

Please cite as: Rossato Fernandes, M. (2025). The influence of the European Union on Latin American supranational media policy. In Dâmaso, M. (Ed). *The European Union as a Global Cultural Power* (145–164). De Gruyter Brill. doi.org/10.1515/9783111026558-007

Marina Rossato Fernandes

The influence of the European Union on Latin American supranational media policy¹

Introduction

The European Union (EU) has emerged as a significant global actor endeavouring to propagate its socio-political model beyond its borders. This aspiration transcends multiple domains, including culture, wherein the EU commits to championing its values internationally. One area where it holds particular relevance is the realm of media policy.

The growing recognition of audiovisual products' cultural and economic dimensions has spurred global efforts in media policy development. These endeavours strive to strike a delicate balance between the two facets, acknowledging their intrinsic interplay. The latter, often challenging to reconcile, is pivotal in shaping the relationship between the EU and Latin American supranational blocs and regions, specifically Mercosur and Ibero-America. However, it is essential to recognise that economic interests are also at play beneath the surface of cultural motivations to develop media policy. This duality underscores the complexity of the relationship between the two regions, which is marked by the influence of the EU media policy model on Latin American supranational audiovisual spaces and the ambition of creating a broader space to distribute regional content and face American hegemony in the audiovisual sector. Despite the active role of the EU in investing in shaping Latin American supranational media policies, the ambition was not achieved, problems were reproduced, and long-lasting challenges remain alive, which calls for a revision of this cooperation.

This chapter delves into the transformative influence wielded by the EU in shaping the development of supranational media policies within Latin America, focusing on the contexts of Mercosur and Ibero-America. The chapter is based on an extensive literature review, a comprehensive qualitative document analysis² of official documents on EU-Latin America supranational cooperation and the reports of RECAM and Ibermedia. Additionally, the chapter integrates insights from expert

¹ This research was *funded by the Horizon Europe* programme of the European Union and the call HORIZON-CL2-HERITAGE-01-06 under the Grant Agreement No 101094769 (REBOOT: Reviving, Boosting, Optimizing, and Transforming European Film Competitiveness project). It does not reflect the views of the European Union. The author is also thankful to the Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior (Capes).

² Manuel Puppis, "Analyzing Talk and Text I: Qualitative Content Analysis", in *The Palgrave Handbook of Methods for Media Policy Research*, eds. Van den Bulck, H., Puppis, M., Donders, K., Van Audenhove, L. (Cham, 2019), 367-384.

interviews³ with professionals and institutional representatives to provide a multifaceted perspective on the dynamics shaping these policies.

The central objective of this investigation is to dissect the multifaceted dimensions of the EU's involvement, scrutinising the interplay of ideas, interests, and outcomes in this relationship. Finally, this chapter reflects on past and ongoing challenges and provides recommendations for further regional cooperation.

The EU cultural diplomacy and external policy: promoting values and shaping global agendas

The EU's external policy is focused on positioning it as a global actor that can be differentiated by the values that it promotes.⁴ This movement relates not only to the political and economic domains but also to cultural relations and diplomacy, wherein the promotion of EU values takes precedence. Therefore, cultural diplomacy plays a significant role in promoting the EU's ideas and in increasing its legitimacy abroad.⁵

This approach gained strength with the endorsement of the 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions,⁶ coupled with the introduction of the European Agenda for Culture in a Globalizing World (2007),⁷ which acknowledges the EU's role as an advocate of its principles in foreign policy.⁸

In this context, the European Commission started to negotiate a series of cultural cooperation protocols, such as CARIFORUM (2008), South Korea (2009), Central American countries (2010), and Andean countries Peru and Colombia (2011). These protocols were initially viewed as an innovative way to translate some of the provisions of the UNESCO Convention into action, surpassing the impasse in trade and culture.⁹ They granted limited access to the EU's market while preserving the EU's defensive stance in the audiovisual sector by refraining from full trade liberalisation commitments.¹⁰

³ Christian Herzog and Christopher Ali, "Elite Interviewing in Media and Communications Policy Research", *International Journal of Media and Cultural Politics* 11, no. 1 (2015): 37–54.

⁴ Sonia Lucarelli and Lorenzo Fioramonti, "External Perceptions of the European Union as a Global Actor", ed. Sonia Lucarelli and Lorenzo Fioramonti, *External Perceptions of the European Union as a Global Actor* (New York: Routledge, 2010).

⁵ Jan Loisen and Ferdi De Ville, "The EU-Korea Protocol on Cultural Cooperation: Toward Cultural Diversity or Cultural Deficit?", *International Journal of Communication* 5 (2011): 254–71.

⁶ UNESCO. *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* (2005).

⁷ European Commission. *European Agenda for Culture in a Globalizing World* (Brussels, 2007).

⁸ Loisen and De Ville; Antonios Vlassis, "European Commission, Trade Agreements and Diversity of Cultural Expressions: Between Autonomy and Influence", *European Journal of Communication* 31, no. 4 (2016): 446–61.

⁹ Jan Loisen, "Mainstreaming Culture in EU External Relations through Protocols on Cultural Cooperation: Fostering or Faltering Cultural Diversity?", in *The Palgrave Handbook of European Media Policy*, ed. Karen Donders, Caroline Pauwels, and Jan Loisen (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 509–25.

¹⁰ Mira Burri, "The UNESCO Convention on Cultural Diversity: An Appraisal Five Years after Its Entry into Force", *International Journal of Cultural Property* 20, no. 4 (2013): 357–80.

From the outset, this can be seen as proof of the EU's commitment to supporting cultural policies. However, the results have been challenged, and the strategy has been criticised for its ambivalence, which allows the EU to use the cultural agenda to enforce trade agreements.¹¹ The critics of the EU's action also addressed its low commitment to and lack of involvement of local stakeholders.¹² Furthermore, the EU's struggle to uphold the tenets of the UNESCO Convention is also palpable within its borders.¹³

The EU's media policy also faces challenges in balancing cultural and economic integration.¹⁴ Despite its endeavours to promote a cultural perspective on the global stage, criticism has emerged due to a perceived emphasis on economic-focused policies during implementation.¹⁵ The context of digitisation intensifies these tensions and the fragmentation of EU member states.¹⁶ These historical and ongoing challenges raise enquiries into its viability as a replicable model.

Within this framework, the EU's influence on supranational media policy in Latin America, specifically within Mercosur and Ibero-America, assumes a notable dimension. This relation is marked by the proactive role of the EU in positioning itself as an expert who can offer technical assistance and resources to help develop supranational media policies that follow its model and values.

The EU's active engagement in positioning itself as an example to be replicated in Latin America underscores the core assumption that the EU's model could be replicated elsewhere, summarised by the idea of policy transfer. Policy transfer is "a process in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions etc. in one time and/or place is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements and institutions in another time and/or place".¹⁷ This concept assumes rationality in the selection of the best model to be imported and linearity in the

¹¹ Caroline Pauwels and Jan Loisen, "Leading by Example? European Union Implementation of Cultural Diversity in Internal and External Audiovisual Policies", *Javnost* 23, no. 2 (2016): 153–169.

¹² Vlassis, "European Commission, Trade Agreements and Diversity of Cultural Expressions: Between Autonomy and Influence".

¹³ Psychogiopoulou, Evangelia. "The Cultural Facet of the EU Media Policy: Matching Rhetoric to Reality?" In *The Palgrave Handbook of European Media Policy*, ed. Karen Donders; Caroline Pauwels and Jan Loisen (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 187–201.

¹⁴ Maria Michalis, "Focal Points of European Media Policy from Inception till Present: Plus Ça Change?", in *The Palgrave Handbook of European Media Policy*, ed. Karen Donders; Caroline Pauwels and Jan Loisen (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 128–42.

¹⁵ Karen Donders and Caroline Pauwels, "Does EU Policy Challenge the Digital Future of Public Service Broadcasting?: An Analysis of the Commission's State Aid Approach to Digitization and the Public Service Remit of Public Broadcasting Organizations", *Convergence* 14, no. 3 (2008): 295–311; Alison J. Harcourt, "Institution-Driven Competition: The Regulation of Cross-Border Broadcasting in the EU," *Journal of Public Policy* 27, no. 3 (2007): 293–317.

¹⁶ Antonios Vlassis, "European Union and Online Platforms in Global Audiovisual Politics and Economy : Once Upon a Time in America?," *International Communication Gazette* 83, no. 6 (2020): 593–615.

¹⁷ David Marsh and David Dolowitz, "Who Learns What from Whom : A Review of the Policy Transfer Literature," *Political Studies* 44 (1996): 343–351, 2.

transfer. However, it has faced criticism for not sufficiently considering the complexity and diverse interests inherent to the process.¹⁸

In the following sections, the influence of the EU's media policy model on Mercosur and Ibero-America will be analysed from a multifaceted perspective, aiming to gain insight into its underlying concepts and resulting outcomes.

The influence of the EU in Mercosur media policy

The relationship between the EU and Mercosur precedes their interaction in the cultural domain. Since the creation of the Common Market of the South by the Treaty of Asuncion in 1991, establishing a free-trade region among Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay, the EU has been perceived as a model of supranational integration.¹⁹ It was the first global actor to recognise Mercosur's legitimacy, and it is its primary contributor.

The first agreement between them was signed one year after the establishment of Mercosur, followed by several others that aimed to strengthen their relationship.²⁰ In this context, Regional Strategy Programs were carried out addressing different areas, including the cultural sphere, with the explicit aim of "supporting regional integration, preparing for the implementation of the future Association Agreement and trade-related assistance."²¹ The EU's interest in strengthening Mercosur to further establish a trade agreement with it was clear. Despite the remarkable differences between Mercosur and the EU, such as their models of integration, level of political commitment and economic asymmetries,²² the EU has played an active role in shaping the development of regional policies within Mercosur.²³

This previous relationship influenced their media policy dialogue. As happened with Mercosur since the creation of its main audiovisual supranational institution, the Specialised Meeting of Audiovisual and Cinematographic Authorities of Mercosur and Associated States (*Reunión Especializada de Autoridades Cinematográficas y Audiovisuales del Mercosur - RECAM*), the EU was perceived as a model to be followed. RECAM was created in 2003 and reunited authorities of each member state to advance the integration of audiovisual industries in the Mercosur.

¹⁸ Jamie Peck, "Geographies of Policy: From Transfer-Diffusion to Mobility-Mutation," *Progress in Human Geography* 35, no. 6 (2011): 773–97.

¹⁹ Clarissa F. Dri, "Limits of the Institutional Mimesis of the European Union: The Case of the Mercosur Parliament," *Latin American Policy* 1 (2010): 52–74.

²⁰ Sebastian Santander, "The European Partnership with Mercosur: A Relationship Based on Strategic and Neo-Liberal Principles," *Journal of European Integration* 27, no. 3 (2005): 285–306.

²¹ European Commissio. *Mercosur Regional Strategy Paper 2007-2013*, 2007, 4.

²² Andrés Malamud, "Mercosur Turns 15: Between Rising Rhetoric and Declining Achievement," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 18, no. 3 (2005): 421–36.

²³ Dri, "Limits of the Institutional Mimesis of the European Union: The Case of the Mercosur Parliament".

RECAM's goals are aligned with "safeguarding cultural diversity with the objective of strengthening national identities",²⁴ ideas further reinforced by the EU's support for the UNESCO Convention previously mentioned. RECAM's ambitions are mainly centred on standardising legislation concerning audiovisual products and services across its member states. It seeks to establish an audiovisual observatory, facilitate broader dissemination of audiovisual content, create a fund to endorse production, and mitigate imbalances within the sector as a whole.²⁵ RECAM's aspirations are frequently linked to and influenced by EU audiovisual policy.²⁶ This is evidenced by RECAM's earlier minutes meetings, which already indicated the desire for "transfer of experience on the preservation of film patrimony, information system, design and execution of policies and programs",²⁷ with the EU as the model to be followed.

The perception of the EU as a model is evident even before the signing of the cooperation agreement for the Audiovisual Mercosur Program, which is analysed in the following section. Cooperation with the EU is presented as "one of the first tasks that RECAM dedicated itself, and the one whose achievements will have the greatest impact."²⁸ To advance the negotiations, RECAM's staff made two trips to Brussels for meetings and consultations with experts. Following these visits, RECAM presented proposals to the EU delegation in Uruguay and engaged in meetings with representatives of the French Ministry of External Relations in the field of audiovisual affairs.

Despite the influence of the EU media policy, RECAM's results are significantly different. It primarily focuses on symbolic initiatives, including the establishment of a magazine called "Mercosur Audiovisual," the introduction of a Mercosur prize that provides subtitle services and content licensing opportunities, and measures to enhance the accessibility of audiovisual content. However, critical actions, such as implementing screen quotas for Mercosur content, supporting TV co-production, and establishing a distribution agency, remain unaddressed. This highlights RECAM's limited strategic development, marked by a lack of a comprehensive plan to attain its objectives efficiently. RECAM faces many challenges, including limited institutional capacity, a precarious budget, and a lack of

²⁴ RECAM, *I Reunión Especializada de Autoridades Cinematográficas y Audiovisuales*, (2004): 1.

²⁵ Mercosur, "MERCOSUR/GMC/RES. N° 49/03. Reunión Especializada de Autoridades Cinematográficas y Audiovisuales Del Mercosur", 2003; RECAM, "Programa de Trabajo 2004", 2004.

²⁶ Carmina Crusafon, "La Política Audiovisual Del MERCOSUR y La Influencia Del Modelo Europeo," *Cuadernos de Información* 2, no. 1 (2009): 93–104; Daniele Canedo and Carmina Crusafon, "The European Audiovisual Policy Goes Abroad: The Case of Inter-Regional Cooperation with Mercosur", in *The Palgrave Handbook of European Media Policy*, ed. Karen Donders, Caroline Pauwels, and Jan Loisen (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 526–41.

²⁷ RECAM, *II Reunión Especializada de Autoridades Cinematográficas y Audiovisuales* (2004).

²⁸ RECAM, *Informe de Gestión de La Secretaría Técnica de La RECAM (2006-2007)* (2007) 10.

political support.²⁹ It plays an important symbolic role in promoting Mercosur's identity through the audiovisual sector, but the results are far from its original ambition.³⁰

Challenges and limitations of the Audiovisual Mercosur Program

The main programme implemented by RECAM was cooperation with the EU, which absorbed a large part of RECAM's institutional capacity. The Audiovisual Mercosur Program (AMP) is considered the milestone in the media policy dialogue between Mercosur and the EU, wherein the idea of transferring the EU media policy model was implemented. Indeed, the AMP aimed to create "a Mercosur Media Program based on the EU MEDIA Program".³¹ Functioning between 2009 and 2015, it had a financial allocation of €1.86 million. The EU was its main donor, investing €1.5 million, while RECAM contributed the remaining €0.36 million.³²

The programme was built on the idea that the main problem of Mercosur's audiovisual sector was the low circulation of regional content among the member states, which impacted the construction of a common regional Mercosur citizenship. Three main causes have been identified: (i) limited circulation of domestic audiovisual content at the intraregional level, (ii) absence of national and regional strategies for new marketing models involving digital convergence and digital distribution, (iii) imbalances in audiovisual content production.³³

Based on this diagnosis, the programme's execution was divided into five axes: 1) harmonisation of legislation in the sector among the Mercosur member states; 2) strengthening of the capacities of the Mercosur audiovisual observatory; 3) circulation of domestic audiovisual content; 4) preservation of the audiovisual heritage of the region; and 5) professional and technical training in the audiovisual sector.³⁴

The initiatives allocated to each axis exhibit notable limitations in tackling the subject matter effectively. To illustrate this point, while Axis 1 leaned heavily on initial studies related to regional legislation, it failed to make significant progress towards the envisioned harmonisation. Similarly, Axis 5 found its scope restricted to organising sporadic workshops. The circulation issue, widely acknowledged as the primary challenge within the Mercosur audiovisual landscape, was approached by establishing thirty digital cinemas. However, this effort unveiled a relatively modest endeavour regarding the distribution problem and the ongoing digital transformation within the audiovisual

²⁹ Marina Rossato Fernandes, Jan Loisen, and Karen Donders, "Mercosur Caught between Lofty Ambitions and Modest Achievements: A Critical Analysis of 16 Years of Audiovisual Policy-Making," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 27, no. 4 (2021): 544–58.

³⁰ Marina Moguillansky, "La Integración Cinematográfica En El Mercosur: Una Propuesta de Periodización," *Eptic* 17, no. 3 (2015): 105–24.

³¹ European Commission, *Mercosur Regional Strategy Paper 2007-2013* (2007) 38.

³² Mercosur, *Convenio de Financiación Entre La Comunidad Europea y El Mercosur: Programa Mercosur Audiovisual* (2008).

³³ Mercosur, *Convenio* (2008).

³⁴ Mercosur, *Convenio* (2008), 24.

sector. At this stage, it is already possible to note that not all proposed axes are related to the main diagnosis and would not be sufficient to transfer EU media policy fully.

The axis that was more concretely related to the EU media policy was the creation of a Mercosur audiovisual observatory, a goal discussed as a priority in RECAM's meetings and subsequently redirected to be executed under the AMP.³⁵ Nonetheless, this axis was cancelled after allegations of insufficient funds to implement it.³⁶ The consequences were threefold. First, since the observatory is a crucial institution in EU media policy, it constrained media policy transfer. Second, since the observatory would be responsible for evaluating the programme's achievements, it restricted the results of the AMP. Third, it negatively affected Mercosur's media policy, which lacks official data to develop and evaluate its policies. This episode indicates both a limitation of the AMP and a lack of commitment and guidance from the EU, which, in the position of the expert, could have acted in recognition of the crucial role of the Mercosur audiovisual observatory.

In addition to strategic issues, the implementation of the programme faced numerous constraints,³⁷ such as its top-down character lacking involvement with local stakeholders, the absence of training supporting the envisaged transfer of expertise, a mismatch between its stated ambitions and the resources invested,³⁸ and the discontinuity of its activities. Although RECAM's evaluation of the programme was positive,³⁹ it could only achieve incremental results.⁴⁰

These limitations stem from the precedent of past failures in other EU cultural cooperation agreements,⁴¹ which point to a systemic issue in the EU's overarching strategy on the global stage. Furthermore, cultural agreements encounter the challenge of contending with more comprehensive international trade agreements that pursue distinct objectives.⁴² This landscape underscores the hurdles faced by the EU in terms of advancing cultural cooperation.

Access to resources (or lack thereof) played an important role in this context since RECAM's budget is limited. Moreover, the fact that it was embedded into the AMP has important implications.

³⁵ RECAM, *III Reunião Especializada de Autoridades Cinematográficas e Audiovisuais Do Mercosul* (2004); RECAM, *III Reunion Extraordinaria de La Reunion Especializada de Autoridades Cinematograficas y Audiovisuales Del Mercosur* (2009).

³⁶ RECAM, *Informe Final de Ejecución Programa Mercosur Audiovisual* (2015).

³⁷ Marina Rossato Fernandes, Jan Loisen, and Karen Donders, "Audiovisual Policy Transfer between Mercosur and the European Union Has Gone Offtrack," *International Communication Gazette* 84, no.5 (2022): 401–421.

³⁸ Daniele Pereira Canedo, "Todos Contra Hollywood? Políticas, Redes e Fluxos Do Espaço Cinematográfico do Mercosul e a Cooperação com a União Europeia" (Universidade Federal da Bahia, 2013).

³⁹ RECAM, *Informe Final de Ejecución Programa Mercosur Audiovisual* (2015).

⁴⁰ Daniele Pereira Canedo, Elisabeth Loiola, and Caroline Pauwels, "A Recam e a Política Cinematográfica do Mercosul: Promoção Da Integração Regional e Da Diversidade Cultural?," *Políticas Culturais Em Revista* 1, no. 8 (2015): 2–20.

⁴¹ Loisen and De Ville, "The EU-Korea Protocol on Cultural Cooperation: Toward Cultural Diversity or Cultural Deficit?"; Vlassis, "European Commission, Trade Agreements and Diversity of Cultural Expressions: Between Autonomy and Influence".

⁴² Katharine Sarikakis and Sarah Ganter, "Priorities in Global Media Policy Transfer: Audiovisual and Digital Policy Mutations in the EU, MERCOSUR and US Triangle," *European Journal of Communication* 29, no. 1 (2014): 17–33.

First, EU investment was insufficient to achieve these goals and could not ensure the continuity of activities. Second, the AMP reinforced the underdevelopment of RECAM since it increased its dependency on external resources and knowledge. Third, it restricted much of RECAM's capacity, whose efforts were invested in transferring the EU media policy model instead of developing its own approach.

While it is essential to acknowledge that RECAM faces multiple challenges,⁴³ it is equally vital to recognise that access to resources through cooperation agreements in which the EU assumes the role of an expert also carries significant implications that warrant consideration.

Ibero-America media policy: a complex interplay of influence and interests

The Ibero-American region is a political, economic, and cultural cooperation project among 22 member states,⁴⁴ encompassing Latin America, Spain, and Portugal, and connected by a shared history, culture, and languages. Initiated by Spain, integration efforts led to the establishment of the General Ibero-American Secretariat (Secretaría General Iberoamericana - SEGIB) in 2004, aiming to enhance cooperation in education, culture, and social cohesion.

On the one hand, the creation of the Ibero-American space was a top-down movement led by Spain.⁴⁵ On the other hand, the establishment of its audiovisual dimension emerged from grassroots discussions involving producers and intellectuals in Latin America seeking to counter North American content dominance.⁴⁶ This movement resulted in the formation of the Conference of Ibero-American Cinematographic Authorities (Conferencia de Autoridades Audiovisuales y Cinematográficas de Iberoamérica - CAACI) in 1989, an institution that reunites national cinema authorities to promote regional audiovisual integration. The subsequent creation of the Ibermedia program in 1995 further institutionalised this space. With links to CAACI and SEGIB, Ibermedia ambitioned to "develop the audiovisual market in support of the construction of the Ibero-American audiovisual space"⁴⁷ and identified distribution as the main challenge where "Ibero-American audiovisual products, both in their cinematic and television formats, do not circulate with sufficient fluidity".⁴⁸

⁴³ Fernandes, Loisen, and Donders, "Mercosur Caught between Lofty Ambitions and Modest Achievements: A Critical Analysis of 16 Years of Audiovisual Policy-Making"; Marina Muguillansky, "El Cine En El Mercosur . El Proceso de Integración Regional y Las Asimetrías de La Industria Cinematográfica," *Temas y Debates* 18 (2009): 95–107.

⁴⁴ Andorra, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chile, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Spain, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

⁴⁵ Celestino del Arenal, "Las Cumbres Iberoamericanas: El Largo y Difícil Camino Hacia Su Institucionalización," *América Latina Hoy* 40 (2009): 57–72.

⁴⁶ Octavio Getino, *Cine Iberoamericano: Los Desafíos Del Nuevo Siglo* (Buenos Aires: CICCUS, 2007).

⁴⁷ CACI, "Programa de Desarrollo Audiovisual En Apoyo de La Construcción Del Espacio Visual Iberoamericano (Ibermedia)," 1997: 2.

⁴⁸ CACI:2.

Hence, Ibermedia allocated resources across four key axes: co-production support, distribution, education and capacity-building, and promotion and project development. Nevertheless, despite acknowledging the significance of tackling the distribution challenge, Ibermedia discontinued the distribution axis due to budget constraints. Its focus is on support for co-production, which encompasses 80% of the total budget between 1998 and 2008.⁴⁹

The fund is composed of contributions from each member country, which vary based on their economic capacity and resources. Therefore, the total budget can fluctuate from year to year, reflecting dynamic economic conditions and differing levels of financial commitment. In 2021, the total budget was \$6.195.759,00.⁵⁰

In its twenty-five years, Ibermedia has invested \$124,000,000, supporting 1107 co-productions and the development of 1123 projects.⁵¹ In addition to financial investments, Ibermedia collaborates in the institutionalisation of the audiovisual sector in its member countries and contributes to strengthening the Ibero-American audiovisual identity.

Ibermedia was also influenced by EU media policy in that it aimed to reproduce the EU MEDIA Programme⁵². This intention is made explicit in the pronouncement to "take as a model the supranational audiovisual integration policy developed in Europe with the same purpose and stance: to promote and solidify a film and audiovisual industry capable of competing in the markets with the North American giant".⁵³ However, the idea of the EU as a model has lost strength over the years⁵⁴ and the main remaining alignment regards the idea of promoting cultural diversity through the development of regional media policy.

Ibermedia has developed its model of media policy-making, wherein it maintains a close connection with its stakeholders marked by informality and affection.⁵⁵ By acknowledging the particularities of Latin America, it consolidated itself as the main Ibero-American audiovisual institution, which is crucial for the regional audiovisual sector. However, the programme's emphasis on supporting co-productions neglected the essential aspects of distribution and exhibition, preventing

⁴⁹ Leandro González, "Los 20 Años Del Programa Ibermedia : Consolidación y Nuevas Dinámicas de Cooperación Para El Cine Iberoamericano", *Revista Eptic* 22, no. 3 (2020): 25–44.

⁵⁰ SEGIB, Ficha PIPA (2021).

⁵¹ Programa Ibermedia. *Ibermedia en cifras*. <https://www.programaibermedia.com/el-programa/ibermedia-en-cifras/> n.d. (8 March 2023).

⁵² Tamara L. Falicov, "Programa Ibermedia: Cine Transnacional Ibero-Americano O Relaciones Públicas Para España?," *Revista Reflexiones* 91, no. 1 (2012): 299–312.

⁵³ SEGIB. *Evaluación Programa Ibermedia 1998–2008*. https://www.segib.org/wp-content/uploads/IBERMEDIA_PDF.pdf. 2009 (4 October 2024), 27.

⁵⁴ Marina Rossato Fernandes, "Partner or Model? The Latin-American Perception of the EU in the=Supranational Audiovisual Policies," *Mediální Studia* 15, no. 2 (2021): 190–208.

⁵⁵ Marina-Rossato Fernandes, Karen Donders, and Jan Loisen, "Ibermedia as a Collaborative Space for Film Co-Production Policy? A Stakeholder Analysis on Decision-Making Processes," *Communication & Society* 35, no. 2 (2022): 137–53.

it from achieving its initial goal of establishing a regional audiovisual market capable of challenging the dominance of the US.⁵⁶

In this context, the EU is not perceived as an expert, and there is no cooperation program to transfer its model. However, this does not imply that the EU does not influence it. It is crucial to note that Spain and Portugal are European countries and part of the Ibero-American space. Previous research has indicated the role of Spain in filtering the EU media policy to Ibero-America, especially through close meetings at CAACI.⁵⁷ A recent example is the proposal to implement a Guarantee Facility at the Ibero-American level to support audiovisual companies in accessing resources from the financial market based on the EU Cultural and Creative Sectors Guarantee Facility⁵⁸. The proposal is led and "inspired by the successful management case achieved in Spain"⁵⁹ and reveals the influence of Spain in filtering EU media policy to Ibero-America.

Access to European resources also has an essential role. Spain was the main investor in the Ibermedia programme, investing 40% of the total budget from 1998 to 2016, which ensured its consolidation.⁶⁰ Although there were initial concerns about Spain's influence and the use of co-productions for its benefit,⁶¹ Ibermedia has evolved to reflect a more Latin American focus on funding and policy-making.⁶²

Recently, Ibermedia accessed €3.000.000 through the Recovery, Transformation, and Resilience Plan, in which Spain participates, funded by the NextGenerationEU.⁶³ These resources made it possible to launch a new call dedicated to implementing new technologies in the field of digital animation, Ibermedia Next. It targets Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian production companies collaborating on projects with companies and/or professionals in the Ibero-American creative sector.⁶⁴ This call supports the production of short content, such as promos, teasers, and video clips and aims to demonstrate the implementation of new technologies in digital animation. Additionally, it involves

⁵⁶ Marina Moguillansky, "Ibermedia, Crisis y Después: Acerca de Las Transformaciones Recientes de La Coproducción Iberoamericana," *Archivos de La Filmoteca* 76, no. 1 (2019): 21–34.

⁵⁷ Marina Rossato Fernandes, "The End of an Era? The Decrease of the EU Influence in Ibero-American Digital Media Policy Discourses," *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, (2022): 1–18

⁵⁸ European Commission, *Creative Europe's guarantee facility for the cultural and creative sectors* (Brussels, 2016).

⁵⁹ SEGIB. *Projeto Do Sistema Ibero-Americano de Garantias Recíprocas Para as Indústrias Culturais e Criativas*. <https://www.segib.org/wp-content/uploads/Documento-Ejecutivo-PT.pdf> 2021 (4 October 2024).

⁶⁰ Leandro González, "Los 20 Años Del Programa Ibermedia".

⁶¹ Libia Villazana, *Transnational Financial Structures in the Cinema of Latin America: Programa Ibermedia in Study* (Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag, 2009).

⁶² González, "Los 20 Años Del Programa Ibermedia : Consolidación y Nuevas Dinámicas de Cooperación Para El Cine Iberoamericano"; Fernandes, Donders, and Loisen, "Ibermedia as a Collaborative Space for Film Co-Production Policy? A Stakeholder Analysis on Decision-Making Processes".

⁶³ European Commission, "EU Budget Policy Brief: The EU as an issuer: THE NextGenerationEU Transformation". Luxembourg, July, 2022.

⁶⁴ Ibermedia, "Bases Para La Convocatoria: Ayudas Para La Aplicación de Nuevas Tecnologías en la Animación Digital", 2020.

the execution of a separate initiative dedicated to training, consultation, promotion, and dissemination programmes for the chosen projects and their leading professionals.

Once more, the EU invested resources in developing Latin American supranational media policy. This funding significantly shaped the priorities of the initiative, aligning them with the objectives of NextGenerationEU, and offering advantages to European producers. However, the intention was not to replicate the EU's media policy; instead, the funding aimed to establish a programme that resonated with the interests of the Ibero-American region. This endeavour was undertaken collaboratively with two bottom-up institutions that reunite Ibero-American stakeholders: the Quirino Awards and the Ibero-American Animation League. Despite its provisions for development, production, and even consultation on creating a dissemination plan, the call falls short in effectively tackling the central challenge of the Ibero-American audiovisual industry, which is distribution.

The impact of the EU on Ibero-American media policy is evident, with alignment in terms of the idea of cultural diversity and the pursuit of EU funding. However, this relationship takes on a distinct operational approach. Rather than replicating EU media policy, resources are directed towards involving regional stakeholders more actively. This entails continuous collaboration with key Ibero-American associations, notably the Ibero-American Producers Association (FIPCA) and the Association of Services for Audiovisual Producers (EGEDA), and maintaining an informal, open channel of communication with producers, particularly through meetings at film festivals.⁶⁵ This cooperative approach is further exemplified in the development of the Ibermedia Next call, which incorporated input from grassroots associations.

The EU's influence is channelled through Ibero-American member states, particularly Spain, playing a pivotal role in this process. Leveraging its profound knowledge of EU media policy, Spain takes on the role of recommending which aspects of EU media policy should be considered for replication and which ought to be avoided, revealing its influential position and also avoiding uninformed policy transfer.

Ideas and interests shaping the EU-Latin America media policy relation

We now analyse the ideas and interests that motivated this relationship and contribute to its multifaceted nature. The principal alignment observed between their supranational audiovisual spaces is their shared emphasis on safeguarding cultural diversity. Both regions acknowledge the dual economic and cultural nature that is inherent in audiovisual products. A pivotal aspect of this consensus is their advocacy for formulating and implementing public policies to safeguard and foster growth within the regional audiovisual sector. This strategic orientation is fundamentally geared towards

⁶⁵ Fernandes, Donders, and Loisen, 'Ibermedia as a Collaborative Space for Film Co-Production Policy? A Stakeholder Analysis on Decision-Making Processes'.

confronting the prevailing influence exerted by the United States, which wields a hegemonic position within the Latin-American regional market.⁶⁶ This shared alignment also encompassed a comprehensive aspiration to create a Euro-Latin American audiovisual market,⁶⁷ thereby acknowledging the economic dimension of audiovisual products and the pivotal importance of expanding the arena for distributing audiovisual content to confront the dominance of Hollywood cinema effectively.

Parallel to this ambition, a broad interest exists in augmenting their legitimacy as supranational entities and strengthening their political influence. The EU's influence on Latin American supranational media policy not only reflects its commitment to fostering regional integration and cooperation but also aligns with its broader interest in enhancing its political legitimacy on the global stage.⁶⁸ The same holds true for Latin America. In the case of RECAM, AMP was perceived as an opportunity to strengthen its legitimacy at the international level and across its member states.⁶⁹

Furthermore, economic considerations play a significant role. Latin America seeks to engage with the EU to access resources because its supranational audiovisual institutions face budgetary constraints, while the EU is interested in investing in cultural cooperation to penetrate the Latin American market.

Unfulfilled ambitions and ongoing challenges

However, it is crucial to acknowledge that the outcomes of this relationship have fallen short of its stated ambitions. At Mercosur, the EU media policy was not successfully transferred to RECAM. Likewise, within Ibero-America, the Ibermedia programme has followed a trajectory distinct from that of the EU's MEDIA Programme, and the envisioned creation of a robust Euro-Latin American audiovisual market capable of challenging US hegemony remains unrealised.

A crucial problem is the form of engagement between these regions, wherein the EU assumes a role as the expert whose model should be followed. This one-sided approach, characterised by limited opportunities for mutual learning, has led to the reproduction of challenges encountered in other EU cultural agreements and raised questions about the EU's position as the ultimate authority in such matters.

One of the EU's key distinctive features lies in its capacity to allocate resources. However, despite the significance of gaining access to such resources, the funds allocated to Mercosur and Ibero-

⁶⁶ Carmina Crusafon, "El Espacio Audiovisual Euro-Latinoamericano: El Cine Como Eje Central de La Cooperación Supranacional," *Anàlisi. Quaderns de Comunicació i Cultura* 41 (2011): 27–45.

⁶⁷ Manuel José Moreno Domínguez and David Montero, "Europe as a Partner New Spaces for Audiovisual Cooperation between Latin America and the EU," *Global Media and Communication* 5, no. 51 (2009): 1742–7665.

⁶⁸ Vlassis, "European Commission, Trade Agreements and Diversity of Cultural Expressions: Between Autonomy and Influence".

⁶⁹ Fernandes, Loisen, and Donders, "Mercosur Caught between Lofty Ambitions and Modest Achievements: A Critical Analysis of 16 Years of Audiovisual Policy-Making".

America proved inadequate in realising the envisioned objectives and were subsequently discontinued. In addition, such limited resources were not sufficiently allocated to address the distribution challenge, a central concern that motivates the development of these spaces and the relationship among them. The current context of digitisation reinforces this challenge, presenting an opportunity to reconsider the EU-Latin America relationship. Currently, a significant focal point of media policy revolves around regulating video-on-demand services. While the EU is in the process of implementing regulations, it still grapples with challenges in effectively carrying them out.⁷⁰ In contrast, within Latin America, despite the widely recognised importance of establishing a supranational regulatory framework, such an endeavour remains dormant, leading to a fragmented and inadequate regulatory landscape.⁷¹ Previous research has indicated a waning influence of the EU in shaping conceptual discussions, particularly regarding the role of public policies and the cultural dimension within these deliberations, wherein the ideas debated overfocused on the economic perspective.⁷² In this context, a substantial potential for action exists; nevertheless, as we move forward, these discussions must integrate the valuable lessons that can be gleaned from past experiences.

Conclusion

The EU has a notable and active role in the supranational media policy in Latin America. It has invested financial resources in the main Latin American supranational audiovisual institutions to assist in developing media policy aligned with its values and interests. Nevertheless, the EU-Latin America relationship takes a different form in each region. At RECAM, the main contribution happened through the AMP, where the EU promoted a self-image of the expert capable of transmitting its knowledge and invested in transferring its media policy model. In the case of Ibermedia, the EU also exerted an influence, but the interaction, filtered by Spain, did not pursue the idea of policy transfer through cooperation agreements.

A convergence of interests characterised this relationship centred on the preservation of cultural diversity, as well as economic motivations. Latin America sought to access EU resources, while the EU aimed to tap into the potential of the Latin American market. Despite the alignment of interests, the outcomes have not met expectations.

Collaborative efforts between the EU and Latin America are desirable and hold promising prospects. However, a central challenge encountered in this cooperation lies in the dynamics of the engagement between both parties, which is unbalanced and unstable. The EU often assumes the position of an authoritative expert, while Latin American institutions tend to engage in policy transfer

⁷⁰ M Trinidad García Leiva and Luis A. Alborno, “VOD Service Providers and Regulation in the European Union: An Audiovisual Diversity Approach,” *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 27, no. 3 (2021): 267–81.

⁷¹ Mariela Baladron and Ezequiel Rivero, “Video-on-Demand Services in Latin America: Trends and Challenges towards Access, Concentration and Regulation,” *Journal of Digital Media and Policy* 10, no. 1 (2019): 109–26.

⁷² Fernandes, “The End of an Era?”.

without sufficient knowledge and institutional capacity. Therefore, it is crucial to move beyond the idea of merely replicating the EU model. The key takeaway of the AMP is the acknowledgement of the limitations of transferring EU media policy to Latin American supranational spaces and the consequences of pursuing this path, even though access to resources can be appealing. Rather, the development of Latin American media policy must consider regional specificities, including economic asymmetries, political instability, and the role of people and informality in media policy-making.⁷³ Further cultural cooperation agreements with the EU should consider these elements. Moreover, the stability of this relationship remains fragile due to the EU's limited level of commitment, contributing to an environment of unreliability and inconsistency. Addressing these disparities and uncertainties will be pivotal in nurturing a more effective and equitable collaboration between the two regions.

A crucial point that remains relevant is the alignment of ideas regarding the defence of cultural diversity and the development of public policies to promote and protect a regional audiovisual sector, serving as a cornerstone for future cooperation. In light of the absence of comprehensive supranational policies in Latin America that specifically address the digital landscape, combined with the rise of neoliberal discourse in the film industry⁷⁴ and the increasing influence of private companies in shaping policies in this domain⁷⁵, the EU could play a pivotal role in addressing these gaps. By encouraging dialogue on the existing digital landscape and its regulatory complexities, the EU could create opportunities for mutual exchange and thoughtful deliberation, enabling Latin American countries to gain valuable insights and refine their own strategies.

The EU has the potential to assume a proactive role in encouraging discussions among diverse stakeholders, conducting comprehensive studies, and allocating resources to initiatives that effectively tackle the audiovisual distribution challenge. However, for the EU to fully realise this potential, it must undergo a transformation in its approach and shift towards a more collaborative and inclusive form of engagement, one that acknowledges economic asymmetries and values regional specificities as well as the role of local stakeholders in shaping policy.

References

Arenal, Celestino del. "Las Cumbres Iberoamericanas: El Largo y Difícil Camino Hacia Su Institucionalización." *América Latina Hoy* 40 (2009): 57–72. Accessed October 3, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.14201/alh.2415>.

⁷³ Fernandes, Donders, and Loisen, "Ibermedia as a Collaborative Space for Film Co-Production Policy? A Stakeholder Analysis on Decision-Making Processes".

⁷⁴ Tamara L Falicov, *Latin American Film Industries* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019).

⁷⁵ Marina Rossato Fernandes and Luis A. Albornoz, "Netflix as a Policy Actor: Shaping Policy Debate in Latin America," *Journal of Digital Media & Policy* 14, no. 2 (2023): 249–68.

Baladron, Mariela, and Ezequiel Rivero. "Video-on-Demand Services in Latin America: Trends and Challenges towards Access, Concentration and Regulation." *Journal of Digital Media and Policy* 10, no. 1 (2019): 109–26. Accessed October 3, 2024. https://doi.org/10.1386/jdmp.10.1.109_1.

Burri, Mira. "The UNESCO Convention on Cultural Diversity: An Appraisal Five Years after Its Entry into Force." *International Journal of Cultural Property* 20, no. 4 (2013): 357–80. Accessed October 3, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0940739113000209>.

CACI. *Programa de Desarrollo Audiovisual En Apoyo de La Construcción Del Espacio Visual Iberoamericano (Ibermedia)*. 1997.

Canedo, Daniele, and Carmina Crusafon. 'The European Audiovisual Policy Goes Abroad: The Case of Inter-Regional Cooperation with Mercosur'. In *The Palgrave Handbook of European Media Policy*, edited by Karen Donders, Caroline Pauwels, and Jan Loisen. Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, 526–41.

Canedo, Daniele Pereira. 'Todos Contra Hollywood? Políticas, Redes e Fluxos Do Espaço Cinematográfico Do Mercosul e a Cooperação Com a União Europeia'. Universidade Federal da Bahia, 2013.

Canedo, Daniele Pereira, Elisabeth Loiola, and Caroline Pauwels. "A Recam e a Política Cinematográfica Do Mercosul: Promoção Da Integração Regional e Da Diversidade Cultural?" *Políticas Culturais Em Revista* 1, 8 (2015): 2–20.

Crusafon, Carmina. 'El Espacio Audiovisual Euro-Latinoamericano: El Cine Como Eje Central de La Cooperación Supranacional'. *Anàlisi. Quaderns de Comunicació i Cultura* 41 (2011): 27–45.

Crusafon, Carmina. *Información* 25, 1 (2009): 93–104.

Donders, Karen, and Caroline Pauwels. "Does EU Policy Challenge the Digital Future of Public Service Broadcasting?: An Analysis of the Commission's State Aid Approach to Digitization and the Public Service Remit of Public Broadcasting Organizations". *Convergence* 14, no. 3 (2008): 295–311. Accessed October 3, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856508091082>.

Dri, Clarissa F. "Limits of the Institutional Mimesis of the European Union: The Case of the Mercosur Parliament." *Latin American Policy* 1, no. 1 (2010): 52–74. Accessed October 3, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2041-7373.2010.00004.x>.

European Commission. *Mercosur Regional Strategy Paper 2007-2013*. 2007.

European Commission. *European Agenda for Culture in a Globalizing World*. Brussels, 2007.

European Commission. *Creative Europe's guarantee facility for the cultural and creative sectors*. Brussels, 2016.

European Commission. *EU Budget Policy Brief: The EU as an issuer: The NextGenerationEU Transformation*. Brussels, 2022.

Falicov, Tamara L. *Latin American Film Industries*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019.

Falicov, Tamara L. "Programa Ibermedia: Cine Transnacional Ibero-Americano O Relaciones Públicas Para España?." *Revista Reflexiones* 91, no. 1 (2012): 299–312.

Fernandes, Marina Rossato. "Partner or Model? The Latin-American Perception of the EU in the Supranational Audiovisual Policies." *Mediální Studia* 15, no. 2 (2021): 190–208.

Fernandes, Marina Rossato. "The End of an Era? The Decrease of the EU Influence in Ibero-American Digital Media Policy Discourses." *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 2022: 1–18. Accessed October 3, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2022.2147517>.

Fernandes, Marina Rossato, L. A. Albornoz, "Netflix as a Policy Actor: Shaping Policy Debate in Latin America", *Journal of Digital Media & Policy* 14, no. 2 (2023): 249–68. Accessed October 3, 2024. https://doi.org/10.1386/jdmp_00124_1.

Fernandes, Marina Rossato, Jan Loisen, and Karen Donders. "Audiovisual Policy Transfer between Mercosur and the European Union Has Gone Offtrack." *International Communication Gazette*, 5 (2022): 401–421. Accessed October 3, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17480485211052169>.

Fernandes, Marina-Rossato, Karen Donders, and Jan Loisen. "Ibermedia as a Collaborative Space for Film Coproduction Policy? A Stakeholder Analysis on Decision-Making Processes". *Communication & Society* 35, no. 2 (2022): 137–53. Accessed October 3, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.15581/003.35.2.137-153>.

Fernandes, M.R., J. Loisen, and K. Donders. "Mercosur Caught between Lofty Ambitions and Modest Achievements: A Critical Analysis of 16 Years of Audiovisual Policy-Making." *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 27, no. 4 (2021): 544–58. Accessed October 3, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2020.1786544>.

García Leiva, M Trinidad, and Luis A. Albornoz. "VOD Service Providers and Regulation in the European Union: An Audiovisual Diversity Approach." *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 27, no. 3 (2021): 267–81. Accessed October 3, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2020.1769614>.

Getino, Octavio. *Cine Iberoamericano: Los Desafíos Del Nuevo Sigo*. Buenos Aires: CICCUS, 2007.

González, Leandro. "Los 20 Años Del Programa Ibermedia : Consolidación y Nuevas Dinámicas de Cooperación Para El Cine Iberoamericano." *Revista Eptic* 22, no. 3 (2020): 25–44.

Harcourt, Alison J. "Institution-Driven Competition: The Regulation of Cross-Border Broadcasting in the EU." *Journal of Public Policy* 27, no. 3 (2007): 293–317. Accessed October 3, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0143814X07009713>.

Herzog, Christian, and Christopher Ali. "Elite Interviewing in Media and Communications Policy Research". *International Journal of Media and Cultural Politics* 11, no. 1 (2015): 37–54. Accessed October 3, 2024. https://doi.org/10.1386/macp.11.1.37_1.

Ibermedia. *Bases Para La Convocatoria: Ayudas Para La Aplicación de Nuevas Tecnologías En La Animación Digital*. 2020.

José Moreno Domínguez, Manuel, and David Montero. "Europe as a Partner New Spaces for Audiovisual Cooperation between Latin America and the EU". *Global Media and Communication* 5, no. 51 (2009): 1742–7665. Accessed October 3, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1742766508101315>.

Loisen, Jan. 'Mainstreaming Culture in EU External Relations through Protocols on Cultural Cooperation: Fostering or Faltering Cultural Diversity?' In *The Palgrave Handbook of European Media Policy*, edited by Karen Donders, Caroline Pauwels, and Jan Loisen, 509–25. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Loisen, Jan, and Ferdi De Ville. 'The EU-Korea Protocol on Cultural Cooperation: Toward Cultural Diversity or Cultural Deficit?.' *International Journal of Communication* 5 (2011): 254–71.

Lucarelli, Sonia, and Lorenzo Fioramonti. *External Perceptions of the European Union as a Global Actor*. Edited by Sonia Lucarelli and Lorenzo Fioramonti. *External Perceptions of the European Union as a Global Actor*. New York: Routledge, 2010.

Malamud, Andrés. "Mercosur Turns 15: Between Rising Rhetoric and Declining Achievement." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 18, no. 3 (2005): 421–36. Accessed October 3, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09557570500238068>.

Marsh, David, and David Dolowitz. "Who Learns What from Whom : A Review of the Policy Transfer Literature." *Political Studies* 44 (1996): 343–51. Accessed October 3, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.1996.tb00334.x>.

Mercosur. *Convenio de Financiación entre la Comunidad Europea y el Mercosur: Programa Mercosur Audiovisual* (2008).

Mercosur. *MERCOSUR/GMC/RES. N° 49/03. Reunión Especializada de Autoridades Cinematográficas y Audiovisuales Del Mercosur*. 2003.

Michalis, Maria. 'Focal Points of European Media Policy from Inception till Present: Plus Ça Change?' In *The Palgrave Handbook of European Media Policy*, edited by Karen Donders; Caroline Pauwels and Jan Loisen, 128–42. London, 2014.

Moguillansky, Marina. "El Cine En El Mercosur . El Proceso de Integración Regional y Las Asimetrías de La Industria Cinematográfica." *Temas y Debates* 18 (2009): 95–107.

Moguillansky, Marina. "Ibermedia, Crisis y Después: Acerca de Las Transformaciones Recientes de La Coproducción Iberoamericana." *Archivos de La Filmoteca* 76, no. 1 (2019): 21–34.

Moguillansky, Marina. "La Integración Cinematográfica En El Mercosur: Una Propuesta de Periodización." *Eptic* 17, no. 3 (2015): 105–24.

Pauwels, Caroline, and Jan Loisen. "Leading by Example? European Union Implementation of Cultural Diversity in Internal and External Audiovisual Policies." *Javnost* 23, no. 2 (2016): 153–69. Accessed October 3, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13183222.2016.1162980>.

Peck, Jamie. "Geographies of Policy: From Transfer-Diffusion to Mobility-Mutation." *Progress in Human Geography* 35, no. 6 (2011): 773–97. Accessed October 3, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132510394010>.

Programa Ibermedia. *Ibermedia en cifras - Programa Ibermedia*. <https://www.programaibermedia.com/el-programa/ibermedia-en-cifras/>. 2023 (14 February 2023).

Psychogiopoulou, Evangelia. "The Cultural Facet of the EU Media Policy: Matching Rhetoric to Reality?" In *The Palgrave Handbook of European Media Policy*, edited by Karen Donders; Caroline Pauwels and Jan Loisen, 187-201. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Puppis, Manuel. 'Analysing Talk and Text I: Qualitative Content Analysis'. In *The Palgrave Handbook of Methods for Media Policy Research*, edited by Van Audenhove L. (eds) Van den Bulck H., Puppis M., Donders K., 367-84. Cham, 2019.

RECAM. *I Reunión Especializada de Autoridades Cinematográficas y Audiovisuales.*, 2004.

RECAM. *II Reunión Especializada de Autoridades Cinematográficas y Audiovisuales.* 2004.

RECAM. *III Reunião Especializada de Autoridades Cinematográficas e Audiovisuais Do Mercosul.* 2004.

RECAM. *Programa de Trabalho 2004.* 2004.

RECAM. *Informe de Gestión de La Secretaria Técnica de La RECAM (2006-2007).* 2007.

RECAM. *III Reunion Extraordinaria de La Reunion Especializada de Autoridades Cinematograficas y Audiovisuales Del Mercosur.* 2009.

RECAM. *Informe Final de Ejecución Programa Mercosur Audiovisual.* 2015 .

Santander, Sebastian. "The European Partnership with Mercosur: A Relationship Based on Strategic and Neo-Liberal Principles." *Journal of European Integration* 27, no. 3 (2005): 285-306. Accessed October 3, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07036330500190156>.

Sarikakis, Katharine, and Sarah Ganter. "Priorities in Global Media Policy Transfer: Audiovisual and Digital Policy Mutations in the EU, MERCOSUR and US Triangle." *European Journal of Communication* 29, no. 1 (2014): 17-33. Accessed October 3, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323113509360>.

SEGIB. *Evaluación Programa Ibermedia 1998-2008.* https://www.segib.org/wp-content/uploads/IBERMEDIA_PDF.pdf. 2009 (4 October 2024).

SEGIB. *Projeto Do Sistema Ibero-Americano de Garantias Recíprocas Para as Indústrias Culturais e Criativas.* <https://www.segib.org/wp-content/uploads/Documento-Ejecutivo-PT.pdf> 2021 (4 October 2024).

UNESCO. "Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions." Paris, October 20, 2005.

Villazana, Libia. *Transnational Financial Structures in the Cinema of Latin America: Programa Ibermedia in Study.* Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag, 2009.

Vlassis, Antonios. "European Commission, Trade Agreements and Diversity of Cultural Expressions: Between Autonomy and Influence." *European Journal of Communication* 31, no. 4 (2016): 446-61. Accessed October 3, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323116655506>.

Vlassis, Antonios. "European Union and Online Platforms in Global Audiovisual Politics and Economy : Once Upon a Time in America ?" *International Communication Gazette* (2020): 1-23. Accessed October 3, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048520918496>.

