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Band FM of Journalism of São Paulo - Emergence and consolidation of a new segment and a new audience

ELISA MARCONI¹
Faculdade Cásper Líbero
elisamarconi@terra.com.br

Abstract:

Between 1995 and 2007, the modulated frequency of the city of São Paulo enjoyed a relevant transformation. The band, known for playing mostly music for youngs, was gradually occupied by radio stations that broadcasted (in part or entirely) the news programming of AM radios and, later, by new radio stations exclusively of FM that broadcasted news and services delivery. In 2011, this change has deepened with the opening of radio Estadão/ESPN. The phenomenon changed the profile of the dial of the city and created a band (from 90.5 to 102.1) that now marks itself for broadcasting basically news programming. The present research tries to understand this process and to know better the new audience that was born, too.

Keywords: Radio, news radio, FM, radio journalism

The Beginnings

In 1995, the Central Brasileira de Notícias (Brazilian News Center), the CBN radio, began to propagate its news programme originally made for the amplitude modulation (AM) in the frequency modulation (FM). The broadcast station, born in 1991, already as something new in the Brazilian radio and journalism scene – no other electronic publication would volunteer/propose to be 100% news until then – once more was a reason for surprise by betting on a band until then refractory to information.

Ever since it came to Brazil, the FM has been intimately connected to music diffusion – especially the success songs that targeted the young audience. The reproduction of CBN AM's programme in the frequency modulation, therefore, besides proposing something without precedents, brought down one of the biggest prejudices related to the Brazilian radio: he who tunes into FM radio does not want information but music.

The CBN 90,5 FM was and still is a public and critical success and it took a few years for the competition to notice that (1) news programme in modulated frequency was not bound to be a failure, as the critics often said; (2) that there was a new audience in there, not a "flash in the pan" and that did not steal the audience from the AM broadcasters; and (3) a new pathway was open and avid for discoveries.

It was this way that in 1999, the Rádio Bandeirantes, one of the most traditional in the AM segment, known by its sports and news programme, began as well to retransmit in FM. The chosen frequency was the 90,9, which worked not only in the capital but also in the broader Sao Paulo region called Grande ABC and in the coast, Baixada Santista. Much to the incredulous' revolt, the audience Bandeirantes began to attract did not come from

¹ Faculdade Cásper Líbero

the AM – which remains one of the leaders in the segment – neither from the broadcast stations from Baixada. It was once again a new audience, and a younger one, who used to listen to the radio and now had another broadcast news station in the modulated frequency.

In the following years, other four radios began to replicate its news programme in the AM into the FM. The Jovem Pan retransmits the morning papers – its programme's flagship – in the co-sister broadcast station in the modulated frequency. In 2005, the Bandeirantes Group launches the Band NewsFM, in 96,9, with a programme yet more "all news" than CBN, and in a style until then unknown in Brazil but very well diffused in the US.

In 2007, once again Bandeirantes creates a partnership with a big national insurance company and launches the Radio SulAmérica Trânsito, in 92,1, with a programme almost 100% dedicated to the news coverage on Sao Paulo's traffic. It is as well a new format and a bold bet, filled with meanings. Sao Paulo's audience approves of it and goes on listening to the radio. Finally, in 2011, the Radio Eldorado associates itself with the ESPN Group and becomes the radio Estádio/ESPN (92,9 FM), with a sports and news programme, supported by the tradition and credibility of Grupo Estádio – the proprietor of *Jornal da Tarde*, *O Estado de S. Paulo* and of the very Radio Eldorado.

We notice that for some years now – with greater emphasis on the more recent years – there is a new band in the dial paulistano in the FM. In a spectrum that goes from 90,5 through 100,9 there is a concentration of news broadcast stations, or stations that open a considerable part – maybe even the best – of its programme to broadcast journalism, sports and services provision. For this reason, the study here presented has as a goal to know, understand and discuss a new band in Sao Paulo's FM radio diffusion.

The State of The Question

The press

Following the chronologic order of the news stories, the first point to be acknowledged is the considerable surprise as to the launch of AM Bandeirantes in the FM. Daniel Castro, then working for *Folha de S. Paulo*, must remind the fact that, until then, only CBN offered anything similar to that. Then, the media columnist also explains with details the new panorama that begins to form in the beginning of the year 1999. "Vip, which currently plays pop music, will be called Bandeirantes – not to be confused with Band FM (96.1 Mhz) which belongs to the homonymous AM group and TV chain". In its message, Castro explains that, although the journalistic Bandeirantes had always been in the AM until that moment, its revenues were more considerable than its co-sister's, Band FM, and it has always been the leader in its segment, contrary to what happened to the 96,1.

This is certainly the central issue brought up in the news stories: the panorama of publicity and the economic issues connected with the broadcast stations. It is as well the most recurrent topic. There is, for example, a short note announcing that the journalist Carlos Nascimento (then only recently gone from *Globo* and already a star at the *Jornal da Bandeirantes*, on TV) would also anchor the noble time at BandNews FM, launched within a few months. Sheer journalistic publicity. Other few notes likewise announcing that Nascimento would quit and Ricardo Boechat would take over his "chair"; or commenting on the arrival of Daniel Piza at Rede Eldorado; or yet making news of Joelmir Betting's debut at BandNews FM. These movements on the side of respectable journalist appeals enormously to the advertisers. The companies that advertise would rather see their names connected to those of journalists that are full of credibility.

A few months afterwards, Laura Matos, from *Folha de S. Paulo*, produces a serious analysis on the reasons that led Grupo Bandeirantes to terminate Rádio Cidade, highly traditional in the popular music sector, and put in its place a broadcast news station without precedents, BandNews FM. Notwithstanding the fact that Cidade – then already called Sucesso FM – always stood amongst the first positions at Ibope, Bandeirantes concluded that the aggregated value of a radio "all news" would produce more gains. It was the people in the C, D and E social stretches – that were numerous but with no significant purchasing power – that listened to Sucesso. On the other

hand, an all new news station in FM would be listened to by opinion makers and Brazilians from the A and B social stretches, detainers of both the economic capital and the media spots. That which, for that matter, is confirmed by the interview with the Radio's Director, André Luis Costa.

The debut of SulAmérica Trânsito, in April 2007, brought about once again the economic issue, since it was the first time that Brazil had one broadcast radio totally financed by an insurance company. This strategy had already been tested in other sectors such as movie theaters, show houses and other cultural spaces, but never before with a radio. With the launch of the radio, two other followed it (Oi FM and Mitsubishi FM): the advertising and the financial investments come round back.

But this pioneering launch caught the attention of the press for another reason. It is the most straightforward relationship between broadcast station and its audience. Let's divide it in two strands. The first consists on the proximity itself. In the magazine *Veja São Paulo* from June 03, 2009, there is a long article about the 92.1. Then – with little more than a two-year existence, the radio received three thousand phone calls a days, 2 per minute, and "had 2446 listeners per minute, from 16 through 21 o'clock, according to a study conducted by Ibope". Two years afterwards, it rose to 7.445 listeners, a growth of 204%", writes Fabio Soares in his article. As it will be explained in due time, SulAmérica depends vitally on this close connection with its listeners to differentiate itself from the other broadcast news and services provision stations. The journalists there usually say that there are listeners that call in everyday and readily establish a friendly relationship with the team. This close familiarity has already contributed to some events, that turned out be real parties – joining journalists and listeners. The blogger Anderson Diniz Bernardo, from *Mídia Clipping*, wrote on March 24, 2009 that he finds "the proximity between the listeners and the professionals at SulAmérica Trânsito cool". A friend of mine, who often listens to the radio while on traffic, knows the name of the reports and says that it is not unusual for someone to say that he listens to the station's tips even when not out on the streets. It would be good if more radios awakened – and reciprocated this closeness. I would like to call the attention of the readership to this request from Diniz, which reiterates that of other bloggers in the communication business. This request matches perfectly the profile of the listeners to FM news stations. At a more superficial glance, many of them seem averted to profound relationships with the stations they tune into, being as they are busy people that need to inform themselves about everything they consider important. However, dispensing a little more time to one's listeners and perfecting one's ears to what the managers of the news FMs say, we realize that the audience of these radios would like to be better-informed. It wants to be treated well and affectionately, and have all its wishes fulfilled. We will reach deeper into this issue in time, by the end of the interviews' analysis and in the study of the theoretical body that begins with the reflections on the side of Professor Eduardo Meditsch.

The second connection between broadcast station and its audience is more technologic and less corporal, but nonetheless efficient. The radios know how to use the telephone masterly; the cell phone (via calls or SMS); the Internet (by means of the traditional e-mail or through listening to the live broadcast) and, more recently, the social networks such as Orkut and Twitter. Everything suggests that, with slimmer frameworks and lacking TV channels' glamour, the radios have always accepted better the listeners' participation. It is not unusual for the one to answers the calls or receives the emails and messages from the audience to decide on the radio's programme. On January 04, 2010, for example, many listeners contacted BandNews FM informing them that a wall had gone down on Avenida 23 de Maio and was hampering traffic in the region. Before getting the Traffic Engineering Company (CET) to speak officially, the radio's news team headed to the avenue and confirmed the situation. Similar situations happen frequently within the broadcast stations, forming some sort of real interactivity with the listener.

At last, another important topic connected to news FMs and barely taken in consideration by the traditional media has shown up in the new media. The blog *Overmundo* published in October 2007 that the expansion of "all news" broadcast stations – a consolidated phenomenon in the US, Japan and Europe – seemed

to be reaching Brazil at last. The author of the text, Fagner Abreu Campello, connects the emerging of BandNews FM to this new scenario. It is a rare analysis that has appeared but few times but makes a lot of sense. If we could make an inference in Campello's text, the radio 100% traffic could be added to the list as well (the author lives in Salvador and is therefore not familiar with the station). According to his text, and taking into consideration other articles that have portrayed the moment, there really was a movement toward increasing the amount of information to be diffused via TV and radio channels and, also, the tendency toward increasing the ways the audience had for reaching the news. "Not yet satisfied with BandNews success, the Group Bandeirantes launched a bold, sophisticated project, BandNews FM. BandNews FM is the first broadcast chain all news and all FM. With modern plasticity, it brings a complete journalistic programme every 20 minutes, 24 hours a day, in an innovative format. The anchormen take turns every 20 minutes, operating the transmission table, combining AM's journalistic force with the dynamism, high spirits and modernity that are peculiar to FM. BandNews FM is present in the cities: Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, Porto Alegre, Belo Horizonte, Curitiba and Brasilia", describes the blogger. This connection between TV and radio channels is not always established, but in the case of the Brazilian groups, that usually bridge newspapers, radios and TVs, it is important to follow what happens in each of these strands. When you look at communication as a business, what happens in each of these strands influences the others. BandNews FM itself had as one of its bands closer proximity with TV Bandeirantes, something that trailblazer Bandeirantes AM (even after being propagated in FM) never managed to do. Even the main anchorman is the same person at TV Bandeirantes and at BandNews. At first, Carlos Nascimento. Then and until now, Ricardo Boechat.

Theoretical body

Global economy has deemed possible the reunion of several communication groups and, as a result, the strength of the media conglomerates has grown considerably.

"These organizations tend to be more and more powerful with their management made international through acquisitions and their stock control, more global. The media companies that belong to these conglomerates are multilingual and, more and more instantaneous, edited in more than one place in the world and available on free-to-air and cable TVs, or in the Internet anywhere in the world" (Meditsch, 2001: 17)

Although we have not yet seen a fusion between large communication groups, the situation in Brazil is similar to what has been going on in the world. Around here, the main media publications belong, apart from a few exceptions, to large corporate groups in the sector. They are conglomerates that, in general, own newspapers, magazines, TV channels, radio stations and – more recently – Internet portals. The communication companies' choices, therefore, dance according to the winds in economy, in the stock exchange and in the financing possibilities, either public or international. That is, for a trend to be established in the communication sector, it is necessary for the economy to indicate the transformation.

With the radios in general and the informative FM in particular, the process has been the same. CBN AM, for instance, has built its name during the coverage of the impeachment of former president Fernando Collor de Melo. A skillful coverage, at once new and full of credibility. The propagation in frequency modulation – then an old dream – became reality soon afterwards. With listeners and advertisers' attention turned in that direction, the commercial department finally convinced itself that there would be enough publicity to finance that apparently absurd idea. In 1997, the 780 KHz began to air also in 90,5 MHz and has never left its position as a leader, according to Ibope. Similar situations have allowed journalism to enter massively into FM. The launch of the SulAmérica radio, in 1997, for example, is explained by its Director of Journalism as an adequate investment at that year, "when there was no sign that a global economic crisis was to come", tells Felipe Bueno. Each broadcast station had its particularities, but the background was the same. When the country's economy, the economic situation in the communication sector or yet the communication conglomerate itself give a green light, the groups present innovations in radio.

Nonetheless, there is a facet that goes the other way. Communication corporate groups do move only according to economy's winds. The conglomerates themselves, being part of the market, can make economy turn and create an economic reality. In other words. News radios have always made their mission to speak to the elite. And that was so not only because the elite has the purchasing power to buy the products being advertised in the commercials and therefore is able sustain the advertisers' profit that, on its turn, will support the radio's survival. The deliberate choice for the upper class (social classes A and B) is due to the fact that amongst these listeners we find the so-called opinion makers, the specialists, the creators of trends, the names to which we attach the most credibility. The broadcast stations' programme is, without the shadow of a doubt, directed at this audience.

CBN's project has evolved toward a vertical and horizontal segmentation. Parallel to elaborating its news programme through a radio news bulletin, with one news programme following another, it sought as an audience target the A and B segments in society, or the "manager", as insiders say. That was elected the priority audience target, 24 hours, with no switching to the housewife or the soccer aficionado that tune into the radio at other times than the "news hour", usually in the early morning or in the late afternoon. (Meditsch, 2001: 20)

The other channels analysed here also point to target audience and achieved audience such as – approximately – men and women (men rather than women) aged 25-49, undergraduate degree, belonging to the upper classes A and B. During interviews with the stations' directors – the following topic – that becomes very clear. The listeners to news radio programmes in frequency modulation listen, conclusively, to their pairs and to those on which they deposit their credibility. They know this, they are constantly informed by the radios on this choice and they turn to it conscientiously.

Should this audience be sufficiently numerous and wealthy to attract publicity, in the levels desired by the broadcaster, its isolation from the population as a whole could reach extremes. Thereby, in a metropolis like Sao Paulo, the informative radios may approach the subject of a strike in public transportation from the disturbances it will cause to the automobile traffic, they may treat the population of a favela or those imprisoned at a police station as "undesirable neighborhood" to the upper/middle classes and they may, as well, debate health and education politics from the viewpoint of those who can pay for these services at private institutions. (Meditsch, 2001: 97)

To conclude, it is worthy to note that, once launched, the radios suffer a very intense competition. In 1997, when it reached the FM, CBN reigned alone at tranquility because it did not suffer threats from other broadcasters in that band. In that time, the challenge of the 90,5 MHz was to consolidate its space, maintain customer loyalty and attract advertisers.

CBN Sao Paulo was the lever to change the paradigm according to which the frequency modulation is destined to diffuse music (...). With CBN's entrance into FM, in 1997, a new epoch began in the conquest of the market and in the facing of competition with the broadcasters that remained confined at AM. (Meditsch, 2001: 21)

Nevertheless, few months afterwards, Jovem Pan AM began to retransmit its news programme and flagship through the group's broadcaster in the frequency modulation, Eldorado followed its example and Bandeirantes struck hard by taking over Vip FM, the dial's neighbor, and allocating in its place the traditional programme of Bandeirantes AM. The reader should by now acknowledge that we are dealing with a radio journalism war. The broadcasters had noticed that CBN had opened a strand until then explored and was exploring it masterly. Marcelo Parada, Director at Bandeirantes AM, on the occasion of its migration to frequency modulation, literally says that CBN's sound was so good, reached so many people, that Bandeirantes simply had to do something about it. The other journalistic radios in Sao Paulo had to get into the dispute. Each with its own arms, but all with the determination to have its share in the cake – speaking in financial terms – and a portion of this audience so dear to the broadcasters, as it has already been said, an audience that is at once qualified and wealthy.

In the excerpt concerned with the representation of news radios in the press, it will be possible to identify this change in the market (the bets, the conquests, the names, the prizes etc), because the confrontation between rivals is of the higher interested to the media in this universe of the news band in the dial paulistano.

If it is true that communication is a game where there are, at least, two players, it is likewise reasonable to suppose that the decision to found a broadcast station, choose its material and programme are due, in part, to the so-called receptor. All chains connected to the Cultural Studies of Jesús Martín-Barbero and Nestor García Canclini point to the importance of this player in the process of communication. We already know that, from the viewpoint of radio management, the listener is a manager, that is, someone aged 25-49, well educated and belonging to the A and B upper classes – incidentally, in the interviews with the broadcasters' Directors of Journalism, they all repeat the same speech. But these three points are not enough to explain who the listener is and why he listens to the news. And knowing a little more the one who gets all the communication is important in order to understand the strength of this news band in the frequency modulation in Sao Paulo. Eduardo Meditsch concurs:

Decisive to the news production as the knowledge of who is the listener, is the knowledge of the means through which he makes use of the radio. (...) Its reception happens in a fashion that is articulate and simultaneous with the receptor's routine activities, in opposition to what happens with print and audiovisual media, that monopolize the receptor's attention and therefore demand the interruption of other tasks. (Meditsch, 2001: 21)

And Mauro Wolf offers a broader panorama concerning how the issue is treated within the radios:

The audience's needs, however, are still but barely acknowledged by the broadcasters and their professionals. Even with the frequent media researches, many defining points to the programme and to the process of news production are adopted without the support of a feedback, based only on suppositions about the audience. The intuition, the professional doctrines forged by force of habit and by organizational contingencies are at the core of many of these suppositions, which are questioned only in moments of crisis caused by a drop in the revenues or in the audience. (Wolf, 2006: 220)

The contemporary society has elected two qualities for its citizens that we must bring to light here, for they concern this research directly: first, the need to keep oneself, all the time, well-informed. It is a well-known belief that he who detains the information has the power of decision. The news is, therefore, an accumulative capital that ensures access to more restricted circles. The listener is not only well-informed by the radio news, but he is as well warned and persuaded to believe that he is being well-informed by its means. That proves that the birth of a news band in FM in the paulista capital – the country's economic center – is not to be taken for granted. Also, the audience's support to the belief on the power of information is what has contributed to the existence of 6 news radio broadcasters (CBN, Bandeirantes, SulAmérica, Eldorado [partially], BandNews e Jovem Pan [partially]).

This search for the "real" is a 19th century heritage, when science slowly supplanted religions and revelations and diffused into the world the notion that what is real is that which we can see, touch or materialize in some way. To have access to this reality proof is something rewarding to the human being. The radio presents peculiar characteristics that help form, in the listener, the impression of reality. This particular media's possibility to relate what is happening from where it is happening and on the exact moment on it is happening has definitely changed human perception when it comes to its relation to spacetime. And overflowed into the phenomenon of credibility. The listeners usually believe in what the journalist says because he has looked into it objectively and he has seen that situation with his own eyes. The formula becomes something like this: ubiquity + mobility = credibility. Neuroscientists say that the human brain seeks to recognize patterns before being at a difference with them. Thereby, even if the reality construed by the audio sound is one mediated by technology, guideline and a series of other variables, the listener has the impression that, when listening to the news, he is actually before the most transparent reality. The news radio is therefore already a consummate social institution.

The second trait of the citizen tuned to his own time is the haste. Nowadays, people are expected to have no time to lose and wish, for this reason, to receive but the more relevant information in a most condensed manner so they could form a global perception in a slow period of time. Answering this request (or yet nourishing

this perception), the news radios produce absolutely relevant news, capable of attracting attention without a stop. Incidentally, keeping the audience's attention – an audience that is certainly doing a lot of things at the same, is the challenge that news broadcasters have to accomplish every minute. One of the ways to achieve this goal is, like we have said, to optimize the guideline.

Still in consonance with this perception of time, Professor Eugênio Menezes suggests that the radios influence its listeners' lives dictating the rhythms of day and time in its horizontal unrolling. Thereby, the programme and the guideline would help, according to Menezes, to structure the routine and happening of life. "The radio is not limited to the synchronization of activities to be developed by the ensemble of people connected within a society; it sends back to a symbolic universe that works through memories and narratives that confer meaning to each day's time". (Menezes, 2007: 63).

Stick one's foot on the present – or, in other words, be plugged in reality – is both a wish and a need to listeners. The radios, especially the news ones, accomplish this task well enough by keeping up with present time. It brings back the past into the present in ephemerality and at the moments when they remind the audience about what they can't forget, such as a scandal, a catastrophe or a conquest. And they bring future into the present with the authorities' agenda, with the preparations for big events, with pre-elections analysis and so on. Menezes calls this circular time, time that repeats itself as in the mythical narratives. Thereby, these broadcasters do not air "only information that is useful to everyday survival, such as traffic and weather forecast, but especially that which we must record and that which we must dream for the future". (Menezes, 2007: 85).

Interviews

We have spoken with three journalists that portray the situation of the news radio in FM in Sao Paulo today. Although they belong to one corporate group, Bandeirantes, the three radios coordinated by them are a fair testimony to the new segment in the paulistano dial of FMs. The first one is Marcelo Parada, Vice-President at TV Bandeirantes until early 2009 and former Director of Journalism at Radio Bandeirantes. Parada was in charge of the idealization and implantation of Bandeirantes AM in FM. As he used to say himself, it wasn't just about spinning a button and opening the transmission in frequency modulation. With no change to the traditional structures, Bandeirantes had to adapt several points to serve the new band's audience, which belongs in part to a new geographic region, Baixada Santista. The second journalist to concede an interview was André Luiz Costa, current Director of Journalism at Radio BandNews FM. He has worked for many years as reporter and Editor-in-Chief at Bandeirantes AM and he was part of Marcelo Parada's team when he implanted the 840 AM programme in frequency modulation. Costa kept up, therefore, with all the discussions about what it means to "offer" news in FM. And the third and last journalist to talk to the author was Felipe Bueno, Chief Editor at Radio SulAmérica Trânsito. Before going to the group's new radio, Bueno worked at Radio Eldorado AM, very well-known for its differentiated coverage of the local news. Eldorado was the first to implement, for example, the helicopter in the traffic coverage, the bike-reporters and the listener-reporters. When he takes over SulAmérica, the journalist has as a mission to offer "something more" in the capital's traffic news coverage. Besides telling how the traffic is on the city's streets, the team had to propose solutions and alternative pathways. Next, a critical summary with the main reflections to be extracted from these talks.

The investments have imprinted a move toward progress and the starting point to a new phase in radio journalism in the city. Paulistas were not used then to the idea of combining information and the provision of services to good quality audio. However not accustomed, they soon approved of it. The reasons that made Bandeirantes "rent" a FM broadcaster and retransmit its programme there were very much similar to the ones that made led CBN to bet on the same measure: "Ibope researches reveal FM audience is rising, AM audience going downward. Besides factors such as interference, low quality, there is the need to speak to new audiences, which, mostly, listen to FM in Sao Paulo", explains journalist Marcelo Parada, then Director at Bandeirantes.

In Parada's speech, there emerge two issues really relevant in what concerns radio journalism. The first is audio quality. Most of the paulistas that keep track of journalism listen to the radio while in the car. And it is a known fact that AM's quality is altered for the worse in this moving dial. The sound is not so clear on account of the physical characteristics of the transmission, added to the interferences and lack of good quality towers in the automobiles, drivers and passengers are bound to go for FM. That is, certainly, one of the reasons to explain the listeners' escape from the amplitude modulation. And that is why the coordinators at these broadcasters dedicate so much time to getting some room in the FM. André Luiz Costa e Felipe Bueno are also in tune with this guideline: "FM has great transmission quality and presents, historically, a younger audience, which is exactly what we wanted for the new broadcast station. There was room to be filled in that moment when investing in news in FM", defends Costa and Bruno completes: "Radio language, sound quality and desired reach made us think of a FM broadcaster since the first moment". And Parada wraps up: "The challenge was as much to get to an audience that was younger and more qualified, as to fight CBN that was conquering more and more layers of audience with its programme in FM. A taxi driver once told a Director at the Radio: I do not like CBN, but the sound is perfect!".

The second point raised by Marcelo Parada is the issue with new audiences. The news broadcast stations in Sao Paulo traditionally present a masculine audience older than 35, or 40, in the social classes A, B and C. It is actually a positive side to the story, since this stretch of the population usually presents more purchasing power, besides representing an opinion maker to the family, friends and colleagues circles. But it is as well a negative side, since it is an audience that without renewing itself. From the viewpoint of information transmission, this characteristic may be unfavorable. Topics renew themselves, as well as what's important in journalism's agenda and if the audience does not follow this transformation, the radio may stagnate. But, more than that, in commercial terms, it is necessary to reach new audiences in order to increase selling possibilities. Advertisements finance the radio. If the audience is ample and varied, the chances of these ads reaching the target are increased.

Parada describes this situation like this: "In 98, CBN in FM was consolidated. From the commercial viewpoint, the radio was doing rather well. The context, without a doubt, favoured transmitting the programme in another frequency". The same economic argument appears as a main factor for the implantation of BandNews FM and SulAmérica. "There were careful market analysis, studies concerning audience and media, a detailed planning on the courses to be taken, and then we reached the conclusion that it was a good moment", explains journalist André Luiz Costa, Director of Journalism at BandNews FM. Director of Journalism at SulAmérica, Felipe Bueno, makes chorus to his speech. He explains that the decision in investing in FM was based on economic factors. "Economically, we were a long way from last year's crisis. Growth was then the trend, there were good perspectives and one of the sectors going upward was the automobilistic. Politically, we'd had the re-election. That is, the national scenario was one of stability, propitious for a mainframe investment".

Yet for the broadcast stations that were born in frequency modulation, that was not a worry. Their challenge was to create the new audience, invite it to listen to their programme and captivate it, keeping it loyal. "The goal was to create a new 'all FM' network, with journalism 24 hours a day in the main Brazilian markets, to innovate through radio and attract a new audience to this segment, that is, create new consumers to radio news, renew the audience", reveals André Luiz Costa.

Hushed listeners willing to stay well-informed about everything (or at least everything that matters) means short news and a dynamic programme. And that is what's BandNews FM is like, for example. "BandNews FM is airing a news programme that matches modern life, the rhythm in the big cities, men's and women's lives. It is plural in its approach, as much in its genre as in its other aspects. And it focuses on the young opinion maker audience. The broadcast station presents a programme that does not take too much time away from the listener who needs to stay well-informed at all times, with contents both diversified and useful, and with a plasticity and high spirits innovative for a news radio", in the words of André Luiz Costa. This conception also points to the understanding that the audience, with no time to lose, is always on the move. The FM news radios are not

designed for the static listener. The idea is to catch him in the car, the taxi, on the street, that is, somewhere in between.

If the audience is not at rest, how could we explain the massive bet on the Internet? All FM news radios in Sao Paulo present websites well filled with all sorts of contents (texts, photos and audio) and as a main standout, they put up on demand live audience of the broadcast station's programme.

It is true that the most modern smartphones easily connect to the global network, but the greatest part of the access is done through traditional terminals. According to the interviewees, the Internet is where the portable radio cannot be. At work or even at home, when emails are accessed, for example. It is as well a possibility to keep one's audience when it is out of town or out of the country. It is not unusual for journalists to receive messages from people writing from other states or even from abroad. The broadcast stations therefore do not dismiss the old belief that radio is habit.

SulAmérica Trânsito, for instance, says to take this concept to the last consequences. Thereby, 92,1 FM unites two points: one, contemporary, which takes a listener under stress, in a hurry and on the move, and one, old-fashioned, that answers the audience's requests, according Felipe Bueno, Director of Journalism at the Radio.

When dealing with Sao Paulo issues, the champion topic is the traffic. Speaking in terms of business, Group Bandeirantes saw there a strand unexplored by the market and invested on the creation of 92,1 the first traffic radio in Sao Paulo. "As for the city, in 2006 it was already clear that traffic, mobility and quality of life were problems that demanded more attention that had been until then conferred to them by news radio and public power", remembers Bueno. At least when it comes to what managing journalists sat, the strategy has worked. To SulAmérica Trânsito, "the participation of the audience has gone beyond all expectations and today, after two years of existence, we have already surmounted 30,000 listeners per minute, what puts us in a very positive situation in the audience rankings. Moreover, I'd like to emphasize on the importance of the phenomenon of listener participation at all times, including early mornings, weekends and holidays", highlights the Director of Journalism at the broadcaster.

And the phenomenon seems to match what the Director of Journalism at BandNews FM tells about his broadcast station: "The audience, in its greatest part, is aged 25-49. It is younger than that of other broadcast stations. It has been growing steadily each semester, in the last 3 years, and we realize there is, indeed, a migration from other audiences. Either the person stopped listening to some channel in the competition or he started listening to BandNews without letting go of his old habit. But, surely, the growth is due mainly to having gained listeners that were not consuming radio news at all. They were consuming other kind of programme, but not radio news. There are new people arriving at this segment".

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