and from Catalonia. Years later, the appearance of iCat.cat covered the pop music niche and has also played a key role in promoting the Catalan pop scene and the independent music industry, a sector which, despite language quotas, receives less attention on commercial stations. We find two very different approaches in their conception but a shared mission: public service. Delimiting this public service mission presents us with an important concern: the lack of legal and corporate definitions of public music radio. Although it's true that, in this area, CCMA music radio is better covered than its counterparts, frequent allusions to generalist ideas such as "everything is culture" or "everything should be good quality"

add nothing but uncertainty to its definition and, therefore, its future. Within a context of economic crisis, it is necessary to specify point by point (and in a document that exclusively addresses this issue) what the CCMA's music stations are and how they fulfil their public service mission.

Neither Catalunya Música nor iCat.cat has escaped the difficulties experienced by the CCMA, although these have not been a hindrance to the stability of their programming. Catalunya Música's strategy is based on the 'great repertoire' (reflected in its slogan, "Intensely classical"), but with space for other genres and styles to help achieve the dual goal of educating and attracting listeners. Providing information on events at Catalan auditoriums and concert halls is one of the pillars of Catalunya Música's programming. This has taken on even more importance through CatClàssica which reinforces, despite its "semi-closed" status, support for Catalan music with an exclusive focus on Catalan performers and composers. Supporting the Catalan scene, the independent music industry, and the main cultural manifestations in Catalonia are, in fact, the very foundations of iCat.cat. Moreover, this strategy has resulted in the creation of a particular sound, which is repeated in many of the adverts often heard during broadcasting, which ask the listener: "Sound familiar? It's iCat" (*Et sona? És iCat*). On another level, the union of music and culture together with specialisation in genres and styles, particularly via themed channels, make iCat.cat an original and innovative proposal that deserves to be in a better situation than it currently is.

In the area of technological innovation, CCMA music stations have gone from being entrepreneurs to forming a passive part of a process that, not surprisingly, was called "icatisation" and which spearheaded public service media in Spain. In recent years, there have been proposals that reflect this innovative

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spirit, such as the creation of apps for Catalunya Música and iCat.cat, which certainly constitute a way not only to reach audiences but to be in tune with citizens who demand more and more digital content. However, although this is a laudable effort in times of crisis, the duplication of web content on mobile devices should merely be one part of a digital strategy, which actually seems to leave out the listeners of the future: young people. The apparent absence of an action plan regarding their presence on new social media or music streaming services reveals an alarming gap in the relationship with digital natives who will not identify with a radio station that offers them mainly organised concerts and live broadcasts of festivals.

After sifting through the legal and corporate texts to determine the functions of public service and asking station managers about programming strategies and digital policies, it is precisely the latter that seem crucial for the future of public service music radio in Catalonia and in Spain. Essentially, the main future line of research made evident by this article, albeit unintentionally, is as follows: how can listeners be treated as citizens rather than audience members? Now that iCat.cat is returning to FM and Catalunya Música has had a successful run, how will the coexistence of analogue and digital formats be guaranteed? How will public music radio manage to reach all citizens? And, above all, what do citizens think about public music radio?

Notes

1. Other studies on public and private music radio include: Amoedo et al. (2008); Barnard (1989); Crisell (2006); Gallego (2015); Gutièrrez et al. (2011); Hennion and Meadel (1986); Moreno (1999); and Pedrero Esteban (2000). However, there are a few exceptions that have expressly addressed the combination radio, music, and public service (Bonet et al. (2011); Hendy (2000); Long (2006); or Wall and Dubber (2009)).

2. Corporació Catalana de Ràdio i Televisió (CCRTV) was created in 1983 (Catalan parliament 1983) as one of the first autonomous media corporations in Spain. The current name (Corporació Catalan de Mitjans Audiovisuals: CCMA) was adopted in 2007 (Catalan parliament 2007a).

3. And we mustn't forget Bonet et al.'s 2011 article on iCat FM's technological innovation, which was, to a large extent, the inspiration for this research.

4. Specifically, a doctoral thesis carried out at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, supervised by doctors Montse Bonet Bagant and Xavier Ribes Guàrdia, titled: *¿A quién le importa? Radio especializada musical desde la perspectiva del servicio público* (Who cares? Specialised music radio from the public service perspective), which won second prize at the 28th CAC Awards for research on audiovisual communication.

5. Following Martí's (1990) and Ribes' (2003) programme classifications.

6. European Broadcasting Union.

7. <http://www.ccma.cat/catradio/alacarta/popap/aixi-sha-anunciat-la-tornada-dicat-a-lfm/audio/957711/> [Consulted on 5 April 2017]

8. Only CCMA documents mentioning music radio have been cited.

9. Robles 2014.

10. In this regard, we can highlight the recent controversy when citizens noted a lack of cultural content in Catalunya Ràdio's programming, exemplified on Twitter with #Onéslacultura (#Whereistheculture)

11. Catalan Audiovisual Council.

12. A full programme list can be consulted in Annex 1.

13. When the author interviewed the iCat.cat director about this issue, the response alluded to technical problems.

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Annex 1. Name, day of broadcast, time, and duration of programmes on iCat.cat's and Catalunya Música's programme schedules (2011–2014)

NAME	YEAR				PROGRAMME	DAY	TIME	DURATION
	2011	2012	2013	2014				
CatClàssica	2011	2012	2013	2014	Playlist	other	other	other
Catalunya Música	2011	2012	2013	2014	Auditoris	other	morning	1-3 hours
	2011	2012			CatClàssica	other	other	1-3 hours
			2013	2014	Cat Música	work day	early morning	over 3 hours
	2011	2012			Cicle Coral	weekend	morning	1 hour
	2011	2012	2013	2014	Contrapunts	weekend	morning	1 hour
			2013		Dia de la Música de Setmana Santa	other	other	other
	2011	2012			El gran segle	weekend	afternoon	1-3 hours
			2013	2014	Els concerts	other	afternoon	1-3 hours
	2011	2012	2013	2014	Els gustos reunits	work day	afternoon	1 hour
	2011	2012	2013	2014	El violí vermell	work day	night	1 hour
	2011	2012			Entrada lliure	work day	afternoon	1 hour
	2011	2012	2013	2014	Espais oberts	work day	night	1 hour
			2013		Être dieu: Dalí en cinc escenes	weekend	night	other
	2011	2012	2013	2014	Grans obres	weekend	afternoon	1-3 hours
	2011	2012	2013	2014	Grans orquestres del món	weekend	morning	1-3 hours
	2011	2012	2013	2014	Guia d'orquestra	work day	night	1 hour
			2013	2014	Històries de l'Òpera: bicentenari Verdi i Wagner	other	other	other
	2011	2012	2013		Impressions	work day	early morning	1 hour
	2011	2012			Interludi	work day	morning	1 hour
	2011	2012	2013	2014	Interludi-Cap de setmana	weekend	morning	1-3 hours
			2013	2014	La ruta Bach	weekend	morning	1 hour
	2011	2012	2013	2014	La setmana de…	work day	afternoon	1 hour
	2011	2012	2013	2014	Música de cambra	weekend	night	1 hour
	2011	2012	2013	2014	Microtons	work day	other	1 hour
			2013		Mompou: l'etern combat del somni	other	other	other
			2013		Montsalvatge: músic d'un segle	other	other	other

Total: 84
Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA website.

Annex 1. Name, day of broadcast, time, and duration of programmes on iCat.cat's and Catalunya Música's programme schedules (2011–2014) (Continuation)

				Name	day	time	duration
2011	2012	2013	2014	MP Clàssics	work day	morning	1 hour
2011		2013	2014	Nocturn	work day	early morning	other
		2013	2014	Només hi faltes tu	work day	afternoon	1-3 hours
			2014	Músics a la carta	work day	night	1 hour
2011	2012	2013	2014	Notes de Clàssica	other	night	1 hour
2011	2012	2013	2014	Preludi	work day	morning	1-3 hours
2011	2012	2013	2014	Preludi Caps de Setmana	weekend	morning	1-3 hours
		2013	2014	Programació especial	other	other	other
		2013	2014	Qui té por del segle XX?	weekend	night	1 hour
		2013		Selecció Catalunya Música	other	other	other
2011	2012	2013	2014	Solistes	work day	night	1 hour
2011	2012	2013	2014	Temporada d'Òpera del Gran Teatre del Liceu	other	other	other
		2013	2014	Temporada de l'OBC des de L'Auditori	weekend	morning	1-3 hours
		2013		Toldrà a la carta	work day	night	other
2011	2012	2013	2014	Tonalitats	work day	morning	1-3 hours
		2013		Transmissió des de l'Auditori de Barcelona	other	other	other
		2013		Transmissió des de la Universitat de Cervera	other	other	other
		2013	2014	Transmissió des del Palau de la Música Catalana	other	morning	1-3 hours
		2013		Transmissió des del Teatre-Auditori de Sant Cugat	other	night	other
		2013		Transmissió des del Teatre Tarragona de Tarragona	other	morning	1-3 hours
2011	2012	2013	2014	Transmissió UER	other	other	other
2011	2012	2013		Trobades en el temps	other	other	other
2011	2012	2013		Una hora de concert	work day	night	1 hour
2011	2012	2013	2014	Una tarda a l'òpera	weekend	afternoon	1 hour
				Via Jazz	weekend	early morning	other
iCat cat							
2011	2012	2013	2014	Cabaret Elèctric	work day	night	1 hour
		2013	2014	5 Songs	work day	morning	other
2011	2012			5 Minuts +	work day	morning	1-3 hours

Total: 84

Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA website.

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Annex 1. Name, day of broadcast, time, and duration of programmes on iCat.cat's and Catalunya Música's programme schedules (2011–2014) (Continuation)

2011	2012	2013	2014	Name	Day	Time	Duration
2011	2012	2013	2014	Delicatessen	work day	afternoon	1 hour
	2012	2013	2014	Els Experts	work day	morning	1 hour
		2013		Especials iCat.cat	other	other	other
		2013	2014	Generació Digital	weekend	afternoon	1-3 hours
2011	2012	2013		Hidrògen	work day	morning	1 hour
		2013	2014	iCat Folk	work day	morning	1 hour
		2013	2014	iCat Recomana	work day	other	other
		2013	2014	iCat.Cat en Concert	other	other	other
		2013	2014	iCatTappes	other	other	other
		2013		iJazz Club	weekend	early morning	other
2011	2012	2013		Independents	work day	morning	1 hour
			2014	Lapsus	work day	night	1 hour
2011	2012			Línia Folk	weekend	night	1 hour
2011	2012	2013		Músiques Urbanes	weekend	morning	1 hour
			2014	PerVersions	other	other	1 hour
2011	2012	2013	2014	Selecció iCat	other	other	other
2011	2012	2013	2014	Sona 9	work day	morning	1 hour
		2013		Songhunter	work day	morning	less than 1 hour
2011	2012	2013	2014	T'agrada el Blues?	work day	morning	1 hour
2011	2012	2013		Tarda Tardà	weekend	afternoon	1 hour
		2013	2014	Via Jazz	other	night	1 hour
iCatJazz 2011	2012	2013	2014	Playlist	other	other	over 3 hours
iCatMón		2013	2014	Playlist	other	other	other
iCatRumba		2013	2014	Playlist	other	other	other
iCatrònica		2013	2014	Playlist	other	other	other
Mediterràdio 2011	2012			Playlist	other	other	other
Musicatles 2011	2012			Playlist	other	other	other
TotCat 2011	2012	2013		Playlist	other	other	other
Xahrazad 2011	2012			Playlist	other	other	other

Total: 84

Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA website.

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