



radio evolution

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CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

EDITED BY: MADALENA OLIVEIRA | PEDRO PORTELA | LUÍS ANTÓNIO SANTOS

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Foreword

Guy Starkey

Chair, ECREA Radio Research Section

This edited volume is an enduring outcome of the scientific conference Radio Evolution, hosted by the Communication and Society Research Centre (CECS) of the University of Minho, in Braga, Portugal, from 14-16 September 2011. This was the second conference to be organised on behalf of the Radio Research Section of the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA) and it coincided exactly with the second anniversary of the section's first conference, held at Cyprus University of Technology (CUT) in 2009. Radio Evolution, like its predecessor, was organised through one of the two Vice-Chairs of the Radio Research Section, Professor Stanisław Jędrzejewski of Kozminski University of Warsaw, who was on a two-year research attachment to the University of Minho, and who works closely with our other section Vice-Chair, Professor Angeliki Gazi of CUT, and me. These separate section conferences are held every two years, and in cyclical fashion the whole of ECREA joins together in full plenary conferences of all seventeen thematic sections in another single location in each of the intervening years. In 2012 this will be at the Istanbul Bilgi University, Turkey.

The work of organising Radio Evolution in Braga was very ably undertaken by Doctor Madalena Oliveira and her colleagues on the organising committee – in particular Pedro Portela, also of the Communication and Society Research Centre. With the full cooperation of the University of Minho and CECS, and financial support from our sponsors, Rádio Renascença, the conference was another resounding success. Abstracts were received from scholars in many countries in Europe, and in keeping with the inclusive nature of ECREA, in other continents including the Americas, Asia and Australasia. Delegates were greeted by another early-Autumn heat wave, with temperatures again in the mid-thirties, and we were able to enjoy the warm hospitality of our hosts and the many other attractions of Braga and its environs to the full. Coincidentally, Rádio Renascença – Portugal's most listened-to radio group - was celebrating 75 years of broadcasting. We would like to place on record here our sincere gratitude to them for their financial assistance and to Madalena and her team for their dedication, organisational skills, professionalism and obvious enthusiasm for radio.

The work of Radio Evolution did not end in September 2011. The publication of this very timely e-book will enable many of the papers given in Braga to live on as a testament to the dedication and commitment to scholarly research into radio of our hosts, our sponsors, the scientific committee who peer-reviewed the abstracts, and the many delegates. Radio is truly evolving, in ways that would have been inconceivable to our predecessors, and radio content is now available in many different forms and on many different platforms. This collection of papers, and the considerable work undertaken behind the scenes since September 2011 to prepare it for publication, represent a welcome addition to the growing body of informed literature about our subject.

Preface

Madalena Oliveira, Pedro Portela and Luís António Santos

Editors

1. Radio studies

Communication studies are almost one hundred years old, which means they are more or less contemporary to the radio age. Encouraged by Lipmann's arguments on 'public opinion', this research field became particularly essential in the century of mass media and more recently of digital new media and social networks. Although developed with significant enthusiasm, especially in the second part of the 1900's, communication sciences have always been much more focused on the press and on TV than on radio. As a matter of fact, audio media has always been neglected by academics. There is already a long tradition of research on the impact of the press on audiences, and after the 1960s, many studies were initiated on the impact of television on viewers. Radio, in comparison, seems to have always attained less attention from researchers. Eduard Pease and Everette Dennis have mentioned radio as the forgotten medium by choosing this phrase to title a book edited in 1995. As discreet in the research field as in our lives, radio has not been sufficiently considered and valued in terms of its contribution to the current media landscape and contemporary society.

Studies on broadcasting often seem to focus on TV only and to ignore that radio is still the medium that reaches more people all over the world. Why? Why is radio such a timid object of analysis and subject of study? Probably due to its lighter economic impact and as a result of its less conspicuous presence in our daily life. Apart from the historic episode with Wells' *War of the Worlds*, radio has never been at the forefront of heated debates as other media have.

From the second half of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century, the press was roughly criticized by intellectuals, who considered it lower quality literature destined to mainly serve private interests. From the 1950's onwards researchers and opinion makers focused on the impact TV was starting to produce over people's behavior, changing in many cases daily routines. In point of fact, as explained by Denis McQuail in his *Theory of Mass Communication*, television put radio out of sight seriously affecting research on media. On the other hand, television appeared precisely when communication studies were being widely introduced in many universities, meaning that young researchers directed the spotlight to the most recent medium. In spite of its social and cultural relevance, radio therefore remained in the shadows.

With modest academic production, audio media have been relegated to a secondary plane of interest in the communication sciences' scope. Comparing with other areas, radio has less specialized publications and is the central object of fewer research groups. Even for transversal research areas, like gender studies or political economy, radio is considered much more rarely than other traditional media in empirical terms.

However, numerous factors justify a scientific interest on radio. On the one hand, many sociologists' and philosophers' theories on the concept of time, and the way people experience time in postmodern culture have roots in the technology of radio. The idea of velocity and urgency started exactly with radio and its capacity to live broadcast. On the other hand, contemporary debates on the turning point from an ideological to a sensological society might be recognized as being to a certain extent based on radio's intimate nature. With an unpretentious language, radio discourse is also a very rich source for analysis on the way verbal language in particular and sound in general promote the design of mental images and stimulate imagination. Finally, before any other modern

media, radio opened channels for direct and live participation of its audience, which put it in the front line of participatory communication studies.

Although confined to a narrow group of researchers, normally as attracted by radio as practitioners who tend to speak about the medium in a passionate way, radio thus remains, as stated by Pease and Dennis (1995), «a medium of unparalleled power and importance». For the role it played in the beginning of the mass communication society, inspiring a culture of live communication, and for the role it still plays in the constitution of a sound atmosphere and promoting music industry, radio has today not only a historic interest but still a relevant position in the media landscape.

2. Radio Evolution

Contemporary studies have tended to announce the death of radio since the beginning of the television. These discourses have been particularly intensified after the Internet revolution. Radio's adaptation to the web has been discussed skeptically. On the one hand it could be said that the World Wide Web represents a promise of reinvention for the old medium. On the other it seems that Internet is a new risk that threatens the place of radio. One of the most common weaknesses pointed out to radio is its blindness. The absence of image seems to be the major reason why radio has been considered an insufficient or incomplete medium. Ironically the century of radio is also the century of all emergent forms of images. From picture postcards and posters to cinema and television, the history of the image during the 20th century is synchronized with the history of radio as a mass medium.

The evolution of radio in the age of Internet is however more than a question of visibility. It involves a reflection on the way people use media in general and radio in particular, on the expectations of the public and on the challenges multimedia structures represent. This means the evolution of radio is a subject that has to be discussed from diverse points of view. To encourage precisely such a discussion was the main objective of the congress organized by the Communication and Society Research Centre and ECREA Radio Research Section at University of Minho, Portugal, in September 2011.

With the special support of Renascença Group, whose main radio station celebrated its 75th anniversary, this congress welcomed about one hundred researchers coming from more than twenty countries. For three intense days, radio was debated in four perspectives: technology, audiences, content and the role it plays in identity. Almost eighty papers were presented and a dozen of experts – academics and practitioners – contributed to the scientific discussion.

This eBook is part of the work developed during those days. It puts together 47 papers representing almost 60 percent of the total of accepted abstracts for the congress. Summing up more than five hundred pages, this book aims at contributing to the increase of radio studies and the enlargement of the scientific community working in this field.

A warning must however be given. Only a small number of the texts published in this book comes from native English speakers. The editors asked authors to contract professional revision, but it is not certain that everyone did it and it is impossible to warrant the quality of the services contracted by diverse authors. A global revision was additionally made by two Communication and Society Research Centre's members. The editors are thankful to Elsa Costa e Silva and Mário Camarão for their help in the final proof-reading. Notwithstanding this effort, it would be impracticable to standardize the entire book in terms of language style and to correct it in terms of grammar and syntax. For these reasons, this eBook must be read with some tolerance by those to whom some mistakes may sound ungentle. We hope that in view of the greater goal such obstacles can be easily overcome.

Part I : **Technologies**

Chapter 1 | Radio: The Challenges of Web 2.0 and Social Networking



Sharing and retweeting sounds – The relationship between radio journalism and social networks

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Abstract:

This article aims to define the relationship between radio news stations and social networks. We will start with the notion that radio is going through changes that affect its expressiveness, programming, routines and values. Accordingly, we intend to characterize the uses that Portuguese radio news stations are making of social networks such as Facebook and Twitter.

The article will begin by reflecting on these changes in radio and the implications for radio journalism. The study looks at the Facebook and Twitter accounts of the three main Portuguese radio news stations: TSF, Antena 1 and Renascença and tries to identify what benefits were brought about through being in social networks.

One of the most important conclusions is that social networks are used as an excellent platform to promote user participation. This finding was especially verified in the case of Facebook, where listeners frequently post comments, criticize radio policies and suggest news topics.

Keywords: radio, journalism, social networks, Portugal

Introduction

News radio is still important, but not as it was before. Today, a consumer looking for news has access to a wide range of subjects, formats and channels whether they be television, printed media or the Internet (websites, social networks, and blogs). We access news in multiple formats and from multiple platforms.

Radio all over the world is adopting various forms of multimedia convergence in order to deal with this new multiplatform media environment. News radio news is present on the Internet, on cell phones and, in recent years, has started to make use of the social networks.

On the other hand, journalism is seeking new ways and formats to adapt to new technologies and thus continue to position itself as a window to the world, despite the emergence of other forms of journalism, such as citizen journalism.

In the digital age, news consumption has changed, and has become a social experience: people share the news, instead of just receiving them, as they did before.

The question is: What is the role of the news radio today?

In this paper we intend to analyze the relationship between the Portuguese news radio and the social networks, especially Facebook and Twitter.

Starting from the perspective that nowadays radio is a multiplatform medium, our aim is to understand and reflect how the Portuguese news radio is using social networks to disseminate its journalistic content.

We analyzed the Facebook and Twitter accounts of the three main Portuguese radio news stations: the public radio service, Antena 1; the Catholic radio, Renascença and the commercial radio specialized in news, TSF.

The study examines the use of multimedia tools, the presence of comments, the user generated content and the hypertextuality used in messages on Facebook and Twitter.

Radio news and the new media environment

The idea supported by Philip Elliot and Peter Golding in the 70's, that radio was the main media creating public agenda by pointing out the issues of the day to other media, doesn't have the same meaning today as before.

Nowadays, news radio is one part of the overpopulated media environment. Besides radio, a person looking for news has many other alternatives, especially on the Internet. Weblogs, websites and social networks are also in the field competing with mainstream media for the consumer's attention, as Ben Scott says: "(...) traditionally distinct segments of the news industry itself, print (dailies, weeklies, and magazines) and broadcast (networks, cable, and radio), found themselves competing head to head for users and advertisers". (Scott, 2005: 94)

Traditional media which, of course, includes radio, is facing competition from a broad range of other platforms that have started to disseminate information. Traditional news organizations exist in a scenario where other forms of producing news are operating simultaneously. This competition includes not only news production, but also business models. Indeed, alongside these models comes a huge volume of non-profit and non-commercial enterprises sharing the media landscape with traditional media.

In this context, the challenge for radio news stations is to adapt to a new environment, creating policies in order to maintain their credibility over and above their own legacy.

Since the beginning, radio has always demonstrated an ability to adapt successfully to other changes in communications technology, but the challenges have never been as huge as they are nowadays.

David Hendy makes the point that, traditionally, radio is a time-based medium since its programs emerge in a linear flow of time (2000: 178). In one way Hendy is right, because this model of radio still exists, but the challenges imposed by the digital era have created a scenario where it exists simultaneously alongside a new radio. More interactive, multi-faceted and whose programs do not only exist in the flow of time.

Never before has radio been forced to change its expressiveness, becoming a multimedia platform. Sound is no longer the only resource for radio. Also, radio has never been as interactive as it is today, and has never been so bombarded with requests to make the news available in so many platforms.

In the digital era, radio must find the balance between these new characteristics and the need to maintain the old ones so it continues to be a significant source for listeners in terms of breaking news and public issues. One of the keys for the future of radio journalism might be in the way that radio will take advantage of its knowledge regarding immediacy and credibility, which are two very significant attributes constantly sought by those who search for news on the Internet.

New platforms, and especially the Internet, provide radio with more space (not time) and this can be an opportunity for more creativeness and alternative ways of covering public issues. Also, radio has become more interactive, since the Internet offers more opportunity for debate and user participation about public affairs. Finally, radio on the Internet surpasses the limits of the traditional broadcast, reaching listeners all over the world which means a challenge for news reporters.

The idea is that despite the many and ongoing changes in the ways that people access information, radio is still an important window to the world. In the most competitive media environment ever, radio must adopt policies to enable itself to be an important source of news for people. In this context, the presence among the new media platforms is seen as a logical strategy.

The fact is that in a multiplatform media environment, people's relationship to news is becoming portable, personalized, and participatory (Pew Internet, 2010). Accordingly, radio is requested to adopt strategies in order to facilitate portable consumption and audience participation in its news content. Thus, social networks are, nowadays, advantageous platforms for the radio news stations.

Social networks and journalism

Shayne Bowman and Chris Willis wrote in their book *We Media - How audiences are shaping the future of news and information* that the profession of journalism finds itself at a rare moment in history. The reason, they explain, is because for the first time, its hegemony as gatekeeper of the news is threatened by new technology and competitors but also, potentially, by the audience it serves (Bowman & Willis, 2003: 8).

Indeed, journalism in the digital era has changed, and one of the most important changes stems from the opportunity that is provided by the new platforms which allow consumers the possibility of participating in the news content. This can be done in several ways, by creating weblogs, websites or, most recently, by using the social networks.

Thus, when we are talking about the relationship between journalism and social networks, participatory journalism is frequently highlighted as a benefit.

News consumers can comment on the topics, suggest new approaches or add facts about an event reported by journalists. The presence of journalism in social networks increases, at least in theory, the possibility of more diversity and pluralism in news production once people inside and outside the newsroom are engaged in the communicating process. Nowadays, journalism is a blend of producing and consuming information.

Social networks contribute to what Dan Gillmor (2006) defines as a conversation, which means that people and journalists share comments and discuss public affairs.

Another characteristic frequently mentioned when we are talking about journalism and social networks is the speed with which it is possible to distribute information. Twitter is often mentioned as a useful platform for disseminating news in a short period of time, and this is seen by journalists as a good way to reach the consumer.

The Pew Project for Excellence in Journalism's study (2010) reveals how Twitter can be an important platform for breaking news:

"And the breaking news that trumped all else across Twitter in 2009 focused on the protests following the Iranian election. It led as the top news story on Twitter for seven weeks in a row – a feat not reached by any other news story on any of the platforms studied."

Among the advantages that social networks can bring to journalism, it is suggested that a new consumer's behavior is a consequence of the fact that the information can be shared and recommended to "friends" or "followers". Consuming news is, at present time, a social experience.

"Half of Americans say they rely on the people around them to find out at least some of the news they need to know. Some 44% of online news users get news at least a few times a week through emails, automatic updates or posts from social networking sites. In 2009, Twitter's monthly audience increased by 200%".

According to the Pew Internet (2010) report, 37% of internet users in the United States contributed to create, comment on and share news through social networks like Facebook and Twitter.

Another study revealed that the presence of journalism in social networks leads to a new journalistic discourse. The study looked at the Spanish reality and aimed to understand the relationship between journalism and Facebook.

"This new reality has created a new way of reporting events that are similar to microblogging, but also draws on the blogosphere, image, video, hypertext and interactivity. A new form of information to which the media are not used to" (Garcia Alvarez et. al.: 2010)

Finally, social networks can also change the impact of news on the public. Traditional journalism is still the main source of news stories but, as they are on social networks, users stress the importance of a news topic by highlighting it to other users. As the Project for Excellence in Journalism (2010) reports “technology makes it increasingly possible for the actions of citizens to influence a story’s total impact”.

Portuguese radio news and Internet

In Portugal, the last two decades have shown a decrease of investment in news radio.

The Portuguese scene is characterized by hundreds of local radio stations, most of them music radio stations, and by other national radio stations which are, in the majority, also music radio stations.

With respect to news radio stations, the Portuguese scene is very small. Apart from a few local radio stations with small newsrooms, the main radio news stations are TSF, which is an all-news radio station, Antena 1, the Portuguese Public Radio Service and Renascença, a radio station owned by the Catholic Church.

Antena 1 is the main radio channel of the Portuguese Public Service which also includes six other radio stations. Antena 1, at the time called Emissora Nacional, was the voice of the government during the Portuguese dictatorial regime, which ended in 1974. Today, Antena 1 has the biggest radio newsroom in Portugal and its programming includes much journalistic content.

Renascença is owned by the Portuguese Catholic Church which has three more radio stations, all of them music radio stations. Throughout its history, Renascença has played an important role in Portuguese radio journalism as it continues to do nowadays.

TSF is the youngest radio station among the three analyzed in this study. Created within the movement of the Portuguese local radio in the 80’s, it soon emerged as an innovative project not only for radio, but in general for Portuguese journalism. TSF is an all-news radio and introduced a new style into the Portuguese radio journalism scene, based on live reporting and breaking news.

These three radio stations are, indeed, the most relevant in the context of Portuguese radio news, since they dedicate a high percentage of their programming to journalistic content. Also, they represent the biggest newsrooms among the Portuguese radio news stations.

Regarding the migration to digital platforms, Renascença, Antena 1 and TSF are not much different. All of them initiated their presence on the Internet in the second half of the 90’s, by creating websites.

Despite the center of news production in these three stations still being the traditional radio, the efforts to improve their presence in various platforms are evident. In the last decade, Antena 1, Renascença and TSF have adopted strategies in order to craft a multi-platform radio by creating websites, being in the social networks and improving their multimedia expressiveness.

In some cases, TSF, Antena 1 and Renascença have created significant milestones in the context of Portuguese web journalism, as is shown in the following examples.

TSF was the first of the Portuguese media companies, including newspapers and TV, to offer podcasts on its website. Also, it made an interesting move in 2005, creating a radio for the deaf population, by translating each day’s programming to sign language. The strategy of TSF on the Internet aims to maintain the same image acquired through its traditional version. Therefore, the website contains news contents, programs and many other journalistic formats. TSF highlights user participation by providing tools that allow for commenting on the news content.

Renascença has a clear strategy for its presence on the Internet. The website has been inundated in recent years, especially since 2006, by several videos. There’s no doubt that Renascença is the Portuguese radio station which has led the way in video content.

The Portuguese Public radio service adopted a different policy for its presence on the Internet. Since Antena 1 is part of the Portuguese Public media service, which also includes the TV station, the website unites

these two mediums. The result is not as positive for the radio section because the most important news contents available on the website are produced by public TV. Despite being a public service, the website does not promote user participation. Even today it is impossible to comment on the news on Antena 1's website.

Radio news and social networks

Antony Mayfield (2008) in his e-book *What is social media?* identifies five characteristics of the social networks: *Participation*, as they encourage contribution and feedback from everyone who is interested; *Openness* as they are open to feedback and participation; *Conversation* because social networks are seen as two-way platforms; *Community* as they allow communities to form quickly and communicate effectively and *Connectedness* since social networks use links to other sites, resources and people.

The Portuguese scholar, Gustavo Cardoso (2009: 37), advocates that radio is the medium that competes more easily with social networks. The author says that radio, like social networks, contributes to the discovery of new talent in music. To do that, suggests Cardoso, radio stations should increase their strategies on proximity to the listeners by creating, for example, communities.

2009 was the year in which TSF, Renascença and Antena 1 discovered the social networks. Since then, Facebook and Twitter have become a part of the Portuguese radio news stations. Thus, Portuguese radio news stations are present on social networks in two distinct ways: "institutional" and "formal".

By "institutional" we mean that radio news stations use their own brand and image on social networks to promote their contents. In this case, the objective is to suggest the programming of the traditional radio, for example, by making available the on-air programming schedule.

One of the most common uses in the "institutional" type is to launch the topic of the phone-in programs on Facebook. This has a very curious effect, as the users start to comment on the topic, anticipating the debate even before it goes on the air.

However, the main use that is given to Facebook and Twitter is to link news topics that take the user to the website. In the "institutional" type, we also identified two others uses.

Firstly, as a way to promote the debate and criticize the radio station.

One example occurred when, on TSF's Facebook profile, users posted various comments criticizing the radio after a phone-in program in which the Prime-Minister was interviewed. TSF was accused by the listeners of having promoted the Prime-Minister since those who called in to the program only did compliments. The listeners considered that TSF had not done its job well and started to criticize the radio station on Facebook. The pressure was so extreme that the Director of the radio felt he should write a note on Facebook giving the radio's version of events. This example shows that social networks can be a useful way for users to participate in radio stations' policies.

Secondly, as a way to gather news sources by posting messages in which reporters request information about a news story they are working on.

By "formal" presence, we intend to say that radio journalists use social networks to promote radio programs. Here, we aren't talking about the presence of the radio station, but of the journalist who uses his own name to speak on behalf of the radio.

In this case, journalists are clearly identified with the radio and take advantage of the social networks to disseminate the programs and the news stories they made or took part in to their "friends" or "followers". In this case, the profile of the radio journalists turns out to be part of the radio station.

Methodology

The purpose of this study is to understand the relationship between radio journalism and the social networks Facebook and Twitter. We made an exploratory study by analyzing the news topics available on the Facebook and Twitter accounts of the three main Portuguese radio news stations: TSF, Renascença and Antena1.

The study addresses the following research questions:

Q1: What uses are being made of the social networks by the Portuguese radio news stations?

Q2: Do social networks contribute to the increase of multimedia expressiveness on radio?

Q3: How can we define the presence of the Portuguese radio news stations on the social networks?

To answer these questions, the study looked at the following aspects analyzing the news topics available on the Facebook and Twitter accounts: multimediality (presence of videos, photos, sounds), interactivity (which tools are used to promote interactivity), the circuit of news contents (where do the links take us) and user-generated content (do the users participate with comments and the journalists take part in this conversation).

Q1: What uses are being made of the social networks by the Portuguese radio news stations?

Portuguese radio news stations, TSF, Renascença and Antena 1, are using social networks to promote user participation.

Social networks are useful tools to encourage users to comment and share information. Facebook and Twitter help to promote the spontaneity of the user and to break down barriers to access. Users do not need a password or a registration to participate. This helps to explain the reason why topics that are available on Facebook receive so many comments, compared with the news available on the websites.

Portuguese radio news stations receive many comments from users on news topics posted on Facebook which means a renewal of interactivity on the radio. Indeed, radio has always been interactive, but never has it been so easy for listeners to participate in the news content.

However, contrary to what Gillmor advocates (2006), we are not yet talking about a conversation, as journalists don't take part in the discussion. Users do comment and do suggest, but the only conversation is among the users.

Facebook represents an important platform for spreading user participation in the public sphere. However, it is interesting to note that not all the comments posted by users are contributing to a positive discussion about public affairs. Indeed, in some cases, users use Facebook to criticize and offend without any argumentative position.

Facebook is also used to contact radio and give information, as in the follow example:

User – Does TSF know about the death of a 16 year old Benfica fan who died due to a beating in Braga when he was celebrating Benfica's 32nd football championship? Is this true?

TSF Radio – Yes, we know. It was reported by Benfica TV and we are checking the facts to report that too. (Facebook, TSF, May, 10th, 2010)

Users also use Facebook to denounce situations:

User – I'm calling to the attention of the company responsible for the road works on the highway A8. I live about 100 meters from the works and it is now 01h30 in the morning and right now, as in the past two days, a jackhammer is working. (Facebook, TSF, November, 4th, 2010)

In this particularly case the user felt he could talk about a situation he was going through. People see Facebook as a platform to get in touch with the radio station and to turn personal problems into public affairs.

Radio news stations use Facebook to stimulate user participation by asking its "friends" to send videos and photos about public affairs, and so in this way they are adding new elements to news topics. For example, when Pope Benedict XVI visited Portugal in May 2010, users were asked to send videos and photos.

Allowing user participation is, in fact, one of the most important benefits that social networks offer journalism.

Commenting on the news on Facebook has started to be common practice among users, and because of that radio news stations have created rules about participation.

For example, TSF explain that comments containing insults or obscene and defamatory language are removed and Antena 1 wrote on Facebook that users who make offensive comments, appealing to verbal or physical violence or provoke discussions are removed from the page.

Social networks, especially Facebook, are seen as an important window to opening radio to interactivity and participation by promoting the discussion of public affairs. In some cases, social networks appear to be the only way to do that. For example, the Portuguese public radio service still does not provide any other access points on digital platforms for user participation.

Q2: Do social networks contribute to the increase in multimedia expressiveness on radio?

Radio has become a multimedia medium and because of this one of the most important questions about the future of radio is to understand what the role of sound will be in a multiplatform radio.

On social network sites, sound takes second place. On Twitter and Facebook it is possible to post sounds, but this is a rare practice among the Portuguese radio news stations as the norm is to post sounds linked to the affiliated website instead of posting the sound on the profile. By doing this, radio news stations “invite” friends and followers to go to the radio’s website and not to listen to the sound directly from the Facebook page.

Our observations also revealed that social networks are used by the Portuguese radio news stations to post photos about the stories reported by the journalists. Indeed, we found that posting photos is one of the most intensive practices done by radio news stations on Facebook. Often, the photos posted aren’t the same as those that are available on the website. On Facebook, photo galleries are frequently posted which are not on the affiliated website.

Posting videos is not very common practice. Rarely do news topics posted on Facebook contain videos.

Regarding multimedia expressiveness, our observations revealed that the most common practice is the posting of text and photos. Sounds and videos are very rare.

Q3: How can we define the presence of the Portuguese radio news stations on the social networks?

According to our study, social networks are a complement to the on-air radio. The center of production remains the traditional radio. Journalists think first about broadcasting news. Only after this task is completed, news are first posted on the affiliated website and finally on Facebook and Twitter. This means that the newsroom is still organized according to the traditional routines and values of radio journalism.

This scenario is the key to understanding how radio news stations are using social networks. In short, Facebook and Twitter are used by the Portuguese radio news stations to promote topics that have usually already been broadcast on the traditional radio’s newscasts.

Facebook and Twitter are mostly used by Portuguese radio news stations as a way to suggest and promote news available on their affiliated website. The circuit of the news posted on the social networks is as shown in the following diagram:

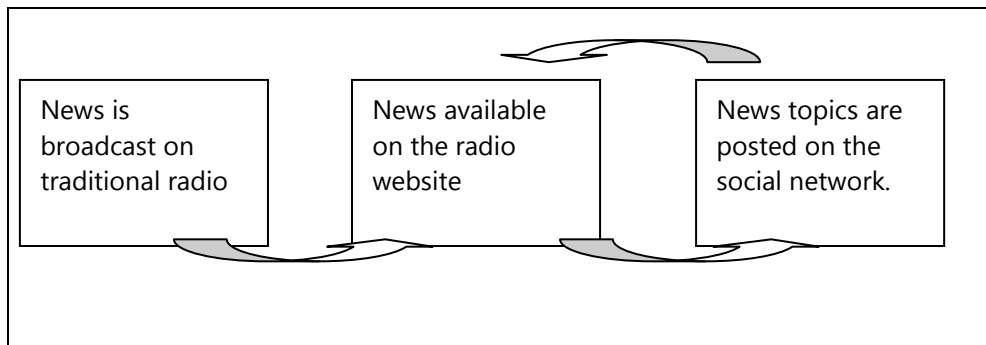


Figure 1 – Circuit of news

Our observations revealed that the news go on the air, then go to the website and finally are posted on the social networks. Finally, the link on Facebook or Twitter takes the user back to the website.

Twitter is only used to promote the news available on the websites. In short, the breaking news pointed out by some authors as an advantage for journalism is not a common practice among the Portuguese radio news stations. Twitter is only used as a platform to promote the radio, following the basic idea that if people are on Twitter, the radio should be there too.

Also, through the social networks, listeners can participate in the phone-in programs. The examples are taken from the Facebook accounts of Antena 1 and TSF. Both give the listener the opportunity to leave a comment about an issue which will be read by the journalist on the air.

Good morning. This morning, TSF Forum talks about corruption. Bureaucracy is seen as a fertile ground for corruption and this is one of ten themes of the challenge that TSF has released to the leaders of major parties. We wanted to know what actions they propose to reduce bureaucracy and make the fight against corruption more effective. The Forum also wants to hear your opinion. What can be done to stop the phenomenon of corruption? Do you believe that existing laws are sufficient? (Facebook, TSF, 3rd June, 2011)

In this way, despite the comment being available on the Facebook profile, the host of the phone-in program can choose the ones he considers more relevant to the discussion and read them on the air. Facebook, in this case, acts as an extension of the on-air programming and also contributes to increasing interactivity with the listeners.

Conclusion

Social networks did not invent interactivity on the radio, but they have transformed it. In fact, social networks represent a strategy to open the radio to its listeners. This is the most important conclusion we have reached in this study.

Facebook is a very useful platform for user participation. Taking advantage of its spontaneity, users can easily get in contact with the radio station and with the journalists and participate in the discussion of public affairs.

Thus, Facebook contributes to increase the values of democracy in the sense that the presence of more voices, at least in theory, represents more diversity and pluralism. Traditional radio, with its temporal constraints, is prevented from opening its programming to constant participation. The exceptions are the phone-in programs.

With the Internet, and particularly with social networks, radio opens itself to discussion and criticism. Listeners can, as we saw, participate in the news content, but they also can also criticize the radio and suggest new strategies.

Despite this openness, we have observed that the discussion still remains incomplete, as journalists are still reluctant to get involved in the conversation. The fact that the Portuguese newsrooms are becoming increasingly small can also be an argument in understanding why journalists do not take part in this discussion.

Journalists are constantly occupied with the tasks of news production. Journalists, especially those who work on radio, don't have much time to be on social networks interacting with users.

Our study also revealed a reduced use of some of the potential of social networks. That is to say, Portuguese radio news stations rarely use Facebook and Twitter as a breaking news platform or to improve the multimedia expressiveness of this "new radio".

Social networks are part of the global radio news station policy, but in these early years, despite being an excellent platform to increase interactivity, Facebook and Twitter are just used to promote the traditional radio. Indeed, we have observed that although the three main Portuguese radio news stations are in the social networks, much of the content available in their Facebook and Twitter pages is simply repurposed material from offline programming.

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Doing Radio in the Age of Facebook

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Abstract:

This paper begins with the hypothesis that social media are the prosecution of radio by other means; its aim will be to focus on the changes that radio has undergone since it started to mix with social media, in particular Facebook. How deeply have such changes affected the relationship between radio producers and listeners? The paper will analyse the case of three Italian radio programmes which have developed an intense interaction with their listeners through Facebook. We will conduct a quantitative observation of the social media activity of these programmes over an entire week and show the different social media strategies implemented by the selected programmes, as well as their different dramaturgical relations with the listeners.

Keywords: radio, Facebook, social media

Doing radio in the age of Facebook

Seventy years passed from the publication of Arnheim's essay on radio to the invention of Facebook. In that famous book, *Radio. An Art of Sound*, Arnheim noted radio's distinctive characteristic, the sightless nature of listening, the mutual invisibility between transmitter and receiver. As he wrote, "radio organises the world for the ear". Arnheim was the first to praise radio specifically for its aural language, and to recognise the "blindness" of radio listening as an advantage rather than an impairment, a way to eschew the limitations of vision. A flight not from images themselves, but from the mechanisms of visual perception. Since Arnheim's times, however, many things have changed and new inventions have been introduced: the transistor, the telephone, the Internet, broadband, satellites, the iPod, blogs and SNS (social networking service). Each one of these implants onto the radio machine's body have generated a new hybrid and modified listening patterns. While it is still possible to tune into a radio set in the kitchen, as was the case in Arnheim's time, this is nowadays a residual form of listening. Radio listening still maintains some elements of blindness, but the way in which we now experience this medium is no longer totally disembodied and immaterial.

Technological implants on the body of the radio medium, from the telephone to SNS, can also be read as a coming-of-age novel, in which we follow the main character, the public, through the various stages of its growth and development. With SNS the novel ends: the main character has passed puberty. The presence of the public within radio programmes goes from zero grade – the telephone – which implies only the presence of a voice, invisible and disembodied, to the most advanced stage so far – Facebook – in which the public has a face, a name, a personal space for discussion (the Wall), a bio-cultural profile (the Info section), a collective intelligence (the Home Page), a general sentiment (Arvidsson 2011). It is the end of the public as a mass that is blind (it cannot see the source of the sound), invisible (it cannot be seen by the transmitter), passive (it cannot take part in the conversation) and insensitive (it cannot manifest its emotions towards the speaker). The implant of SNS on the

body of the radio medium renders the immaterial capital made up by the listeners public and tangible. While until recently the audience was invisible to radio and was confined to its private sphere except in the case of phone calls during a programme, today listeners linked to the online profile of a radio programme are no longer invisible or private, and the same goes for their opinions and emotions. And if emotions and opinions are no longer invisible or private, they are measurable. To this end Arvidsson claims that "the remediation of social relations that has accompanied the rise of consumer culture has effectively managed to transform the nature of affect, from something private or at least located in small interaction systems, to something that acquires an objective existence as a value creating 'substance' in the public domain. Social media have taken this process one step further" (Arvidsson 2011).

The new communications model that derives from the short-circuit between radio and social media is a hybrid model, partly still broadcast, partly already networked. Radio is still a one-to-many means of communication. However, telephone already made it partly a one-to-one medium (phone interview) and many-to-one (open mic, phone talk radio); to this we have to add SNS, which are at once a one-to-one (chat), one-to-many (tweets, FB notes or posts), many-to-many (FB Home, Twitter hashtags), many-to-one (FB comments) kind of media. The mix between radio and SNS considerably modifies both the vertical relation between the speaker/presenter and the public, and the horizontal relation between each listener. Both types of relation are approaching a dynamic typical of peer-to-peer culture. When a programme's presenter and one of his or her listeners become friends on FB they establish a vertical and bi-directional relation: both can navigate on each other's profile, both can watch each other's online performance and at the same time be an actor in it. They can both enact two types of performance, public and private: they can comment posts on each other's walls, send each other private messages or communicate by chat in real time. For the first time in the history of radio the speaker and the listener can easily communicate privately, far from the ears of other listeners, "off-air". This gives rise to a "backstage" behaviour between presenter and listener that was previously unimaginable.

At the same time, the relation between listeners is similarly changing. Fans of a radio programme can establish links online, exchange public comments on the programme's wall, express more or less appreciation for specific contents, exchange contents on their personal walls, write each other private messages or chat with each other. The radio's public has never been so publicised. While before SNS the concept of radio public was a purely abstract entity, which could be understood sociologically and analysed statistically, today this community is no longer only an imagined one (Anderson 1993). People who listen frequently to a radio programme and are its fans on FB have the opportunity, for the first time, to see and recognise each other, to communicate, to create new links while bypassing the centre, in other words the radio programme itself. While a radio public is an invisible group of people who are not linked together, the SNS audience of a radio programme is instead a visible group of people/nodes in a network, connected by links of variable intensity which in some cases can produce strong links that transcend the network.

Radio is increasingly becoming an aggregator, a filter for the abundance of information, useful especially for the non-prosumer listeners, who do not publish videos and have no time to explore friends' profiles, which are a true goldmine to discover new trends. The radio author's job thus resembles more and more that of a translator, of someone who connects two worlds – niches and mass culture – by delving into niches and re-emerging with a little treasure trove that can then be used productively. The producer's function in the age of Facebook is thus to drag contents emerging from small islands, small communities and to translate and adapt them for the public of large continents, transforming them into mass culture. This is how the value production process in radio works in the era of SNS: listeners enact their tastes online, the radio author (increasingly a producer, as Benjamin predicted in his 1934 essay *The author as Producer*) re-interprets and re-elaborates them, providing the audience with a dramaturgically constructed listening experience in which it finds its contents mixed together. Listeners comment and supply new material to the community of listeners/producers so that the process can start again.

Radio flow's production process in the Facebook era is similar to that of mineral processing. The listeners/producers are the miners extracting the raw mineral (content in the shape of a brilliant comment, a note, a videoclip, an excerpt of a film taken from YouTube, a brand new Soundcloud song, a link to an article, etc.) that is then refined, processed, elaborated by the author/producer. The author/producer adds value to the content discovered by the listeners/producers by giving a dramaturgical shape to that content, by linking it to a complex architecture of sense based on dramaturgical rules (the radio programme). The author/speaker and the listeners are both producers of the programme: they cooperate, through SNS, on the design and the production of radio contents. As Castells noted, "Networks de-centre performance and share decision-making" (Castells 2000:12). Radio makers (authors/presenters/producers) and radio listeners, once they are connected through SNS, belong to the same horizontal and multipolar network. On the SNS stage everyone, radio makers and listeners alike, is able to perform, to take part, to alternatively play the role of the actor (contributing with contents) and of the audience (contributing with comments and liking). As Benjamin hoped, the boundaries between authors and "readers" are, once and for all, broken down. How much the listeners take part in this production process is still controlled by radio makers and this has to be taken into account when designing a new radio or cross media format.

Results of a comparative study on the use of social media by three Italian successful radio programmes.

In the second part of this paper we will present the results of a comparative study on the use of social networks by three Italian radio programmes. The observation of the Facebook fan page of the three programmes took place in the week between 1 and 6 March 2011. The programmes analysed - *Caterpillar* (Rai Radio2, Italian public broadcaster) *RaiTunes* (Rai Radio2, Italian public broadcaster) and *Io Sono Qui* (Radio24 Il Sole24Ore, commercial news&talk radio) – have been chosen for two reasons: for their innovative model of interaction with social media and for the difference in composition of their online public, as shown by the following table:

	13-17	18-24	25-34	35-44	5-54	Over 55
Caterpillar	2.76	8	24	31	24	9.6
Rai Tunes	1.3	11.2	47	26.8	7.8	2.52
Io Sono Qui	2.3	9.9	31	35	14.5	5.2

Table 1: Distribution (percentage) according to age group of the Facebook public of the programmes analysed. Source: Facebook internal statistics

	13-17	18-24	25-34	35-44	5-54	Over 55
Europe: active users	12.9	35.6	27.9	13.7	5.2	4.5

Table 2: Distribution (percentage) according to age group of active Facebook users in Europe. Source: Facebook 2011

The three programmes analysed have different Facebook publics in terms of age group, but these are very similar to each programme's radio target. *RaiTunes* is a programme with a younger audience, while the Facebook public of *Caterpillar* and *Io Sono Qui* is in line with the average public of the radio stations that air them. Compared to the average age of active Facebook users in Europe (table 2), active users on the programmes' FB profiles are on average older: this figure is influenced by the average age of the radio public, which is notoriously higher than that of the social media public.

Case history #1: RaiTunes

Broadcaster: Radio2 Rai www.radio2.rai.it (3.781.000 listeners per day - source: Audiradio 2009; 1.647.503 Podcasts download in February 2011 – Source: RAI)

Programme history: On air since September 2010

Genre: night music show

Tags: new sounds, urban, DJ culture, music, night show, electronic.

Schedule: Monday-Friday, 22.40-00.00

RaiTunes is an evening music show presented by one of the most well-known and experienced DJs and presenters on Italian radio, Alessio Bertallot, who recently (2010) moved from an important commercial radio network to the public broadcaster. His name is a benchmark in music radio formats and his voice represents the real brand of the programme. The music format (see below) is addressed to urban listeners and a young audience. Music is mixed live by DJ Frankie B, an international music producer and sound designer well-known on the club scene. The presenter, himself a musician and DJ, frequently performs with Frankie B. The programme was chosen because of its great appeal to younger generations (this is in fact the most important show addressed to them), for its cross media approach and for its considerable and innovative use of social media. Once or twice a week (usually Tuesdays and Thursdays) the playlist is user-generated, that is it is put together by the community of listeners together with the presenter. The selection is made during the day before the evening show on the Facebook fan page of the programme. The presenter plays a classic DJ game with the listeners, the "back-to-back": he chooses the first song posting a You Tube video of it on FB and asks the listeners/FB fans to reply with another link to the video of a suitable song to follow his first choice, and so on, until the playlist is completed.

Web and social networks

Website: <http://www.rai.it/dl/raitunes/page/Page-4982bb61-776f-4734-b6b9d80cb1c28740.html>

Facebook profile: <http://www.facebook.com/AlessioBertallot>

Facebook stats (as of 05/03/2011): 21.549 "likes" (started in October 2010)

Twitter profile: <http://twitter.com/bertallot>

Twitter stats: (as of 05/03/2011): 768 followers, 1183 tweets

YouTube Channel: <http://www.youtube.com/user/Bertallot>

Social media activity and audience participation

The Facebook fan page of the programme is a lively space, where the programme keeps on living when the presenter switches off the microphone. The fans are young and extremely active. They post an average of 60 to 100 You Tube links to music videos every day (even on weekends). The page is constantly updated throughout the day. Fans keep on posting at every hour, day and night. The FB wall continually changes, showing the general sentiment of the listeners/fans. It resembles a collective stream of consciousness. Music video posting is the real glue of the RaiTunes community. The listeners of the show are used to music shows, are used to go to concerts and they behave like a concert audience. The fans who post on the wall demonstrate a wide musical knowledge, perfectly matching the musical choice of the presenter. On the wall we can witness a collective process of "fine tuning" of the general taste of the RaiTunes audience.

Before and after the show the fans keep on posting music and making comments about it, but when the show begins something special happens: they stop posting music and start listening to the programme, leaving the FB page open on their computers. During the 80 minutes of the show the FB page is updated almost every minute with comments and questions about the music played by the DJ. In those 80 minutes people post an

average of 60 to 80 comments on the wall, like a concert audience chatting about what it is listening to. Every day the same dynamic takes place: when the programme begins, fans stop posting videos (it is like when a concert begins and the audience falls silent): they agree to enter into another dimension, the spectacular one. The change of behaviour on the FB fan page marks a ritual passage. Presenter and listeners recognise that they belong to the same tribe and taking part in the show means celebrating the music they share. Music is the totem around which people gather. When the show ends, they once again start to post music videos, as a concert audience does at the end of a performance, when people start to shout "more, more". Listeners would like to listen to more music, but when the show comes to an end, they can only continue to post other music on the FB wall and listen to the music chosen by their peers.

A few minutes after the end of the show the RaiTunes team publishes a You Tube video playlist on FB, a collection of videos of all the songs played during the episode that has just ended.

Twitter

Twitter is frequently updated by the production team, to disseminate contents, news and You Tube playlists available on other platforms. Broadcast use only.

Website

The website of the programme contains the archive of all the episodes aired so far, available for listening to in streaming. During the show it is possible to see what is going on in the studio through a mobile webcam situated on the roof. The webcam frames the presenter and his guests and is remote-controlled by the social media manager, on the other side of the studio.

Case history #2: Caterpillar

Broadcaster: Radio2 Rai www.radio2.rai.it (3.781.000 listeners per day - source: Audiradio 2009; 1.647.503 Podcasts download in February 2011 – Source: RAI)

Programme history: On air since 1997

Genre: Infotainment/talk show

Tags: news, satire, social media, networked journalism, crowd-sourcing, UGC, interactivity

Schedule: Monday-Friday, 18.00-19.25 (Italian drive time)

Caterpillar is a daily talk show broadcast live by RAI Radio 2, the Italian public channel dedicated to light entertainment. Conceived as a drive time talk show, it is the most listened-to programme on Italian radio in its time slot. It provides an independent, tongue-in-cheek take on national and foreign current affairs. Caterpillar's success is based on a blend of the personalities of the two presenters, the innovative way in which listeners participate, the alternative music format and the sense of belonging to a "special" community. Phone talk plays a key role, occupying more than one third of the programme (listeners, correspondents, politicians, artists, critics, etc.)

Web and social networks

Website/blog: <http://caterpillar.blog.rai.it/>

Facebook profile: <http://www.facebook.com/caterpillar.radio2?ref=ts>

Facebook stats (as of 05/03/2011): 38.134 "likes" (+ 10.000 in 4 months)

Twitter profile: <http://twitter.com/caterpillarra>

Twitter stats (as of 05/03/2011): 944 followers, 809 tweets

Podcasts are easy to access from the Rai iPhone application

Social media activity

Blog

The blog is updated every day with a synopsis of the latest show and videos of the music played. It is used as a multimedia archive of the programme. It is the "official historian" of the show, a time-capsule that tells the story so far.

Facebook fan page

Before the show, the Caterpillar team posts a "spoiler" of the day's issues/topics on Facebook.

During the show: they post all relevant links (websites, articles and video) about guests and the issues/news debated on-air. The morning after the show a podcast is available for download also via Facebook. The team publishes an average of 3 to 6 wall posts per day, "liked" and commented by an average of 20 to 100 fans. The presenters and authors of the programme usually join the conversation and interact directly with their fans. Fans can also find relevant excerpts of the show (a live music show, poetry by the correspondent Marco Ardemagni, satirical videos) available on demand on the fan page, extra contents not aired during the show and extra content not suitable for radio (video interviews from the correspondents, text notes, collection of photos of special events).

Twitter

The Caterpillar Twitter profile page, however, is more institutional and formal. It is only used as a one-to-many medium, in order to disseminate to "followers" issues and links related to the programme. It looks more like a newspaper-style homepage.

Audience participation

Facebook fans of the programme post comments both in real time (during the show) and after. Fans publish an average of 7 to 15 wall posts every day. Listeners use Facebook not only to show whether they like something that has been broadcast or not, but also to publish news and links they find useful, either for the programme or for the "Caterpillar community". Listeners are keen participants on the Facebook page, something which is encouraged and promoted on-air via calls for support/help/reporting.

The radio show and the Facebook page are both examples of networked media, since they rely heavily on user generated content and comments.

Case history #3: Io Sono Qui

Broadcaster: Radio24 Rai www.radio24.it (1.885.000 listeners per day - source: Audiradio 2009)

Programme history: On air since January 2010

Genre: autofiction

Tags: storytelling; fiction; diary; drama; talk show

Schedule: Monday-Friday, 16.05-16.45

Io Sono Qui is a daily live fictional programme broadcast by Radio24, a talk&news national commercial station owned by the editorial group of Il Sole24 Ore. Its blend is based on a mix of storytelling, drama and talkshow, all performed live by the actor/presenter. Every day the presenter tells the story of his life as if it was an

audio diary and shares his experiences with the listeners. The second part of the programme is based on the phone calls of listeners who want to share their private stories.

Web and social networks

Website/blog: <http://www.radio24.it>

Facebook profile: <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Matteo-Caccia-io-sono-qui/163190700390424>

Facebook stats (as of 05/03/2011): 5.844 "likes"

Twitter profile: none

Social media strategy and audience participation

Seven hours before the show, the programme's team posts a "spoiler" of the day's issue/topic on Facebook (both on the FB fan page of the programme and on the presenter's personal profile), asking fans/friends if they have experienced life stories similar to the one posted by the presenter. Fans and friends start to reply to the presenter's call with comments and long posts, sharing private experiences of everyday life through Facebook. Before the beginning of the radio show Facebook is used as a great stage for the storytelling performances of the listeners/fans, that can be rewarded by the audience who click "like" under their posts. The author of the programme has accustomed his Facebook audience to expect one call every morning. He opens the game with the first post of the day, letting the listeners be the main characters of the play on the Facebook stage. During the week of observation, the presenter's calls received between 25 and 80 comments, depending on the popularity of the topic.

Almost every day the author chooses one story among the best ones appeared on Facebook in the hours before the show. He contacts the person who posted the comment/story by private Facebook message to ask if he/she wants to take part in the live radio show and tell the story he/she has written on Facebook over the phone. Usually the first phone call of the day comes from a Facebook fan, then the presenter starts to take other live phone calls too. Sometimes fans spontaneously reply to the call of the day by posting an excerpt of a film or a song that reminds them of the topic of the day on the Wall. The presenter normally edits and uses these contents embedding them into the radio flow of the episode of the day. One hour before the show the author posts a YouTube link to the video of the song that will be broadcast during his story. Facebook is conceived as a mine of rough contents to be chosen, edited and then embedded into the radio production flow. Comments, life stories, links to video or audio contents, are used by the author and his team as material for the production of the forthcoming show.

During the show: fans and friends that are listening to the show through the web post comments about the programme on the wall.

After the show: fans keep on commenting the show that has just ended and start to post on the wall a photo shot by them that can represent where they are in that very moment (emotionally or geographically). These photos are described on air by the presenter in the following day's show, as an emotional map of the listeners of the programme and as an answer to the question "Where are you?".

All these photos are collected in an FB album named "I'm here" (the title of the programme).

During the observed week fans published an average of 6 to 20 posts per day on the wall of the programme, while the programme's team made between 3 and 5 posts per day.

As in the other two case histories, RaiTunes and Caterpillar, this programme can also be defined as a co-production with the listeners/authors through the SNS. RaiTunes uses the music links suggested by the audience, Caterpillar uses the news links suggested by the audience, Io Sono Qui uses the life stories told by the audience and its content suggestions (photos, video, songs).

Social media Manifesto for radio

Even if social media use has entered the production routine of radio only in the last two to three years, turning out to be a crucial tool, but quite often misunderstood and underestimated too, in the case histories analysed so far we can note many similar social media practices, which are both effective and innovative. The comparative study reveals that broadcasters have finally started to understand the importance of social media in nurturing their relation with audiences, like an umbilical cord connecting listeners to producers while the radio is off. As a conclusion, we will try to put together the best practices discovered during the research and write a kind of Social Media Manifesto, or more simply, a bare bones guide to the ideal social media strategy for broadcasters.

1. Dramaturgic structure

Social media management is an authorial and creative work. It is similar to the work of a theatre director and has to do with storytelling. And storytelling has its rules. Social media spaces are not virtual at all, they are lively spaces where people attempt to show themselves at their best, making great efforts to perform one of the characters they would love to look like in real life. Social media management is about telling the best story about ourselves for the audience of our friends/fans. As people's FB and TW profiles are nothing but storytelling performances, programmes' profiles have to address issues of performance and storytelling too.

The most successful Facebook and Twitter pages analysed so far all share a specific and clearly recognisable dramaturgic structure: frequent, cyclical and regular updates, every day. Facebook and Twitter provide a flood of data, and posts and tweets will quickly flow off followers' screens. Tweeting frequently will build a bigger following. Radio producers have to show listeners that they are always alive, always present, and they have to convince them to visit their page more often during the day. They have to build expectations among their followers. Posting 15 tweets a day, but all in the same half hour, will not do, as most of the followers will not even see them. Radio producers have to educate the public, making them feel that their page is constantly updated with valuable contents. We could call this strategy "Dramaturgy in three acts":

First Act – Waiting for the show: in this first step you can use social media both as a teaser, to promote the upcoming broadcast by pushing contents to the fans/followers (post about the issue of the day, previews of upcoming guests and panellists, photos of the presenters, prizes to be won, bonus audio or jingles, videos of the music played, live events in which to take part etc...) and/or as a resource for retrieving fresh contents (pull technology) from the listeners.

Second Act - During the show: InterAct

We have noticed that successful work and presence on social media generates a continual flow of comments and updates from listeners during the show. If in the first act the main actor/performer is the programme team, as the most active actor in posting items, in this second act the listeners have to take centre stage. The more a radio live show and Facebook activity interact and cross-communicate, the more the listeners' "community" will strengthen its ties to the programme.

Third Act – After the show: the show must go on

Successful programmes are conceived like multimedia projects. When the radio show comes to an end, the programme continues on the web. The programme's team posts links to related issues, podcast availability alerts (or directly embed an on demand player on FB), audio and video excerpts from the programme (in case of live music in the radio studio, for example), asks for comments and promotes the issue of the following day. This closing act is a perfect moment, as we have monitored, to cultivate the relationship between the show's 'personalities' and the audience.

2. On air/on line/ on site. Cross media interaction

Connect all the platforms and enforce communication flows between them. One good practice we noticed

in talk shows is to give the same importance to listener feedback, no matter which platform they came from (email, phone call, sms, Facebook, Twitter). The debate around the issue of the day starts on social media, then continues on air: the presenters keep quoting comments made in real time on social networks.

If people get used to knowing that what happens in the social mediasphere is valuable for the programme too, they will participate more.

3. Personalise and "storify"¹ content

The most successful communication on social media is personal in tone and content.

Presenters and authors of the programme have to play at the listeners' level, and to build a fair and straight interaction with them. Every time you post something on social media you should provide it with a context for it to be properly understood, and personalise information, adding your personal view or feeling. Every podcast alert you make has to be accompanied by a quick and personal synopsis of the programme contents, using a catchy language, not the cold and standardised language of marketing but the warmer one of true personal engagement with it. Every post is a little story.

4. Take advantage of General Intellect and realize Walter Benjamin's dream

Social media are wonderful tools for nurturing and empowering the General Intellect². Thanks to their networked structure, social media seem to be making the dream of Brecht and Benjamin³ come true: listeners becoming authors (UGC). Among your listeners lie hundreds of experts in different fields willing to take part in content production. Caterpillar (RAI) perfectly outsources some reporting to the listeners and takes advantage of citizen journalism: its listeners publish suggestions about topics to be discussed and offer themselves as reporters from the place they live in. Ask listeners to tweet their reports in real time while travelling. The minds of the listeners, once connected through social media, can be very powerful and fast.

5. Share the love

Share, quote, forward, retweet valuable contents. The social mediascape is based on what some economists and anthropologists have called the "gift economy". You need to give in order to get. Reward interesting and on-topic posts published by listeners by clicking the "like" button. Like it or not, but "liking" is the only accepted value by the whole social media community. Pay attention to which posts are more commented and/or more loved, and why.

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¹ With reference to this, have a look at www.storify.com and www.storyful.com

² According to Karl Marx, who was the first to come up with this concept, the General Intellect (the collective mind) is a crucial factor in production and is a combination of technological expertise and social intellect, or general social knowledge

³ See W. Benjamin "Reflexionen zum Rundfunk", 1930

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Radio 2.0 in Higher Education Communities. An approximation of Aveiro University Members perceptions

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Abstract:

The web 2.0 raises new challenges and opportunities in many different fields of activity, namely because it introduces different approaches and possibilities to the relationship among participants both at institutional and individual levels.

On the Higher Education context many changes are occurring due to the introduction of new learning paradigms, many of them take advantage of web 2.0 technologies to configure more effective and diverse scenarios to support the work of students and teaching staff.

Social networks are currently being adopted in many Higher Education communities as platforms to support the interaction among community members, taking advantage of the potential of those networks to foster strong and meaningful relationships and support the awareness and consolidation of group identity. This potential is being explored to promote new possibilities for teaching and learning that include new approaches such as the personal learning environments.

This article addresses the potential that radio services have for Higher Education communities in a web 2.0, focusing on the case of the University of Aveiro (Portugal). The article explores the perceptions that Aveiro academic members have about webradio potentialities in terms of sense of belonging creation and community cohesion.

Keywords: webradio, university, community, social networks

Radio as a service of a university community

The incorporation of the radio in the university field, as well as their potential use by the academic community, is not a recent phenomenon. The first initiative of this kind took place in 1919 at the University of Wisconsin (Faus, 1973).

College radio refers to a type of station that operates within an academic community and presents characteristics of community radio and educational ones. These stations can be a global institutional project involving the entire university community or an initiative from a more restricted entity (faculty, student union, student-teacher of a specific subject...) (Sauls, 1995: 1).

In fact, the phenomenon of college radio has evolved from the first experimental stations and, nowadays, has multiple configurations depending on the technological support broadcast (FM, AM, web), audience (of a closed circuit to a wider community of listeners), aims (education, outreach, entertainment) or management models (Sauls, 1995: 2).

Amongst the features of college radio, González Conde (2001: 476-477) specifies the vocation of public service, specialized in scientific and cultural dissemination, the easiness of access to members of the community, the approach to a mostly young audience and the constitution of a support for publishing content that is educational. Characteristics that imply a programming for the college radio, different from commercial ones.

Teixeira, Perona Paez & Daher (2010: 179) include college radio stations within the cultural and educational dimension. This type of stations, to which also belong community radio stations, is characterized by uncommercial objectives and social vocation. College radio has also a cohesive feature that, combined with the fact that it operates within an academic community, gives it characteristics of community radio stations. Some of these features are the proximity of the target audience, the removal of a commercial pattern and the production of content by the members of the community (Caldeira & Simeone, 2006: 67).

Indeed the main goal of any college radio is to provide a service to the community, regardless of whether it is a strictly academic community or a wider community (Sauls, 1995: 2).

The purpose of this paper is to deepen into the perceptions that different audiences in the academic community of Aveiro have about the potential of a college radio for the community cohesion and the promotion of a sense of belonging. The underlying conception of the university webradio is here a platform with links to social networks, a space to share materials among professors-students or students-students, and other kind of interaction tools.

Radio transposition to the Internet offers lots of potentialities for the college stations. University radios experience a major development in the web because of the technological and legal facilities of the web broadcast, which have led to the emergence of new forms of creation, issuance and dissemination (Teixeira, Perona & Gonçalves, 2001: 184). In fact, since the early college radio web initiatives that took place in the late 90's, this phenomenon has been expanding.

The radiomorphosis. A new paradigm based on the interaction

The mediamorphosis (Fidler, 1997) in radio renewed the audio product with the addition of components inherent to digital system. In the Internet, the radio implemented its communication strategies beyond the strictly sound field (González Conde, 2010: 55), by developing a new programming concept closer to the customization of content (Albarran & Pitts, 2001: 172), by losing transience and by encouraging the creation and cohesion of communities of targeted listeners (Prietsman, 2002: 226); listeners who benefit from new forms of participation based on interactivity (Priestman, 2002: 228; Tolson, 2006; Kidney & Ala-Fossi, 2008: 44).

Thus, webradio set up a platform where converge multiple features of the conventional media with those derived from its new multimedia essence like flexibility, ubiquity, synchronous and asynchronous communication, language and interactive multimedia. "Also, the website is a tool key to promote the contents on air and to contribute an additional meaning to the distribution of the programming based on the interactivity" (Moreno, Martínez-Costa & Amoedo, 2009: 131).

The phenomenon of radiomorphosis (Prata, 2008) was reflected primarily on the genres and on the interaction. Two connected areas that establish the essence of the Internet medium and alter broadcasting concept nature (Cordeiro, 2004: 15).

From the perspective of interaction, the transfer from terrestrial radio to the web has strengthened relations with the user through new forms of relationship. Interaction that has evolved from participation via email, an e-review of wiretapping tradicional model, to other nearish and instantaneous modes like social networks. "The enjoyment of these new tools weaves a web of sociability, by which the network of relationships of every person can be considerably increased. This is due to the return of listeners, interacting in relation to broadcast content and also due to the release profile on portals, directories and virtual communities" (Kischinhevsky, 2009: 234).

The interaction of these listeners in multiple social networks establishes a relation between them and the practitioner, a relationship which allows real-time feedback regarding the contents conveyed. This enables consolidation of collaborative media based on a single network that combines social networking and various web tools 2.0 (wiki, virtual galleries of photographs, audiovisual platforms, news aggregators, etc.).

Webradio listener / user can request songs, dedicate them, comment on news with other listeners / users, post messages, submit questions for interviews, link content to blogs or social networks, etc. In this context, prosumer figure rises up as a listener consumer and content producer at once (Toffler 1980: 275).

The multimedia nature of the web allows to push the limits established between the radio and its listeners. Webradio producers and consumers are not longer separated roles, and interact with new rules (Jenkins, 2006: 28; Moreno, Martínez-Costa & Amoedo, 2009: 121-122). A relation marked by the fact that, as Moare stressed (in Buffarah Junior, 2004: 6) there is no place on the net for passive recipients. "The listener is not the only target audience: the user networks, in general, is also the focus of content producers. The radio experience at that time, new concepts and gain time previously inaccessible devices "(Ahmed, 2003:11).

The concept of community of listeners requires a redefinition over the webradio field that, beyond the limits of spacial or temporal nature, is characterized by their interests or lifestyles (Evans & Smethers, 2001).

Broadcasters should take an active role in establishing new relationships with listeners / users beyond the strictly nature of sound (Evans & Smether, 2001). "Space is opening up for introducing the figure of the moderator (...) [That] should know how to feed a close relation between the radio and it(s) social network(s) in the Net (Vieira, Cardoso & Medonça, 2010: 25).

This new potential of Internet radio enables its use in a community college with multiple objectives. From a strictly educational perspective, webradios, as platforms for cultural and educational outreach, favour the creation and consolidation of virtual learning communities (Teixeira & Da Silva, 2009: 5).

Moreover, the incorporation of web radio broadcasting in the university area promotes connection to the new students generation, the "digital natives" (Prensky, 2001). Students are configured as the primary audience / users of Internet radio and other different services, especially social networks (Rose & Lenski, 2007; Baker, 2010).

The characteristics of this digital natives group can be considered convergent with the web broadcasting potentiality: "nomadism, individualism, customization and personalization, exhibition and voyeurism, public and private space, memory of the generation on demand and a young profile in transformation" (Rodrigues da Cunha, 2010: 182). This convergence should not be dismissed on college radio.

Methodology

To accomplish the aim of assessing the perceptions that Aveiro University members (from now on AU) have about webradio potential for academic community cohesion, an approach to its main audiences has been carried out: students and professors. An approach that adopted different samples, analysis tool and methodology. The selection of both convenience samples was done according to different criteria.

Students

According to Rose and Lenski (2007) and Baker (2010) students are configured as the primary recipient of a university webradio. This is a circumstance of special interest from the point of view of webradios potential for university community cohesion.

A test sample of 78 individuals belonging to three different groups of students in the UA was chosen: communication graduate students (masters and doctorates), students coursing other subjects (undergraduate and graduate) and foreign students-researchers in various scientific areas.

The first group of 45 graduate students in communication was selected on the assumption that, by their proximity to the communication field, they would present an active consumption of media as well as hold an interesting perspective on the possible contents of this web radio (which could be incorporated later in research).

The selection of the second group of 18 undergraduate and graduate in other scientific areas was due to the need for a sample of students from the AU whose media consumption, and ideas regarding the potential of an university webradio, would not be influenced by their proximity to the field. This sample could offer a different perspective from communication students.

The third group consisted on 15 foreign students-researchers (all of them users of the residence of the UA) as a representation of the relevance from this population in Aveiro university community.

These three groups of students have in common their status as active users of social networks (one or more). Indeed, 89% were connected at least once this week and 68% interact in social networks every day.

This volume of hits in the sample reveals a prevailing culture of networks that could be transferred to the university community realm. Transfer that would enable the establishment of horizontal links (between equals), vertical (students-professors) and even of diagonal type (with other audiences AU) encouraging the university community cohesion.

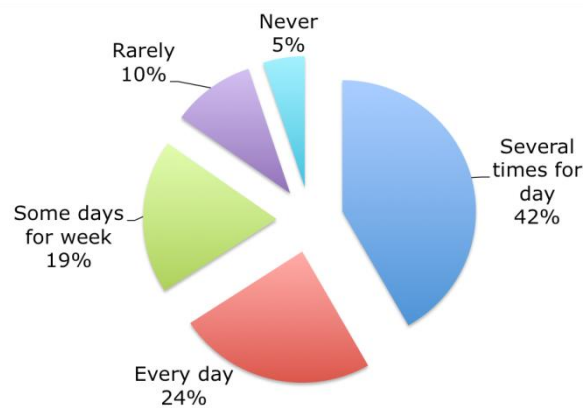


Figure 1. Frequency of use of social networks among students in the sample

The questionnaire was chosen as the tool to understand the precepts that students have about the potential of webradios for the university community. Data was collected quantitatively and qualitatively through different types of questions (depending on the type of response: open, closed, multiple choice, yes or no, Likert scale or hierarchy scale).

The last part of the questionnaire focused on students preferences and perceptions about webradios and their ability to establish relationships with other community members, to strengthen the academic community and to foster a sense of belonging. It also included other issues, regarding the use of social media, as other tools of web 2.0, and the interest in participating in a possible college radio. In order to validate the questionnaire, a control group of five individuals (belonging to the population under study) was used, which allowed the improvement of the formulation of some questions, as well as the overall coherence and organization of this data collection tool.

Professors

Professors are the other main public from college radio and, for this reason, it would be interesting to learn about their perception about college radio possibilities to strengthen of the academic community. Their inclusion

in the research as a another sample could offer a richer vision of students answers about college radio and its characteristics.

To evaluate the perceptions of professors about the potential of a college radio platform on the web for community cohesion, a convenience sample of five professors from AU Communication & Art Department was selected. This selection is based on the assumption that, given their expertise, these professors would present a broad knowledge of new media and its possibilities, as well as offers a critical perspective of them.

In this sense, to get as much information as possible about the idea that professors have over the university webradios, in-depth interview was chosen as a research tool.

An interview of 20 minutes was structured around three blocks of questions: their perception of web radio as a casual user, their perception of the possibilities of this platform for the university community in general, and their perception of potentials that this webradio could provide for their specific teaching. The contributions made by professors during the course of these interviews were recorded in audio format and revised. This review allowed to draw ideas for the next phase of this research.

Main results

The work developed allowed us to deepen into the precepts that, both students and professors, have about the benefits of a webradio implementation for the Aveiro university community. These results were structured in two blocks according to the sample and methodological differences.

Students

Surveyed students were particularly receptive to a webradio creation in the context of the Aveiro academy community. 84% of students considered interesting the implementation of the AU webradio and 71% even foresees the possibility that this platform could become their favourite station.

However, students are not so sure that this platform is a good way to establish links between the different audiences of university webradio.

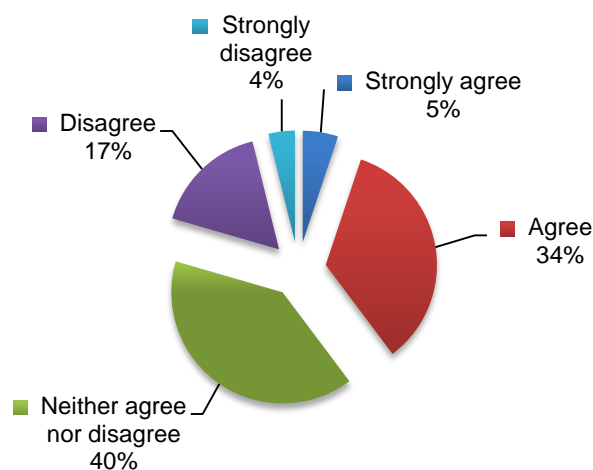


Figure 2. University webradio platform interaction is a good form to meet people

As shown in the chart above (Figure 2), although a relevant percentage of AU students considers positive the webradio interaction for meeting and establishing relationships with others (a total of 39%), most of the respondents believe that this platform is not necessarily a place to meet people, but do not dismiss it (40%).

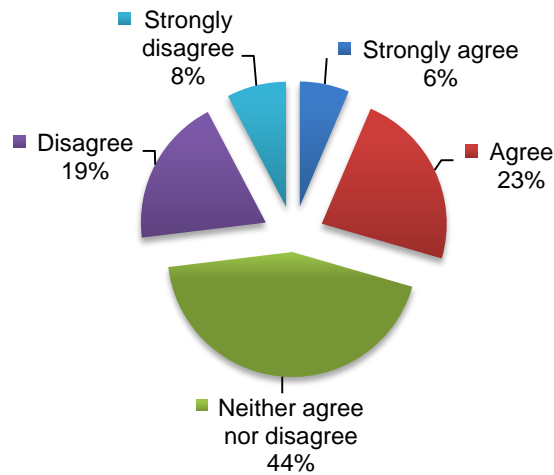


Figure 3. University webradio platform interaction is a good form to establish close relationships between university mates

Regarding to the possibility of webradio to strengthen relations between university colleagues, the percentage of students who consider that the platform may be interesting for establishing these links between people of the same course / subject decreases by 29% (6% is strongly agree and 23% somehow agree).

In this case, although the majority of individuals surveyed were indifferent to the proposition that a university webradio may be a good way to establish closer relationships between partners (44%), it should be noted an increase in the number students who dismiss this possibility (27%). This increase reflects a balance between those who advocate the potential of university webradios to establish relationships with peers and those who seem critics.

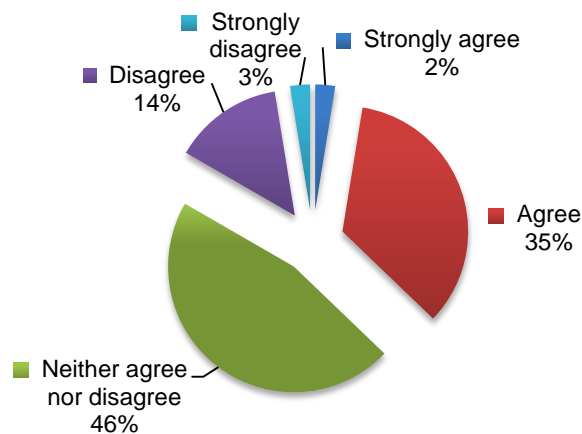


Figure 4. University webradio platform interaction is a good form to establish relationships with professors

The students concept about the webradio platforms potential to meet people or to promote a closer relationship with classmates is a reflection of their use of social networks. So the fact of coursing the same degree, course or courses, does not imply the need for online links.

A completely different situation is reflected in relationships with professors. The number of students who consider that college radio platforms allow students and professors to establish relationships increased to 37%, and 46% do not rule out this possibility.

The possibility to establish such relationships between two different audiences from the university sphere allows to foresee the perception of university webradios as a cohesiveness element for this kind of community (Figure 5).

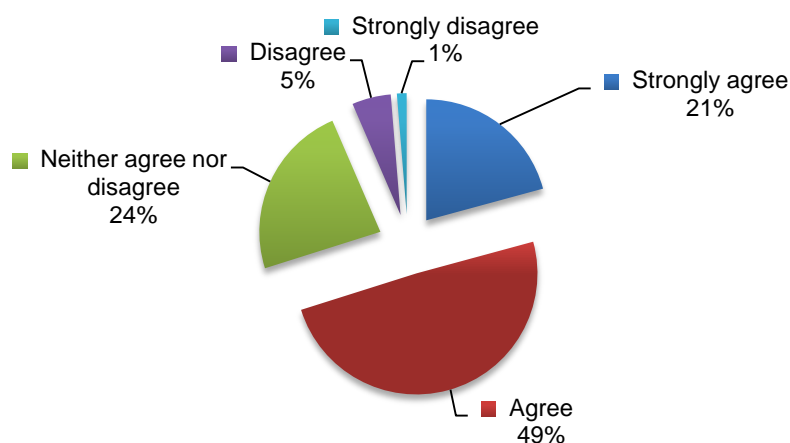


Figure 5. University webradio can promote university community cohesion

Although most of the students do not totally agree with the creation a webradio platform to foster interpersonal interaction among peers or among professors, this trend is opposite when they are asked about its chances for community cohesion.

70% of students consider that the creation of a webradio on the AU would be a support for community cohesion, encouraging the establishment of ties between members of the community and groups involved. A circumstance that is only contested by 6% of individuals surveyed.

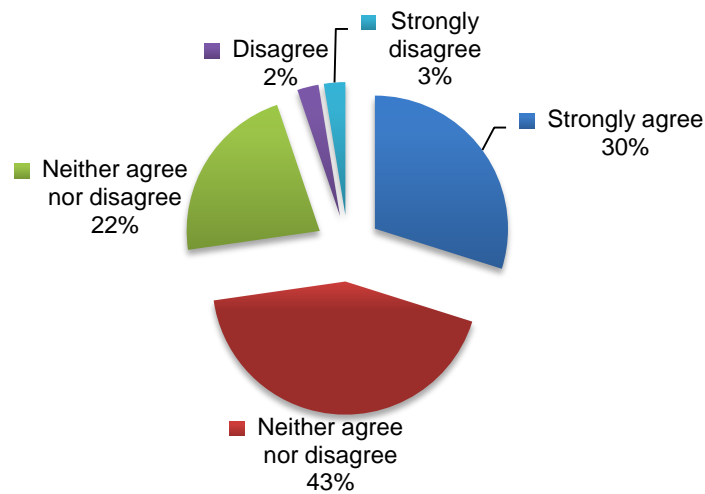


Figure 6. University webradio can promote the feeling of university community membership

The same happens with the feeling of belonging. Most students think that the creation of the AU webradio increases the identification of academic community members with the university.

Thus, 73% of respondents said that the launch of a platform with these features would help to promote pride of belonging. A similar percentage of those individuals also raises the possibility that this webradio become their favourite station. The sum of these realities would foster a community of loyal listeners that would still remain at the basis of a constant feedback process: the fact that the radio becomes a favourite station favours an increase of the pride of belonging, which in turn brings more listeners to the radio, etc.

However, despite their consideration of the university webradio for the cohesion of the academic community and of its high consumption of social networks, only few students would incorporate them into a platform of university webradio. Only a third of the sample (37 individuals) thinks that it would be interesting to include a link to the social networks.

Professors

Likewise students, professors interviewed considered interesting the implementation a webradio university in Aveiro academic community.

This interest was justified by the need to give visibility to the activities of the university and to the type of work done by its researchers. Visibility of internal type, as a channel to support the dissemination of daily activities beyond the university web (with low reading among students), and external, to engage a broader community in the events taking place in the academic institution.

Regarding the role of this webradio for the university community cohesion, all professors interviewed defended its value for the creation of a sense of belonging. In fact, for them, any new form of connection between the various groups of the university improves community cohesion. A connection powered in webradio by pride of belonging.

This pride of belonging is based, as targeted by professors interviewed in:

- ✓ Providing the community with a new channel that gives information about the events developed in the framework of the university quickly and efficiently. Professors indicated that, despite the many events held at the UA, there is some opacity of information. Any initiative that promotes the flow of information is optimal to increase this sense of belonging.

✓ Informing society about research, experience or other events taking place in the AU or in collaboration with it. The disclosure of the activities carried out in the university not only contributes to the creation, or enhancement, of brand image of the AU, but also increases the pride of belonging of its members. In this sense, one of the professors interviewed referred to a television program of the AU which, despite the early morning broadcast, contributed to the identification of members of the community with the university.

✓ Fostering collaboration between community members in developing content for this radio. This radio manager should seek tools to review, create content, collaborate on the development of the grid etc. The fact that students have a channel to whose contents they could collaborate is an element of interest for an identification with the institution. "I am an official channel of the university and I contributed to it". Similar situation occurs when the voices of leaders are familiar.

Also, these professors believe that social networks are an essential element to make horizontal and vertical communication easy, and with it, to facilitate the cohesion of the university community. "It is inevitable that each program obtains feedback on social networks. Otherwise, any project is stillborn".

In short, professors defend the appropriateness of a webradio university for the academic community cohesion. In this defense, some respondents cited the RUM (University of Minho radio, Portugal) as an example of a station that encourages pride of belonging among members of the university community.

These professors based on webradio cohesive role of a university the possibility of establishing a medium to a large consumption by different audiences, sensitive to the tastes and interests of its members as well as a unique way of approaching what is happening in this community university.

In conclusion

The approach made about the perceptions that professors and students have of the potential of a university web radio platform, particularly from an educational perspective, has allowed the following conclusions:

Students and professors agree on the interest when considering the creation of a web radio platform in the area of the Aveiro university community, and even a majority of students (60%) foresee the possibility of this webradio becoming his/her preferred station.

Both groups believe that the radio platform on the web can be interesting for the cohesion of the academic community and foster a sense of belonging. But students do not give too much value to this platform as a place to meet people or engage in closer relationships between classmates.

Professors identified three issues which can build pride in belonging: to have a new channel of internal communication; the dissemination of University activities to the society and its recognition by the latter; and the involvement of different groups of the academic community in order to develop content for this radio.

When determining the type of social interaction tools that the webradio must configured, it is remarkable that, while professors consider a "must" to create a platform strongly connected to social networks, only one third of the students consider it appropriate.

In short, for students and professors, the implementation of a webradio university is an important element to foster the university community both unity and communication (a new channel of communication internal or external), by the participation in content production and with it, by the development of a sense of belonging. A feeling summed up in this sentence: "I am an official channel of the university and I have contributed to this".

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How 'New Technologies' impact Community Radio¹

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Abstract:

Community Radio, small-scale, not-for-profit broadcasting, is a recent addition to the airwaves of the United Kingdom. These new stations have emerged into a competitive broadcasting environment at a time of great technological change. New digital broadcasting platforms are beginning to become established in parallel with Internet and mobile phone network audio delivery mechanisms and, as a result, the future technical development of the medium as a whole is in something of a state of flux.

At the heart of Community Radio is a range of diverse linkages and interactions with members of individual target communities. Within such a diverse broadcasting sector, how has the uptake of so-called new media technologies developed, not just in terms of linear programme delivery, but also with respect to podcasting, "listen again" services and the provision of additional text and video-based content?

This paper summarises the degree of uptake of new media technologies by the Community Radio sector and examines some of the impacts that may result from their use, both concerning the consumption and the production of broadcast content. It concludes by suggesting how the future development of Community Radio broadcasting in the UK may be influenced by the gradual acceptance of such new delivery platforms and the opportunities that may arise from such acceptance.

Keywords: radio, community radio, technology

Introduction

Over recent years, the impact of Internet-based and other so-called 'new technologies' on Community Radio services has become increasingly important in a wide variety of ways stretching beyond the obvious provision of additional programme content delivery opportunities. However, the arrival of the various new technologies is also something of a double-edged sword, bringing threats as well as opportunities to the Community Radio sector around the world.

As the senior electronic medium, broadcast radio has a long history. Evolving over time, radio has expanded both in terms of the number of stations broadcast and the nature of such stations. In a European context, following an early experimental period, most jurisdictions established public service broadcasting as the foundation of their broadcast radio provision. Later, legislative and regulatory frameworks were adapted and PSB providers found themselves subject of commercial competition. More recently, European legislative and

¹ In part, this paper draws upon a forthcoming book chapter for the Palgrave Handbook of International Radio, edited by John Allen Hendricks of Stephen F. Austin State University Nacogdoches, Texas, USA. Some of the ideas were originally included in earlier papers prepared in 2009 for presentation at the 'Radio Content in the Digital Age' (ECREA) conference at the University of Limassol, Cyprus and for the IAMCR Conference in Mexico City.

regulatory frameworks have gradually begun to change again, this time to accommodate Community Radio, the increasing variety of broadcast radio services reflecting the growing diversity of the societies in which they are based.

At the same time, however, broadcast media infrastructure is also changing. Internally, the medium is adapting to the emergence of various digital radio broadcasting platforms, whilst externally, the effectiveness of so-called new media platforms is also creating opportunities and threats for broadcasters. The result of this combination of circumstances is that proponents of Community Radio seeking to establish and cement the sector as a robust and integral third-tier of radio broadcasting, are doing so in an atmosphere of regulatory and technological uncertainty and flux.

Alongside the development of platforms specifically designed for broadcasting purposes, new media technologies have also been impacting on the operation of broadcast radio. Not only do the Internet the mobile phone networks provide alternative platforms for the delivery of linear radio in real time, but they also provide opportunities for the delivery of radio which is directly linked to other types of media content, and which can include 'on-demand' elements that can be both time-shifted and non-linear, such as 'listen again' services and podcast programmes.

The Role of Community Radio

There are some underlying commonalities which define community radio, such as operation on a not for profit basis, a commitment to accountability and to the involvement of members of the target community in the operation and management of the service concerned. However, a key feature of the sector as a whole lies in its diversity, each station is inevitably "shaped by its environment and the distinct culture, history and reality of the community it serves" (Buckley *et al.*, 2008: 207). Put another way, there is no such thing as a typical community radio service.

Fundamentally, Community Radio services exist to serve defined communities, of place, or of interest. In the United Kingdom, the Community Radio licensing process is quite complex, see for example "The Community Radio Order, 2004 / 2010" (HMG, 2004 & 2010) and "Notes of Guidance for Community Radio Licence [sic] Applicants and Licensees (revised)" (Ofcom, 2010). Nevertheless, well over 200 such stations have been given permission to broadcast since full-time licensing commenced in 2004, and more are currently in the process of being licensed. As well as stations broadcasting to geographical communities, there are stations serving a variety of niche and specialist communities, including ethnic and religious minorities, children, retired people, military garrisons, universities and the arts. The precise make-up of the target communities concerned is defined in each station's application and then enshrined in what is known as a "Key Commitments" document, which forms part of each station's operational licensing requirements. This public document, which is made available on-line by the U.K. broadcasting regulator, Ofcom (the Office of Communications), commits each station to various on-air broadcasting requirements (hours of live output, broadcast languages, music genres, etc.); to the delivery of "Social Gain" (community benefits, such as training, education, outreach, etc.); and, to the provision of access and accountability.

To achieve the various social gain, access and accountability objectives effectively, Community Radio services require a high degree of integration with the membership of their target communities. Such integration takes time and effort to develop and sustain. In practical terms, effective and successful Community Radio services require underpinning structures and processes to help establish, sustain and broaden the range of linkages and opportunities for interaction with their target communities. The often "distanced" (both physically and metaphorically) and "top-down" approaches, all too often common within public service broadcasting, and especially prevalent within the commercial radio sector, are antithetic to the creation and strengthening of strong two-way linkages which are a fundamental prerequisite for community broadcasters. In the U.K. at least, the

requirement for such interaction is enshrined in legislation (HMG, 2004). This exists not only to promote the long-term provision of such linkages, but also to help ensure that the Community Radio sector remains distinctive from its public service and commercial radio counterparts through the provision of focused "additionality" (broadcast and other outputs that established forms of radio are either unwilling or unable to provide).

A Digital Dilemma?

Although the world of radio broadcasting is changing fast, the vast majority of Community Radio services still currently depend on analogue broadcast frequencies in order to deliver their programming to mass audiences in a cost effective manner. It is increasingly the case that other non-broadcast delivery methods, such as web-streaming and pod-casting, are also able to attract listeners. However, despite their ability to deliver both linear and non-linear content, as yet, such platforms can only be considered supplementary to the use of traditional broadcast technologies and they are certainly not yet universally available in the same way that content delivery via the analogue broadcasting domain has been for many years.

In parallel, the arrival of digital radio broadcasting, in all its various forms, has resulted in politicians and regulators attempting to drive forward a process of technological transition. European governments and regulators in particular are attempting to drive the gradual migration of large-scale services in particular from analogue (FM & AM) frequencies to digital radio alternatives such as DAB and DAB Plus. A key problem for the Community Radio sector is that the various proposals put forward by European policy makers, have tended to focus predominantly on the requirements of the commercial and PSB sectors, thereby leaving Community Radio broadcasters on the periphery with a variety of resultant problems and risks for the future.

Ask politicians or regulators about Community Radio and they won't always know what you are talking about. Ask the same people about PSB or commercial radio and not only will they know what you are talking about but, almost certainly, they will also have some pretty firm opinions on the subject, perhaps dictated by their political affiliations rather than by any deep interest and understanding of the specific issues involved! The comparatively limited profile of Community Radio is, in part, due to the sector's relatively small-scale (both numerically in terms of stations broadcasting, and in relation to the often deliberately limited geographical focus of such stations). However, it is also due to the fact that, in most jurisdictions, the sector is comparatively young and therefore inevitably lacking in terms of track-record. It is a simple fact that, in addition to requiring a great deal of effort, relationships with politicians, regulators, funding bodies and partner organisations take a considerable length of time to establish and solidify.

The historical tendency of European policy-makers to prioritise the requirements of larger PSB and commercial broadcasters is perhaps not surprising, given the far greater scale of these sectors in comparison to Community Radio broadcasting. The difficult for community broadcasters is that, in practice, this approach has resulted in the promotion of multiplex digital platforms, such as DAB, which are simply not designed to cater for smaller-scale local commercial and 'non-profit' Community Radio services, each with its own defined geographical coverage requirements. Furthermore the current existence of a variety of jurisdiction-specific approaches to the 'digital migration' of radio services in Europe creates uncertainty as to the eventual shape of the emerging technical and policy environment.

Such political and regulatory involvement in the promotion of digital radio broadcasting, is in complete contrast to the virtual lack of such engagement with the various emerging non-broadcast delivery methods for 'radio' programming content, using mobile phone networks and the Internet. Historically, the digitalisation discourse as it relates to radio broadcasting has typically been characterised by considerable optimism on the part of those developing the various systems involved. Encouraged by such optimism, and by the promise of additional broadcasting capacity, politicians and regulators in many jurisdictions have driven forward the introduction of new transmission platforms. However, despite such official support, broadcasters and the public

tend to remain somewhat wary of investing in the technology and conversely remain largely supportive of traditional FM broadcasting in particular. In short, the problem with digital radio platforms is that they offer too few advantages over the older, established, analogue technologies. In the eyes of the general public, the peripheral advantages offered, including additional channel capacity and enhanced radio-text etc., are more than outweighed by the disadvantages, which include the cost of replacement receivers, patchy reception and typical received audio quality which is not perceptibly better than that which is achieved via existing FM stereo broadcasts.

With various digital transmission platforms now either operational or nearing launch, it remains impossible to predict which option (or options) will eventually emerge as the accepted standards in the longer term. This process of change is being further complicated by the increasing impacts of other, non-broadcast, audio delivery platforms. However, what is clear is that some digital radio broadcasting platforms are more flexible than others and that some are best suited only to particular types of radio broadcasting. As they exist today, none of the digital broadcast radio platforms currently operating are able to provide a completely compatible alternative to analogue radio broadcasting in all its various forms.

Despite pressure for the 'digital migration' of many radio services, given the ubiquitous and flexible nature of FM broadcasting, it also seems likely that, in the majority of jurisdictions at least, its continued use for broadcasting remains secure for the foreseeable future. The 'opportunity cost' associated with continuing to use Band II (FM) for small-scale broadcasting services, even after larger stations have moved to alternative platforms, is minimal because the frequencies involved have wavelengths which make their use for telecommunications services less than ideal. In addition, as both the AM and FM bands are internationally allocated for broadcasting (and are likely to remain so for many years to come), there are limits as to what other uses they may be put to. Recent suggestions by Ed Richards, the Chief Executive of Ofcom, that Band II could be used for so-called 'white-space' devices (Ofcom, 2011) may have some validity in the medium term, but, even if this proves to be the case, such devices could be interleaved to operate alongside traditional analogue broadcasting transmitters.

Although the advent of digital radio transmission platforms offers at least the potential to help reduce the imbalance between supply and demand in terms of broadcast frequency availability, such developments certainly do not herald a complete end to frequency scarcity. Inevitably therefore, competition for access to broadcasting spectrum rights will remain a barrier to entry for the foreseeable future and for many years to come. Assuming an ongoing requirement for access to the airwaves, the question for Community Radio broadcasters is how best can they obtain usage rights to a higher percentage of total available radio-broadcasting frequencies than is presently the case? If the sector is to be successful in such endeavours, it needs to continue to build up its circle of friends. It will need to convince politicians and regulators of the strength of its case, something which may be easier said than done in the context of the strong, well organised lobbying capacity available to competing PSB and commercial operators.

In part because of such frequency scarcity issues, but also because of the various additional advantages which such technologies offer. Community Radio has been quick to embrace a variety of Internet-based and mobile phone network technologies in order to enhance the delivery of their various services. However, when it comes to the alternative of delivery of content via the Internet and other communications networks, the economic and operational models are somewhat different, for both broadcaster and listener alike. For the purposes of this paper, mobile phone networks can be considered a sub-set of Internet delivery, adding not only long-range wireless connectivity and the delivery of web-based and other applications to portable devices, but also providing their own specific additional facilities such as text and picture messaging. Modern digital mobile phone networks and their evolving successors (3G, 3G-LTE, WiMax, 4G, etc.) are capable of carrying increasing amounts of IP (Internet Protocol) based information, at data transfer rates, which, although slow compared to many parts of the fixed-line Internet, are, nevertheless, capable of delivering streamed audio and other types of data useful to both

broadcasters and their listeners. In light of such developments and as new forms of mobile devices, such as smart-phones and 3G connected net-books, laptops and the tablet form PC, become increasingly prevalent, the divide between the fixed line Internet and mobile telephony networks is becoming increasingly blurred.

Dealing with the broadcaster first, in some respects, the Internet provides additional opportunities that are, quite simply, beyond the capability of traditional broadcasting platforms. Starting with the basics, as well as providing a simple visual interface in the form of a web-site as a "shop-front" and signpost toward a station's traditional broadcast output, the Internet offers a variety of opportunities for interaction with members of a target community. E-mail is an obvious example, but, depending on the demographics of the target audience, social networking tools (such as Facebook & Twitter), as well as instant-messenger links direct to the studio may also be effective. More advanced station web-sites, based on content management systems (CMSs) such as Word-Press, Drupal and Joomla etc., provide opportunities for blogging, local news aggregation, photo galleries, etc. with some offering modules of specific relevance to radio broadcasters such as schedule listings and play-list management tools.

Staying with tools for broadcasters themselves, a further advantage of the Internet is its ability to deliver streams of a station's live output. In other words, a copy of the station's traditional broadcast output can be delivered in real-time to listeners who might be outside the coverage (service) area of the station's AM or FM transmissions, or who might, for example, prefer to access such a stream while they work at an office computer terminal or from a laptop.

Beyond simply streaming a duplicate of existing real-time output, the Internet also offers opportunities to reuse such content in non-linear forms such as "listen-again" type services and podcasts. "Listen-again" services provide for time-shifted streaming of previously broadcast content, as well as an ability to offer additional specialist streams in parallel with primary broadcast output, for example in conjunction with specific events or campaigns. Because of the streaming nature of such services, their consumption requires that each listener accessing them has ongoing connectivity to the Internet for the duration of listening. Such "listen-again" content will typically have a relatively short shelf-life, remaining available for a few days or weeks from the date of original broadcast.

Most flexible in terms of options for its consumption is the podcast. Those provided by radio broadcasters can be regarded as being similar to those from other sources, although, because of their expertise and experience in the sound medium, podcasts produced by radio professionals often have higher than average production values. The main advantage of the podcast over streaming is that it frees the user from the need for a constant connection to the Internet. Typically, in a matter of a few seconds these can be downloaded to a computer, MP3 player or mobile phone for later consumption and this process can be automated such that series programming content is not missed by accident. Once downloaded, not only can they be listened to at any time, but also, they can then be easily archived and stored indefinitely by the user, for repeated listening at a later date. Copyright issues aside, being typically provided in MP3 format, they can, at least in practical terms, also be copied for onward distribution to other potential listeners.

The key point regarding these Internet delivery options is that, to a greater or lesser extent, each provides additional flexibility in relation to the consumption of broadcast content. Not only are the temporal constraints of scheduling removed, but also, because content can be accessed outside the broadcast transmission service area of the station concerned, so too are geographical constraints on reception. Moreover, because, unlike traditional broadcasting, the Internet is fundamentally a bi-directional medium, it intrinsically enhances opportunities for interaction between broadcasters and their audiences generally, and specifically in relation to the focus of this paper, between Community Radio services and members of their target communities. With a little effort, community-based broadcasters can learn a great deal about their target community through a simple analysis of who is listening to what and where on-line. Whilst on-line consumption of content cannot be assumed to

duplicate that carried out via traditional broadcasting platforms, it can at least provide some useful qualitative data for programme makers and station management.

The Limits of New Technologies

Although the use of such non-broadcast platforms can provide broadcasters with additional flexibility, for a variety of reasons, they do not yet constitute a replacement for traditional broadcast platforms. To begin with, rather than being one-to-many broadcasting platforms, both the Internet (as currently constituted for audio content) and the mobile phone are primarily designed as one-to-one communications platforms. At present, mobile phone and mobile Internet platforms, lack universality and tend towards end-user cost models which discourage the consumption of large amounts of data. In addition, the take-up of such platforms can be lower in areas of relative socio-economic deprivation, which are often the focus of Community Radio services. However, it is quite clear that, as the carrying capacity of mobile phone networks expands and as improved methods of mobile Internet delivery, such as WiMax, are implemented, this situation will change for the better. In some jurisdictions "all-you-can-eat" data tariffs are already becoming available at a relatively reasonable cost (although connectivity and capacity both remain potential stumbling blocks to reliable portable operation). Despite various limitations, convergence between broadcasting and communications platforms is already happening and, as a result, after a long period of relative inertia, radio broadcasting is currently being exposed to the challenges of a period of considerable ongoing change.

Despite its various advantages and benefits for broadcasters, whatever else it may be, the Internet is most definitely not a broadcast medium, that is to say, it is not a one-to-many medium, free at the point of consumption. In particular, when it comes to "broadcasting" via the Internet, in the form of streaming live or "listen again" audio content, the economic model is immediately very different. On the plus side, from a broadcaster's perspective, there is no cost implication for increased range and the resultant benefit for listeners is the availability of additional services. At least in technical terms, once a content stream has been made available, where in the world it is consumed becomes largely irrelevant (although, for some forms of content at least, there may be financial implications related to copyright issues). While it may be technically possible for individual jurisdictions to block or otherwise make unavailable specific types of content or particular web addresses, such techniques are rarely applied to anything other than overtly sexually explicit materials and, in some more authoritarian regimes, particular types of political content.

The benefits of increased geographical reach, do however come at a price. Broadcasters using the Internet are faced with a marginal cost per each additional listener to the data-stream concerned. In other words, because costs to the broadcaster are directly related to the total amount of data being delivered by it, the greater the average number of listeners, and the longer they listen, the greater the total cost to the broadcaster. More specifically, it is the concurrent total number of listeners which can have the greatest impact upon streaming costs. Here it is the cost of overall capacity provision rather than the actual cost of data delivery which is the issue. The greater the potential number of concurrent streams that provision is made for, the greater the cost to the broadcaster. Thus, in a financial sense at least, popular Internet broadcasters really can become victims of their own success!

The issue of limitations within the network structure and the transmission protocols of the Internet and other IP-based networks is beyond the scope of this paper. However, it is worth noting that although there are ways to ameliorate the marginal cost per additional listener (for example though the use of multi-cast protocols where available, or by employing torrent-like streams), for smaller broadcasters, and for reasons of economies of scale, such approaches are likely to be impractical, or at best yield only marginally beneficial economic gains.

A potential problem for small-scale broadcasters in some jurisdictions is the issue of net-neutrality. In those countries where telecommunications companies and Internet service providers have been allowed to give

priority to some forms of data traffic over others, through “traffic shaping” and other technical measures, there is a risk of reduced streaming and downloading speeds for content providers such as Community Radio operators, which cannot afford to pay extra to ensure their content is in the fast-lane of the information super-highway. In areas where network infrastructure is well-developed, this issue may not be too serious a problem, as even high quality audio streams occupy a relatively small amount of bandwidth when compared to either standard or high definition video streams. However, where network capacity is limited, Community Radio services could find their streams disrupted by parallel demand for priority traffic.

A further issue confronting broadcasters when using the Internet as a delivery platform is its lack of universality when compared to traditional broadcasting. To begin with, the required broad-band Internet connection is by no means universal, especially within less economically prosperous communities. Even where a broad-band connection is present, listening to audio streams on a computer is one thing, but delivering that stream to elsewhere in the home or office is quite another. Wi-fi enabled Internet radio receivers, which combine the ability to receive traditional FM and AM broadcasts as well as streaming services, do exist, but are not straightforward to set up and can be limited to a “walled garden” of Internet services which may not include the streams from specific Community Radio stations. Even more difficult is the delivery of live streaming content to mobile and portable devices. Although it is theoretically possible to receive such material via 3G and other high-capacity mobile phone data networks, at present such networks lack robust capacity, and are particularly bad at delivering linear content to a device on the move.

Extrapolating from recent history, there seems very little doubt that the capacity of fixed and mobile networks will continue to increase and that, conversely, the associated costs of such distribution are likely to decrease. However, for the present, although the Internet is already expanding the delivery options for Community Radio services, specifically in relation to streamed audio many of the theoretical advantages it offers are currently somewhat hampered by technical and capacity network infrastructure limitations and, for mobile users, the similar content capacity limitations found in associated mobile phone networks.

Conclusions

Digital delivery methods are already impacting on the activities of Community Radio broadcasters, but not in the way that might have been supposed a decade or so ago. In the United Kingdom at least, the sector's interest in taking up digital radio broadcasting opportunities has been almost non-existent, but, conversely, the vast majority of community stations have already embraced considerable use of web-based digital delivery opportunities to supplement their traditional analogue broadcasting output.

On the broadcast radio front, recognising the various benefits of FM, the community radio sector is lobbying for greater access to Band II spectrum, if and when other PSB and commercial broadcasters are persuaded to give up simulcasting and switch their broadcasting output to digital platforms. The UK broadcast regulator, Ofcom has long since accepted that an increase in Community Radio provision on FM could be one outcome of any move of larger services to alternative digital platforms, such as DAB:

In time, it is possible that changes such as an end to simulcasting of existing radio services on analogue and digital platforms could free-up spectrum that will create more space for new community radio stations. (Ofcom, 2005: 28)

There is however an element of risk associated with such an approach to the long-term expansion of Community Radio provision. Specifically, there remains no guarantee that digital migration will be implemented and without it access to additional FM spectrum cannot be provided. On the other hand, should digital migration be achieved for the majority of radio stations, then community broadcasters remaining on FM could find themselves in what has by then become an 'analogue backwater' which the majority of potential listeners are no longer inclined to explore.

Nevertheless, given the largely inappropriate nature of existing operational digital radio broadcasting platforms for community radio services, it is difficult to envisage how else the sector might currently approach this issue. That said, the current limitations of digital radio broadcasting are, to a large extent, technology specific and emerging second generation platforms, such as Digital Radio Mondiale (DRM) and the more advanced DRM Plus standard, have at least the potential to be more relevant to the needs of community broadcasters, assuming that they do eventually become an integral part of the radio broadcasting landscape.

In practical terms, the potential emergence of digital radio platforms suitable for use by independent small-scale remains, at best, some years off. Whilst it would be prudent for community broadcasters not to dismiss the future potential of such systems, continuing to exploit technologies which provide immediate benefits has to remain the priority. The approach of utilising web-based digital delivery methods, accessible through computers and mobile devices, is already providing increased flexibility and the ability to reach out to community diasporas which are not within the coverage of traditional analogue broadcasts.

The Internet and associated new technologies certainly offer some clear benefits for both Community Radio broadcasters and for members of their target communities. For Community Radio, in addition to opportunities for increased operational efficiency and flexibility, the fundamental impacts of the various developments set out in this paper are three-fold. To begin with, access to, non-broadcast communication networks provides various opportunities for the delivery of additional non-linear and time-shifted content, making specific "appointment to listen" content more conveniently available. In addition, such networks provide numerous opportunities for interaction, which traditional broadcast platforms simply cannot provide. Finally, and perhaps more profoundly, by removing the limitations of broadcast coverage, not only are individual listeners able to access a wider range of content, but also, as a result, the very nature of target communities is altered. For stations which serve a specific "community of place" this means that the relevant diaspora can now gain access to their content. For stations serving a "community of interest," such a specialist minority interest music genre, the classic "long-tail" characteristic of the Internet means that they have an opportunity to build a larger total audience than would otherwise be possible.

However, new technologies also have their limits, lacking the universality of traditional broadcast platforms and reaching only those who are sufficiently motivated, resourced and media literate enough to engage with the various opportunities available through them. As yet therefore, and despite all their obvious additional benefits, they cannot be considered as replacement technologies for traditional radio broadcasting. That said, given the various opportunities for enhanced interactivity and flexibility which they offer, and given the underlying importance of such interactivity, it is perhaps not surprising that many Community Radio services have already embraced such technologies as part of their wider approach to building relationships with their target communities. As Internet and related technologies develop further and as their acceptance increases, there is no doubt that Community Radio services will increasingly consider them to be an integral part of their wider "broadcasting" toolkit. However, for the foreseeable future at least, traditional analogue broadcasting will continue to be unique in its ability to provide locally focused, universal availability at minimal cost to both Community Radio broadcasters and listeners alike.

Community radio broadcasters are typically, both by nature and necessity, pragmatists, seeking to serve their target communities in the most effective and cost effective ways possible. Digital radio platforms may not be suitable today and whilst they may just become so in future, by that time it may well be the case that other non-broadcast solutions will have begun to dominate what today we call radio. Alternatively, FM (Band II) radio spectrum may gradually be digitised, using a system such as DRM Plus, which should be more appropriate for small scale Community Radio Services than current generation digital platforms such as DAB.

In fact, the most likely future for Community Radio is probably an increasingly hybrid model combining, analogue radio and digital radio platforms with Internet and mobile phone network delivery systems. Given the

pragmatic nature of community-based broadcasters it is likely that individual Community Radio services will take a nuanced approach to the delivery of their output, selecting appropriate technologies, on a case by case basis, according to their specific coverage and content delivery requirements. However, as the technologies used to deliver Community Radio outputs develop over the coming years, already there is no doubt that the days of single platform analogue broadcasting have effectively gone forever.

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Spanish talk Radio Stations on Twitter: *Still* reluctant to embrace its potential

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Abstract:

In less than 5 years, Twitter has become one of the most popular services on the so-called Web 2.0, an extraordinary tool with a huge journalistic potential that should not be underrated. However, according to the results of a study carried out in September 2010 (Herrera and Requejo, 2010), the five major Spanish talk radio stations used this 2.0 tool with a mentality that, in many aspects, still remained 1.0. More than 4 months later, we conduct a new content analysis to check if the situation remains the same, or if meaningful changes have been made. In this new analysis, we study the tweets posted by the official accounts of these stations over a 2-week period, January 28 - February 10, 2011. The outcomes show that the stations are still reluctant to embrace Twitter's full potential.

Keywords: Twitter, Spain, radio, uses

Introduction

In less than 5 years, Twitter has become one of the most popular services on the so-called Web 2.0. Its versatility can be explained in part by adding up the advantages of previous forms of communication:

"Twitter shares some similarities with other forms of communication. Like the telephone, it facilitates a real-time exchange of information. Like instant messaging, the information is sent in short bursts. But it extends the affordances of previous modes of communication by combining these features in both a one-to-many and many-to-many framework that is public, archived and searchable. Twitter allows a large number of users to communicate with each other simultaneously in real-time, based on an asymmetrical relationship between friends and followers. The messages from social streams of connected data provide value both individually and in aggregate" (Hermida, 2010a).

Such versatility has been noted by many disciplines wanting to take advantage of this new system of communication. After an initial phase of skepticism and observation, more and more media outlets and journalists are joining Twitter. The aim of this paper is to analyze how major Spanish talk radio stations are making use of this service. Do they use it to provide information or to express opinions? Do they use it to correct misinformation, or to gather opinions from their followers? To what extent do they talk with their audiences? Do they ask for audience participation? Do the stations link to their websites, blogs, or other websites apart from their own? Do they use hashtags? These are some of the questions we attempt to answer in this paper. First, we provide a brief introduction on Twitter as a Web 2.0 application.

Twitter as a 2.0 application

Twitter is a microblogging service that allows users to send and read short texts, called "tweets," with a maximum length of 140 characters. These messages can be sent from the Twitter site, mobile phones, instant messaging programs, or even from third-party applications like TweetDeck, Twidroid, Twiterrific, HootSuite, Tweetie, Twinckle, Tweetboard and Nanvú, or social networks like Facebook, LinkedIn and Google+. Updates are shown on the user profile page, and are also immediately sent to other users who have chosen to receive them. For this reason, Twitter is also a major component of social networking sites.

In 2006, Twitter was created in California by Jack Dorsey, Biz Stone and Evan Williams. Since its inception, its popularity has increased rapidly, due not only to its advanced handling capabilities for reporting what is happening in real time, but also for its utility in sharing interesting material.

Companies and institutions can also use Twitter in diverse ways. Therefore, experts recommend that users take their time to define and understand the objectives of the service in order to develop a successful strategy. This exercise seems essential for choosing what content to tweet and for using the application in an optimal way.

Why Twitter matters for news organizations

For news organizations, several scholars (e.g., Carr, 2010; Dowling, 2011; Wadhwa, 2010) state that Twitter has become an essential tool that must be taken seriously. Among several different proposals, one by Rusbridger (2010), editor in chief of *The Guardian*, seems particularly appropriate because it is complete and concise. In his paper, entitled "Why Twitter matters for media organizations" he points out that Twitter matters because:

- 1) It is an amazing form of distribution;
- 2) It is where things happen first;
- 3) As a search engine, it rivals Google;
- 4) It is a formidable aggregation tool;
- 5) It is a great reporting tool;
- 6) It is a fantastic form of marketing;
- 7) It is a series of common conversations;
- 8) It is more diverse;
- 9) It changes the tone of writing;
- 10) It is a level playing field;
- 11) It has different news values;
- 12) It has a long attention span;
- 13) It creates communities;
- 14) It changes notions of authority; and
- 15) It is an agent of change.

However, the only way media can embrace its true potential is to avoid the same strategies that stations used in the 1.0 world and realize that they are facing a brand new paradigm requiring a new culture with different codes. Despite diverse proposals for media best practices on Twitter (Harbison, 2010; Ingram, 2011; Kanalley, 2009a, 2009b; Orihuela, 2009, 2010, 2011; Posetti, 2009; Sawyer, 2011; Vargas, 2010a, 2010b) the distinction between good *content* practices and those related to *form* are useful for the purposes of this paper.

Content practices are related to message intentions. At this point, several scholars stress that the media should not care as much¹ about providing information and self-promotion. Rather, they should use this new service to foster what Americans call community engagement: "Community engagement = News orgs make top

¹ See Hunt (2011) for a review of general bad practices on Twitter. As for practices that media should avoid on this platform, Vargas (2011) turns out to be very enlightening.

priority to listen, to join, lead and enable conversation to elevate journalism"² (Buttry, 2011). Based on Mayer's (2011) proposal, this journalistic obligation has three modalities: (a) community outreach³, (b) conversation⁴, and (c) collaboration⁵.

From a more concrete perspective, Twitter provides many opportunities for the media to create community, by posing questions to their followers, asking them for information, asking them to submit interview questions, replying to them⁶, retweeting, mentioning users not necessarily linked to the medium to acknowledge their contributions⁷, and doing a "Follow Friday" for the most enthusiastic followers and those who add greater value.

As for best form practices, scholars stress the need to: make use of a human voice⁸, link to external content so that their own contributions can be enriched⁹, provide information in an appealing way, conduct surveys among their followers, use hashtags in an effective and creative way, link to other networks where the medium might have a profile, and add multimedia value to the updates through links to pictures, videos, audio files or graphs.

Methodology

Despite these best practices, sometimes this 2.0 tool is used with a 1.0 mentality. This was one of the main conclusions we drew at the end of 2010, when we conducted a content analysis of the tweets posted by the five main Spanish talk radio stations (Herrera and Requejo, 2010). In our analysis, we coded updates posted by these stations over a 1-week period, September 6 -12, 2010. During this period, the stations Cadena SER, Cadena Cope, Radio 1, Onda Cero and Punto Radio posted a total of 358 tweets through their official Twitter accounts. The results showed that 65.9% of the updates were intended to provide information, 28.2% were for self-promotion and an additional 3.6% were intended to gather opinions from their followers. Tweets were used for almost no other purposes.

² In his proposal, Buttry (2011) describes each of the key concepts of his definition. In his description of conversation, he states: "Lecturing and one-way reporting may have their place, but engagement is a multi-directional conversation, where you listen to people, pass along their knowledge to others, ask thoughtful questions and provide thoughtful answers. Conversation is human and personal (sometimes fun, sometimes sad, sometimes angry, sometimes rejoicing). Conversation requires a friendly voice" (Buttry, 2011, p. x).

³ "Outreach includes efforts to share ourselves, our expertise and our content with our community. It involves: Taking the content to the audience, rather than hoping they'll find us. Identifying information needs, catering our products to meet them and distributing them in a way that makes sense. Being willing to participate in the community as individuals, building connections and personalizing our brand. Inviting the community to get to know our people and our processes. Enriching our community, sharing our own knowledge and supporting other community enrichment efforts" (Mayer, 2011, p. x).

⁴ "Being in conversation with our community means listening as well as talking, and adjusting what we do and cover based on what we hear. It involves: Hosting discussions in person and online on topics that matter to the community. Participating in conversations we're not hosting, both in person and online. Valuing how a continuing dialogue can make us better journalists and improves the journalism. Using web analytics to better understand what people are showing us they value in what we do, and basing at least some of our decisions about content and staff resources based on what we're seeing. Recognizing that journalism is a process, not just a product, and involving more voices in the process means more diverse journalism" (Mayer, 2011, p. x).

⁵ "Collaborating with our communities, the highest form of engagement, means we have a shared investment in and influence over our journalism. It involves: Soliciting and relying on user contributions. Soliciting and using user input about what we should cover and how we should allocate our resources. Valuing the role the users play in reacting to and sharing our content. Recognizing that we can accomplish things with the cooperation of the community that we could not do alone" (Mayer, 2011, p. x).

⁶ "Reply when you are spoken to: "If you don't respond when someone asks you a direct question or makes a point in reference to you, it's like ignoring someone who is standing right beside you and talking to you. That doesn't mean responding to every troll or flame" (Ingram, 2011, p. x).

⁷ "Re-tweet others: "Social media gets very boring if all you do is post links to your own things, or post your own thoughts. Lots of other people have interesting things to say - find some and re-tweet them. Maybe they will return the favour" (Ingram, 2011, p. x).

⁸ "If you remove the personal aspect, all you have is a glorified news release wire or RSS feed. The best way to make social media work is to allow reporters and editors to be themselves, to be human, and to engage with readers through Twitter and Facebook and comments and blogs. Is there a risk that someone might say something wrong? Of course there is. But without that human touch, there is no point in doing it at all" (Ingram, 2010, p. x). And on how journalists should use social media, Ingram advises: "Be human, but not too human: it's okay to show emotion — in fact, it's good, because it shows that you are human, and people relate to other people. It's called social media for a reason. But be the best version of yourself" (Ingram, 2011, p. x).

⁹ "Link to others (...) social media is a tremendous tool for finding interesting content, and you should share it when you find it, not just keep it to yourself. If you do this, others are more likely to share your links when you post them" (Ingram, 2011, p. x).

In this context, the purpose of this paper is to conduct a new content analysis to see if 4 months later, the situation remains the same or if important changes can be observed. Have the five major Spanish talk radio stations modified their use of Twitter in a more creative way? In order to obtain a larger representation, on this occasion we chose 2 weeks, January 28 - February, 10, 2011. During this period, the stations posted a total of 342 tweets, which were not uniformly distributed: Cadena Cope posted 132; Cadena SER posted 116; Radio 1 (RNE) posted 46; Onda Cero posted 41; and Punto Radio posted just 7 tweets, an average of less than one tweet every other day.

Before conducting the analysis, we assumed the following two starting hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1. The five main Spanish talk radio stations underutilize the potential of Twitter, since they only use this service to provide information and for self-promotion. However, they hardly interact or engage with their followers.

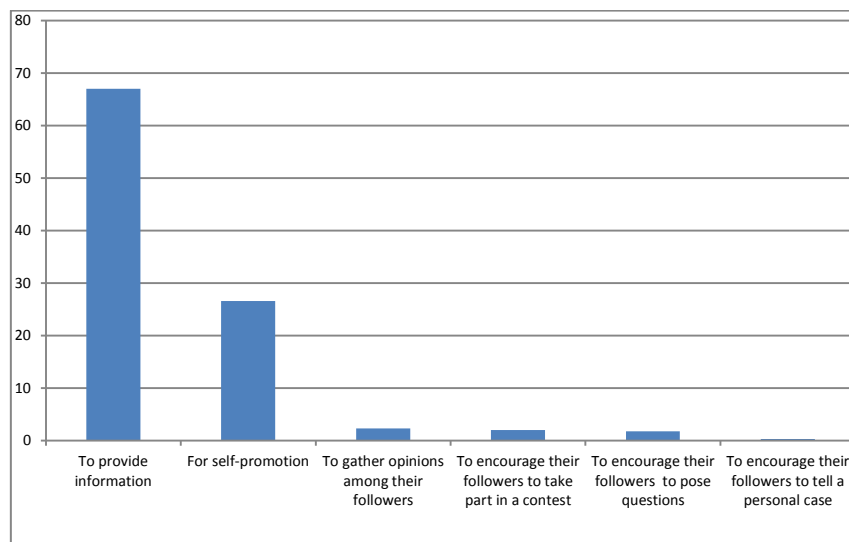
Hypothesis 2. As a result, the formal use of Twitter also remains very basic with little use of retweets, external mentions, links to external content, blogs, audios, videos, multimedia material or hashtags.

After encoding the 342 tweets included in the sample, we exported the data to SPSS (17.0) to obtain frequencies and cross-tabulations. Here are the results.

Results

Providing information: Twitter's main purpose for Spanish talk radio stations

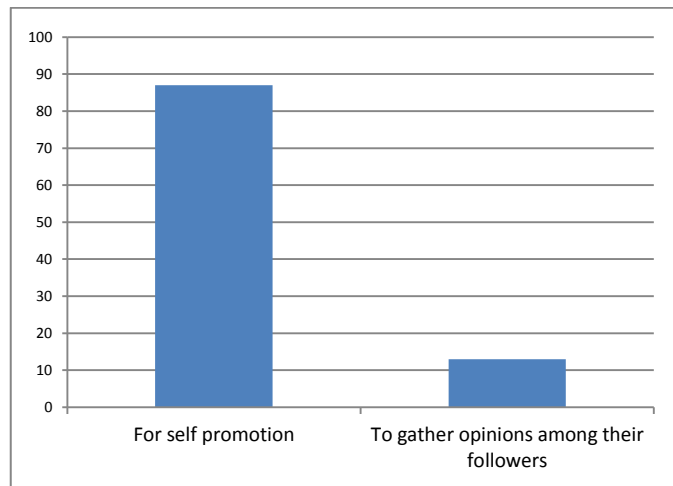
Providing information was the aim of 67% of the updates, while 26.6% had a promotional purpose. Other uses were rather insignificant. Just 2.3% of the messages asked for follower opinions, 2.0% asked followers to take part in a contest, 1.8% asked for interview question submissions, and 0.3% told personal stories. Data are shown in the following histogram:



Histogram 1: Main purpose of the messages

Little creativity in the way Radio 1 used Twitter

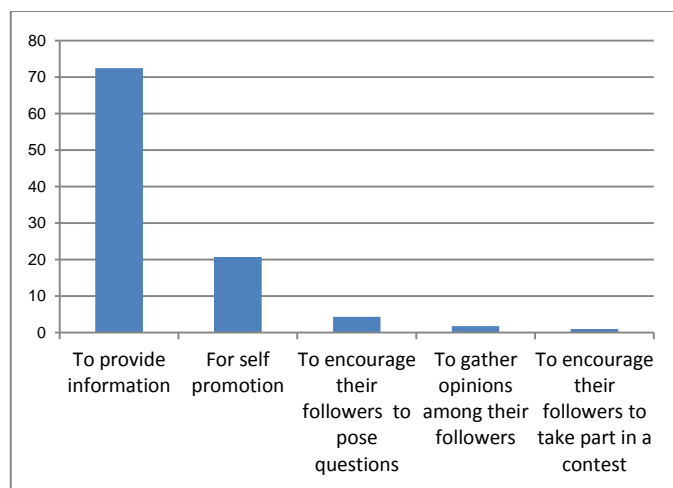
When considering the different uses of Twitter by stations, we observed that Radio 1 exhibited very restricted utilization. Tweets were used mainly for self-promotion (87%) and, to a lesser extent, to gather opinions from followers (13%).



Histogram 2: How Radio 1 used Twitter

Main purpose for Cadena SER: Providing information

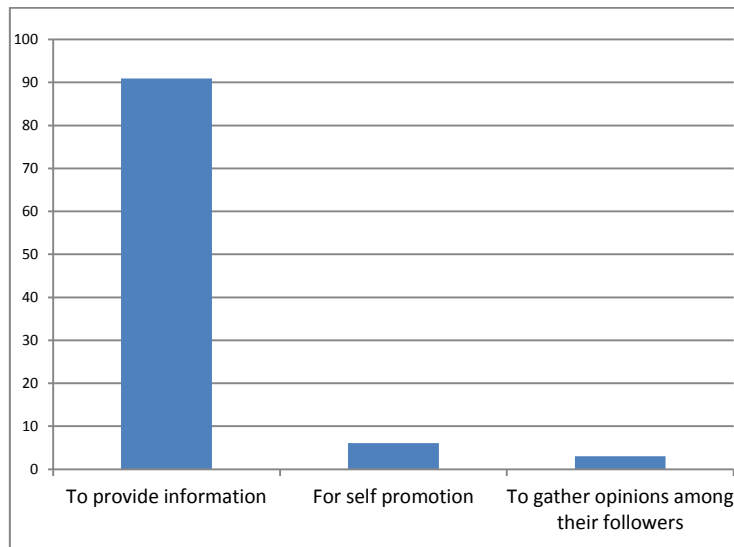
Cadena SER used Twitter to provide information in 72.4% of its updates. Much less commonly, Cadena SER used Twitter for self-promotion (20.7%), to ask followers to submit interview questions (4.3%), to gather opinions (1.7%) and to ask followers to part in a contest (0.9%). We did not register any other use.



Histogram 3: How Cadena SER used Twitter

Main purpose for Cadena COPE: Providing information

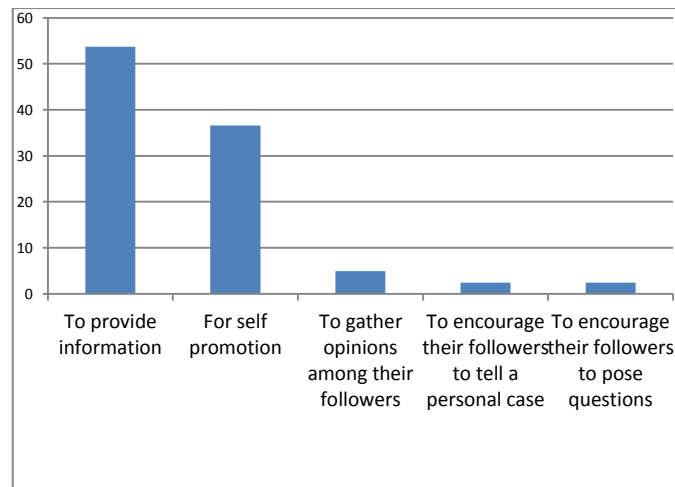
Cadena COPE used Twitter mostly to provide information (90.9%), and for self-promotion (6.1%). Just in 3% of its messages, it gathered opinions from followers.



Histogram 4: How Cadena COPE used Twitter

Main purposes for Onda Cero: Providing information and self-promotion

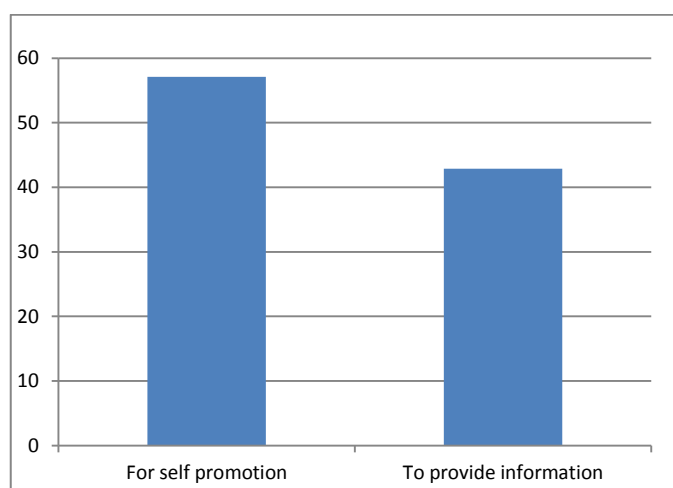
Like SER and COPE, Onda Cero generally used Twitter to provide information (53.7%) and to publicize its content (36.6%). Less often, the station used Twitter to gather opinions from followers (4.9%), to tell personal stories (2.4%) or to ask for interview question submissions (2.4%)



Histogram 5: How Onda Cero used Twitter

Main use for Punto Radio: Self-promotion

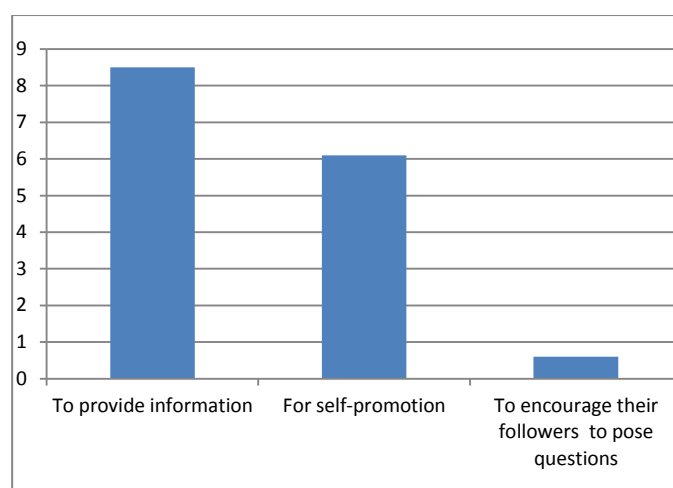
Finally, Punto Radio also used Twitter in a very basic way. As we noted before, during the 15-day study period, it just posted seven tweets, less than one tweet every other day. Furthermore, tweets were used mainly for self-promotion, in 57.1% of its updates, while the other 42.9% were used to provide information.



Histogram 6: How Punto Radio used Twitter

Providing information: Main secondary purpose

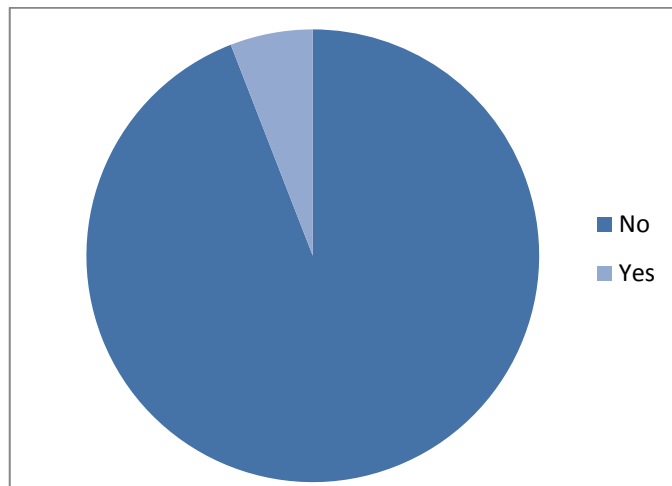
In some cases, stations took advantage of a message for a second purpose. This was observed in 15.2% of the total sample. As with the first purpose, these updates were intended to provide information (8.5% of the total sample), for self-promotion (6.1% of the total sample) and to ask for interview question submissions (0.6%).



Histogram 7: Second purpose of the messages

Retweeting: An uncommon practice

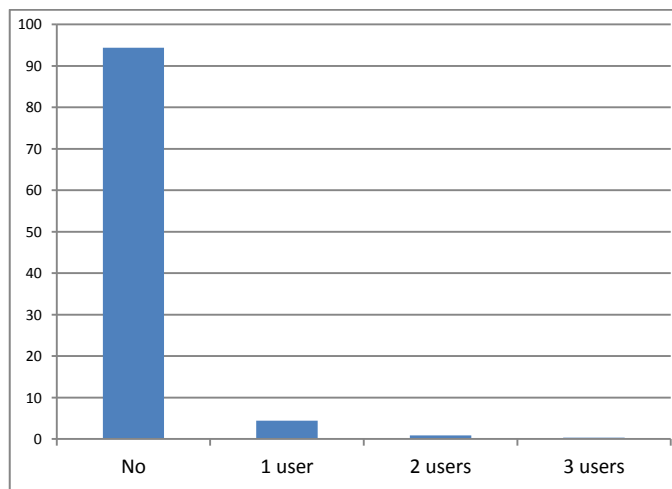
In our sample, only 5.9% of messages were retweets. All of them originally came from users that were linked to the medium, which cannot be interpreted as a sign of openness. Moreover, none of these retweets were enriched.



Histogram 8: Use of retweets

Other users mentioned in just 5.6% of tweets

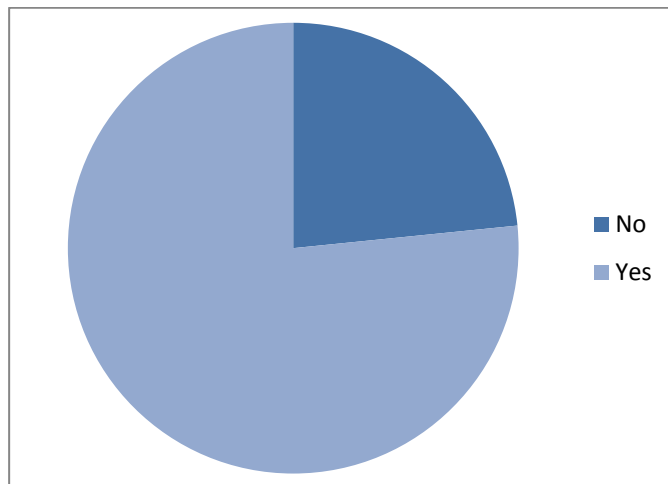
Stations rarely sent traffic to other users by mentioning them. When others were mentioned, the most common practice was to mention a person linked to the station (4.4%), which is more a sign of self-promotion rather than openness. Of the tweets, 0.9% mentioned two unrelated persons and 0.3% mentioned a person with no apparent connection to the station.



Histogram 9: Mentions of other users

Stations linked mostly to their websites

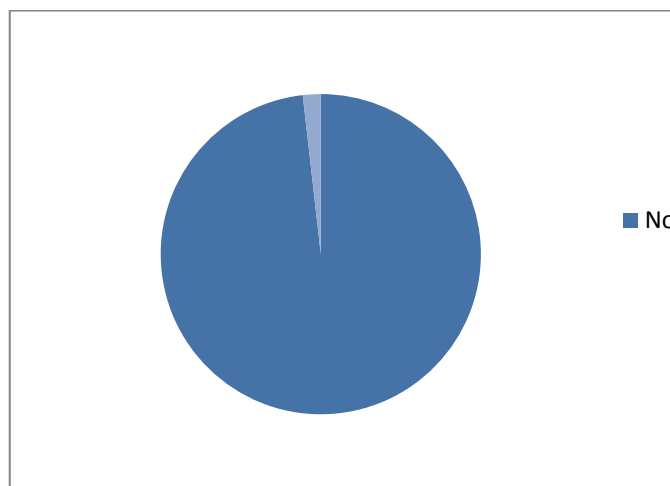
We found that stations linked to their own websites on 76.6% of the messages. It seems that the stations used their Twitter accounts to drive traffic to their online editions, with the same self-promotional approach observed in other aspects of the research.



Histogram 10: Links to station websites

Less openness when linking to other sites

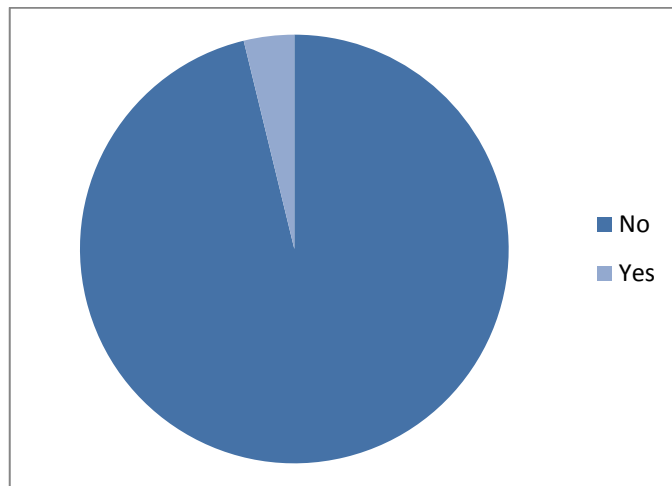
Linking to other websites was, however, quite rare. We observed this practice in just 1.8% of the messages. Apparently, stations were not open to driving traffic to external sites.



Histogram 11: Links to external websites

Few links to blogs

In our sample, only 3.8% of tweets linked to blogs.

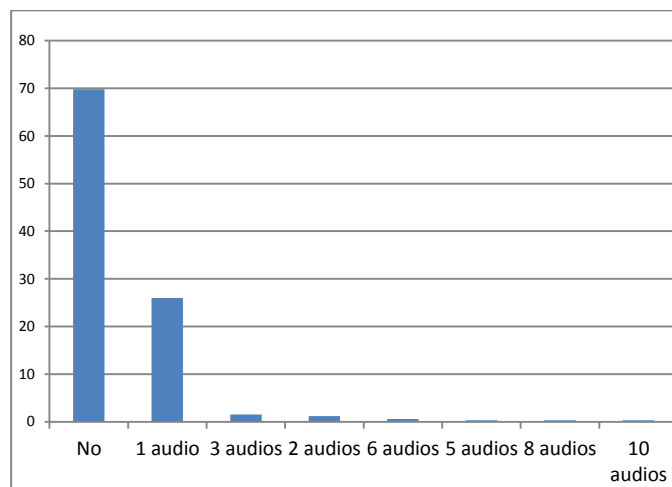


Histogram 12: Links to blogs

Only Onda Cero and Cadena SER linked to blogs. Onda Cero did so in six out of its 41 messages, 14.6% of its total. Cadena SER linked to blogs in seven of its 116 messages, 6% of its total. It is important to note that all blogs belonged to the stations themselves.

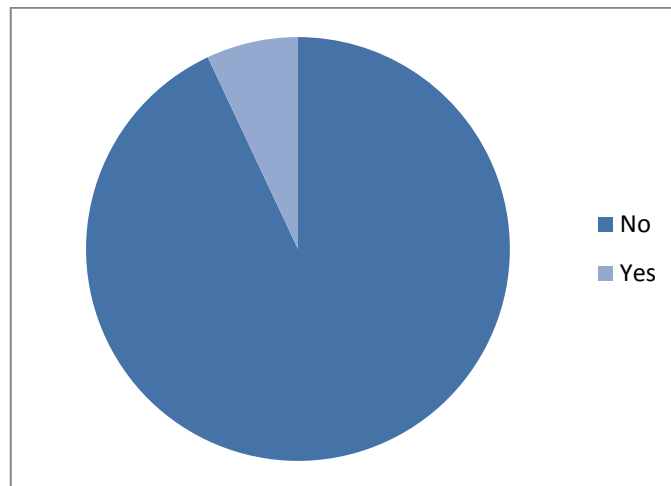
Limited inclusion of audio and video files

Despite the fact that we studied radio stations, we found links to audio files in just 30.2% of messages, with 26% linking to one audio file. Linking to more than one file was less common.



Histogram 13: Links to audio files

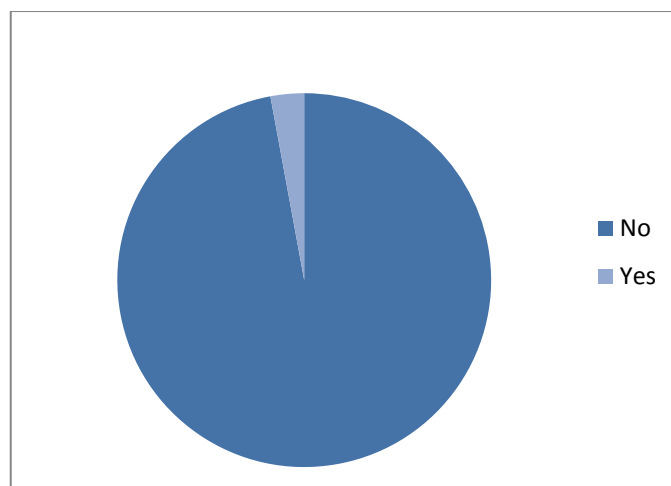
Links to video files were rare as well; we found them in just 7% of messages. The distribution was also irregular, and Onda Cero and Punto Radio did not include any video links.



Histogram 14: Links to video files

Minimal links to other networks

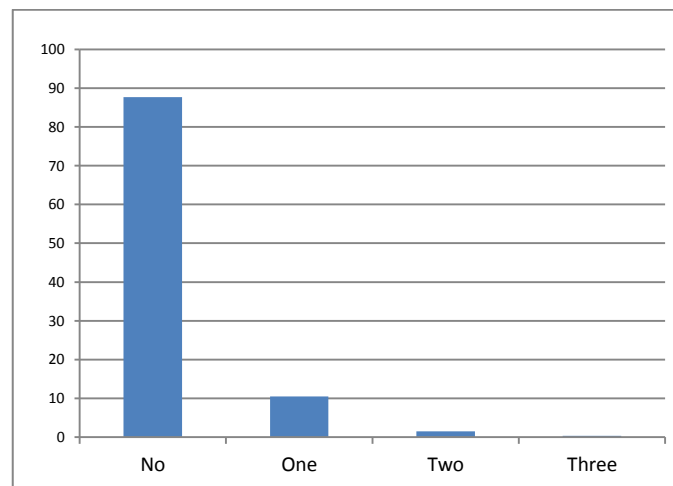
Linking to other networks was another very uncommon practice; we only observed it in 2.9% of the sample, despite the fact that synchronizing profiles reinforces brand image and is a very effective strategy for fostering and increasing social media productivity.



Histogram 15: Links to other social networks

Poor use of hashtags

Finally, despite the potential utility of hashtags for retrieving information about an event and expanding its visibility, only 12.3% of the updates included them. More specifically, 10.5% of the messages added one hashtag, 1.5% added two hashtags, and 0.3% added three hashtags.



Histogram 16: Use of hashtags

Conclusions

The five major Spanish talk radio stations *still* use Twitter mostly to provide information (67%) and for self-promotion (26.6%). The stations neither interact nor engage with their followers, and other creative uses are also very uncommon. This leads us to confirm our first hypothesis, that the potential utility of this service is underestimated, despite its importance for news organizations and the existence of collections of best practices.

In terms of form, the main Spanish talk radio stations still have not mastered Twitter codes, and little creativity is used to create messages. Indeed, links to audio files, videos, blogs, and external websites rarely appeared in messages, and multimedia files and hashtags were similarly underutilized. In addition, rare mentions of external users were motivated by self-promotion, confirming our second hypothesis.

Considering both content and form, we can conclude that, as predicted, major Spanish talk radio stations are still reluctant to embrace Twitter's full potential. Most administrators seem to have mechanically transferred their own roles in mass media to Twitter, as if the famous microblogging network was just another online newspaper or radio outlet. They do not see it as a tool for horizontal conversation, let alone as a forum for information exchange. Finally, it ends up being a space where they broadcast to a passive audience that simply reads and never responds (Marticorena, 2010). When facing unknown scenarios, stations prefer to be cautious and conservative, simply reproducing what they have always done. Perhaps this is due to a lack of knowledge, or to a lack of support from station management. Regardless, the underutilization of Twitter observed in this study is likely to change soon.

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Synergies between broadcast music radio and online radio: how to appeal the youth audience. The Spanish and Catalan case

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Abstract:

The need to establish synergies between the broadcast and the online radio for the purpose of getting the youth audience back, is one of the EBU recommendations which has been made extensible to European public radio stations over the past years (EBU, 2008), as one of the most indispensable measures to get over the crisis consumption of radio amongst the youngest listenership, which is inevitably affecting the markets, and most concretely, those saturated like the Spanish or the Catalan one (Gutiérrez, Martí, Ribes, Monclús, Martínez, 2010). This paper is the outcome of the first results of Radio 2.0 and the Youth. The chances of online radio as a catalyst for youth audience radio in the conventional broadcast; a research conducted by l'Observatori de la Ràdio a Catalunya (GRISS-UAB). This research embraces, among many others, the area of the programming strategies and the synergies between the analogical broadcasting and the theme music websites, whose target is the youth population aged between 14 and 24 years old, which is the group who has suffered the severest audience decline and who traditionally have been the bridge to step into the general radio. Our work aims to seek answers for questions such as the adaptation policies focused on broadcasting and distribution patterns, the continuity between the schedule radio schedule and cyber radio, as well as the managing of participation and interactivity, among many others.

Keywords: music radio, youth audience, synergies, radio online

Introduction

The object of our study is the most representative theme music channels of radio stations within the Catalan ecosystem, where the intervention of Spanish and Catalan on air broadcasting is to be found (*40 Principales, Europa FM, Flaix FM, Màxima, Ràdio Flaixbac, RAC 105, Cadena Dial*), in this paper. We focused in four stations: *40 Principales, Flaix FM, Ràdio Flaixbac* and *RAC 105*. Selection criteria of stations applied here are as they follow: on one hand, those stations appearing on the top five in the audience ranking position² and the other, to reach significant levels among the population group aged between 14 to 24 years old (Huertas, 2010). As far as music formats are concerned, there are some differences since *40 Principales* is the outcome of combining *Hits list*

¹ Observatori de la Ràdio a Catalunya, GRISS

² In the audience ratings data collected July 1st 2011, in Catalonia, *40 Principales* reached to 448.000 listeners, followed by *Flaix FM* with 367.000 listeners, *Cadena Dial* with 252.000 listeners, *RAC105* with 242.000 listeners and *Flaixbac* with 217.000 listeners.

and *Adult, Contemporary (AC)*, *Flaix Fm* broadcasts dance music, *RAC 105* plays AC and *Ràdio Flaixbac* mixes dance music and Adult Contemporary.

The charts 1 and 2 display the evolution of youth audience aged between 14 and 24 years old. In the light of the data, it seems this population sector should manifest, at least a moderate optimism, with respect of their incorporation as listeners in this group of inhabitants towards the increase observed in all these four stations. According to chart 1, dance music is the closest format to the youngest audience's music interests (FLAIX fm), against other proposals. In the other hand, chart 2 shows how the combination of the hits list and the AC format is maintaining its leadership among youngsters aged between 20 to 24 years old (*40 Principales*).

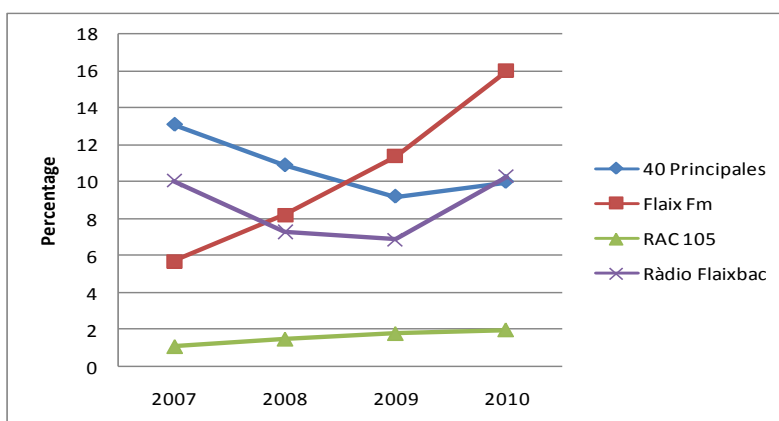


Chart 1. Comparative relation between stations in audience aged 14 to 19 years old displayed in the sample
Source: Own sources elaborated from Huertas, A. (2008,2009,2010³).

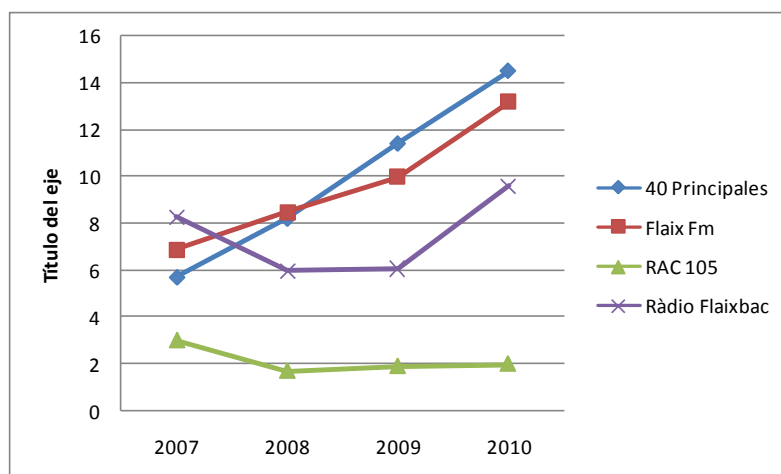


Chart 2. Audience comparative between relation stations aged 20 to 24 years old displayed in the sample
Source: Own sources elaborated from Huertas, A. (2008,2009,2010⁴)

In previous works, it has been highlighted that one of the key points to move up the audience ratings of music stations among youngsters aged 14 to 24 years old, was to consolidate their presence in the web, but on the other side, it was necessary to go in depth with the radio /Internet merger, together with programming

³ The report containing the data corresponding to 2011 is on the printing process.

⁴ *Ibid.*

proposals appealing enough to rise up the interest and satisfy youngster expectations (Martí, Gutiérrez, Ribes, Monclús y Martínez, 2010), and another relevant asset is to foster their websites' potential (Amoedo, Martínez-Costa, y Moreno, 2008; Requejo y Herrera, 2009). Considering these two premises, one could deduce that the ascent that charts 1 and 2 display is the result of the strategies that include the web as part of their broadcasting offer.

However, Internet it is not the panacea itself, neither is it the solution for traditional radio which, without developing alternative proposals, the aim endeavors to reach the youngest sector (Bernal Treviño, 2009). Hence, how should these strategies be? There is no discussion they have to account for the fact social networks are modifying the relationship between the audience and media (Flores Vivar, 2009)⁵, the boost of participation via Internet (Herrera, S., 2007) and the use of reception devices in the area of entertainment (Berry, 2006; Ferguson, Greer, Reardon, 2007; McClung, Pompper, Kinnally, 2009; et al). These gadgets' portability was formerly an asset only owned by radio.

Methodological approach

The outcome we hereby present of this paper match the first phase of this present research, whose goal is to define the methodology rapprochement that best suits to our subject of study and main goals, thus validating the analysis protocol drafted to analyze the content provided by these four music stations in the conventional broadcasting and its Internet location. In this sense, the technical investigation chosen in this initial stage is the content analysis, which combines the qualitative and quantitative approach to perform the programs analysis of the chosen radio stations, on the basis of their format, subject matter and their websites (making special emphasis in the access to live content broadcasting and content on demand, podcasting), as well as their use of social networks (Facebook, Twitter o MySpace) and many other online sources (Youtube o Spotify).

As far as content is concerned, there is a clear position towards the audio content they broadcast from Monday to Friday (24 hours five days a week), due to the fact it is the slot which collects the most number of listeners. This strategy has given way to:

- Produce the schedule of weekly days, since many stations do not provide this information; and to assert the differences and similarities in the content treatment of the most outstanding shows and music radio.
- Detect the references to the content, own website and sporadic references to the net during the day of on air broadcasting.

For the purpose of the website's analysis it has been designed a sample which embraces from general aspects linked to content available on the website, (corporative information, social network, songs selling, etc.) to those typical elements of the shows (presenter, podcast, news, etc.). The goal is to verify the existence of streams between the on air broadcasting and online and vice versa. The outcome obtained from both analysis, allows us to define the convergence models on air/online of the already analyzed music stations, standing its synergy levels out.

The draft protocol of analysis embraces up to 60 variables, which generally speaking it can be determined that by manly examining the identifying data of the unit of analysis (which it varies according the function of radio broadcasting distribution platform) the content and the service provided, the synergy between traditional and online broadcast; the use of social network to convey the participation of young listeners, among many other aspects.

⁵Even though the author makes reference to print press, his perspective can be applied to radio matter.

The program of music theme stations

We following describe the programs that shape the music radio stations' schedule in their on air broadcast, pointing out their programmatic genre to where they belong. This current programmatic offer approach displays the prevailing homogenization of content and the mimicry in the Catalan music radio stations; mornings are for morning shows and evening – nights are focused on the audience's participation.

40 Principales

40 Principales is the pioneer music theme station in Spain and it is the first music radio channel considered the biggest in audience in Spain and Catalonia according to data provided by the Estudio General de Medios (General Media Survey, wave results from October to May 2011⁶). These are the three main programs of its schedule broadcasting:

- Anda ya , morning show, broadcasts from 06:00hrs to 10:00hrs
- Del 40 al 1, broadcasts from 09:00hrs to 10:00hrs, music hits list program.
- La Mar de noches, from 10:00hrs to 24:00hrs, this is their late show.

The rest of the day the broadcast is Fórmula 40, a music continuum where different presenters come over on stage.

Flaix FM

From Monday to Friday FLAIX fm⁷, in addition to the music theme broadcast, it performs four programs with its own brand:

- Flaix matí, from 06:00hrs to 10:00hrs, is the morning show of the station.
- Extra Flaix, from 19:00hrs to 21:00hrs, is show devoted to latest hits in music.
- Interactua, from 23:00hrs to 01:00hrs on demand music show where the audience calls in and ask for their songs.
- Flaix club, from 01:00hrs to 03:00hrs, works as a "session" given the lack of a DJ figure.

The rest of the day the broadcast is Fórmula Flaix, the most up-to-the-minute dance music. Daytime broadcasting introduces their presenters, who often define themselves as a DJs and they perform as such, since they provide very scarce information about the music themes they play in continuum. Music radio is complemented by a section called Órbita, where information about parties and own station's events are to be found, the same as new technologies. On the contrary, in the 03:00hrs to 06:00hrs broadcasting there is no emphasis to who the presenter is and the music rate in continuum is higher during than the daytime sessions.

RAC 105

The RAC 105 programs during the working days mainly are framed by these following two big shows:

- Fricandó Matiner, morning show, from 06:00hrs to 10:00hrs
- Box 105, late show broadcasts from 21:00hrsh till midnight.

The rest of the days Fórmula 105 nourishes the broadcasting with 3 big blocks: the first and the last are lead by both presenters whereas the central block (from 14:00hrs a 17:00hrs), works as an automatic program. De 12:00hrs a 6:00hrs, RAC de Nit is located in the schedule as an automatic music program.

Ràdio Flaixbac

From Monday to Friday, the station program is based on three shows:

⁶ <http://www.aimc.es/-Datos-EGM-Resumen-General-.html>

⁷ This radio station belong to Grup Flaix and its last broadcasting geographical scope is Catalonia, even though it also relies on a frequency in Ibiza (Balearic Islands), which broadcasts its own program.

- El matí i la mare que el va parir, from 06:00 to 10:00hrs, as the morning show.
- Feed back, from 18:00 to 19:00hrs, is an on demand music show.
- Bac up, from 22:00 to 24:00, is a participating audience show.

The rest of the day Fórmula Flaixbac remains as the unique show. At night, it changes its name for Fórmula nit and the figure of the presenter vanishes.

Music Stations and their shows in Internet

This epigraph's goal is to determine the presence of the analyzed top music radio stations' programs in their corporate website, their itinerary of content access and additional services such as podcast, blog, etc. With this purpose we present the web map of each portal, a picture which allows detecting the main programmatic strategies in the online area.

40 Principales

By boosting a brand like Los 40.com, the company seeks to create an identity as a main goal to start up with their website. This new name makes the attempt of the company easier to draw the difference with the on air broadcasting. The website provides a high quantity of music information in audio and video, and a wide range of possibilities to get the audience back.

The website's front page also includes advertising slots, ticket selling for concerts, invitations for social networks: Twitter, Facebook, Tuenti and the channel of Youtube. Starting from the content of 40 Principales' website, it is almost compulsory to deepen in the idea that the public of 40 Principales is unequivocally juvenile.

Outlined in the initial page	Current Affairs	Music	Video	Trends
Noticias de actualidad	Music news	Artists	Video clips	Looks
Giras 2010	Special	Lists	Video clips by artists	News
Lista del 40 al 1	Photo gallery	Canales de radio		Fashion
Lo + (visto, votado, enviado y escuchado)	Tours and Festivals 40	New Music		Books
Comunidad	Blogs			Beauty
Foros				Technology
Webs programas				

Universe 40	Feedback	Community	Game 40	TV plan
40 el musical	Meetings	Users	Videogames news	A show sponsored by Ballantine's
40 viajes.com	Contest	Groups		
40 Magazine	Chats			
Merchandising	Forum			
Program	Surveys			
Tune in other countries				
Game 40				
40 mobile (mobile selling and call rate)				

Blogs
40 credit card
40TV and 40 Latino in Digital+
Community
Zone 40
40 in your mobile
40 Box office

Chart 3. 40 Principales Web map (www.los40.com)

The 40 Principales web page outlines the set of music current news, the list from 40 to number 1, information about the tours, new video clips, the posting of advertising banners and the promotion of stations slots in the social network. At the bottom of the front page there are some little banners from the four top shows with bigger audience and nationally broadcasted. There is a certain difficulty to get access to it because, although being successful products in their on air production, they do not acquire much relevance in the corporate website because you need to drag the mouse down the screen to get to them. These banners and chats, surveys and contests which these programs propose is the only direct link with the on air broadcasting. In fact, live broadcasting content gets the tiniest location towards the music current news content which embraces more than 70% of the corporate website. A little framework at the beginning of the home page is the only link and also the only reminder for the following of the on air broadcasting state level programming. The concomitance between the on air broadcasting and its listen live presence in the 40 Principales web page is very weak and among them there is almost no synergy considering the prevalence of the music information to the detriment of the promotion of the radio station.

The morning show *Anda ya*, *Hits list Del 40 al 1* and the late show *Mar de noche* are the shows that enjoy their own slot in the schedule of the 40 Principales' website. Each one of them has its own blog where there is an access to a tab called "Current Affairs" in the website's home.

The blog's front page of the morning show *Anda Ya* pinpoints news' piece of information linked to the show (for instance some celebrity's visit at the station). From this site one can access to the program's Facebook, subscribe to the podcast (via iTunes), listen to all sections (jokes, bride and groom's test, imitations, V.I.P broadcast of the show, free entrance to the show's presenter's personal blog, etc..) From this blog there is also access to pictures from the live broadcasted shows, to most outstanding audio and video archives, a brief description of all the members of the show team, and eventually to the tab of "contest".

Del 40 al 1, according to the same blog, "is the stellar show of the station most listened and with more history behind of the Spanish radio⁸". The TV summing-up videos of the 40's top list are the main protagonists in the blog's front cover, where latest news about music, posts archive, fans site in Facebook and a banner inviting to visit the personal blog of the presenter are to be found. It includes the following blogs categories: current affairs (information about music news), pictures (artists, music events, gossip news, etc.), the weekly podcast of the list, video (TV summing-up videos of the 40's top list) and the contests of the show including different calls and functioning of how to participate.

The late show *La Mar de noches* is a program based on the listeners' participation, it is made up of experiences related to sex, as well as jokes, consultation, etc. Due to the relevance of audience participation, the blog highlights the different ways to participate: SMS, telephone, answering machine and e-mail. The front page of the blog is the sidebar for the different sections of the show where the most outstanding are the contest, the

⁸ Source: <http://blogs.los40.com/del40a1/> (Reviewed on July 11th 2011).

calling and the survey of the day. There is also access to the post archive, the last posts and the Facebook banner. The categories of the blog match to each one of the show sections.

The rest of programs broadcasting from Monday to Friday at state level (Fórmula musical 40 principales and Fórmula musical 40 Principales Hot Mix) do not enjoy of their own blog but they do have a live broadcasting window which is open to music information and also DJ's who introduces the section, present the link to the webcam located in the studio and open up the participation window via Facebook, most listened list of songs (available to sell via iTunes), song's description playing now and as well as the biographical details and the artists' discography. In this same window there is also access to different on line radio channels from the same radio station. Lastly, there is a tab called "Canales de TV" (TV Channels) which is not working yet, which we suppose shall become a channel of the company for Youtube and also a space for advertising. It should also be said that this TV window live broadcasting, with the features mentioned before, is used for the national level program of the company. It should be added that the already mentioned broadcasting window, given the features previously mentioned, is used for the whole broadcasting program of the station at a state level. Regional broadcasting program of 40 Principales Catalonia do not have either blog or the option of live broadcasting window.

FLAIX fm

FLAIX fm has a corporative website called flaixfm.cat and is also present in Facebook⁹ and Twitter¹⁰. As an interactive channel, the website provides a forum space for the audience where cybernauts upload or demand information about music. As it can be observed in the web map, the access is not much intuitive since it is located in the tab under the station's name, whereas in the social network they appear in an outstanding position at the front page.

Outlined in the initial page	FLAIX fm	The List	Programs	DJs	parties
The List	Òrbites		Flaix matí		
Videos	Contests		Flaix club		
Photos	Forum		Extraflaix		
			Calibre 45		
			Flaix History		
			David Guetta DJ mix		
			Interactua		
			Matinée World		
			Fresco sessions		
			Maxi Flaix		
			Residence FG		
			ASOT Armin Van Buuren		
Multimedia		Contact	Flaix Eivissa		
Multimedia gallery					
Photo Chart gallery					

Chart 4. FLAIXfm.cat web map (www.flaixfm.cat)

⁹ www.facebook.com/flaixfm.

¹⁰ twitter.com/#!/flaixfm.

The widest number of tabs belongs to “shows”, which is the introduction letter of the broadcasting content. By clicking to any of these credits one can access to a briefing made up of essential presenter’s details, schedule, music genre, etc. As regards of social network, these are the radio programs which enjoy their own group in Facebook: Flaix matí, Extra flaix, Interactua and Flaix club, and they can be accessed through the inserted window at the bottom of the page of the screen- and also a Twitter account- with a direct link at the top of the page, yet with no profile registered. These are the only shows the cyber listener is able to listen on demand. In Fórmula Flaix from 10:00hrs to 13:00hrs, the DJ has his Twitter account where the listeners may access to his personal blog. This is simply anecdotic since all the other DJs do not go into this practice.

The rest of the tabs only allow the theme music list to the DJ’s¹¹ profile (the station do not conceive them as presenters), to different kind of parties, pictures and videos, to the usual contact ways where it provides the post address, telephone number and fax, as well as the station’s e-mail and its delegations. In one of the last tab, Flaix Eivissa, it connects with live broadcasting with this same station. Not only might the information be found in different languages besides Catalan, but also information about the stations frequencies and also to download the iPhone application¹².

The web sites are capable to provide live station’s broadcasting through many music players, but this is only possible surfing via Internet Explorer. The cyber listen does not allow having complementary data; neither do the other online exclusive channels.

RAC 105

RAC105 has both an official web page and Facebook¹³ and Twitter¹⁴ accounts. In some of the web pages they have inserted these services so that the visitors of the site can easily access to them and follow the conversations at any given moment, at any given place, even if they do not have any profile or registered account. A serious problem has been detected in the web with Microsoft Explorer 9, the user cannot display the menu options, and therefore one can only surf through the highlighted links in the home page.

Outlined in the initial page	Radio	Artists	e-Books	Community	TV
Ja ho he dit	Blog	All of them		Entries	Blog
+Box	Podcast	By letter		Artists	Videos
Contests	Schedule			Films	Schedule
Suggestions box				Songs	
Songs Archive				Video clips	

Blog	box105	Oops!	Agenda	Podcast	Fricandó matiner
	Blog	Blog		Blog	Blog
	Who are we?	About the show		Podcast	Who are we?
	Sections			Schedule	Sections
	Podcast				Podcast
					Fricandó a la carta
					Old sections

¹¹There is a tab with the option to hire one of the DJs for a private parties.

¹²It also exist the option to get into the “music dance *paradise* trough the web”, yet this tool is only in a promotional stage and it is not working at this moment.

¹³ www.facebook.com/rac105.

¹⁴ twitter.com/#!/rac105oficial.

Chart 5. rac105.cat web map (www.rac105.cat)

The web page is designed as a blog so that the uploaded news is chronologically ordered with the newest at the top of the page.

In the RAC 105 website there is a place for their own socializing area called "Comunidad" (community), where the cybernauts have the option of voting for the best entries in the RAC105 blogs; they also may want to vote for their favorite movies, songs, artists or video clips, as well as participate in the surveys and quizzes daily posted. From the broadcasting, there is no reference to this option, nor is any call to the audience to register in it.

The web site enables the listen of live broadcasting content of the station via their own media player inserted in their own web site which also includes the show's name, the additional music content of the show and also the display of the name of the artist and the song on air. Besides the station's broadcasting, the web site also has access to theme channels only and exclusively available in Internet "RAC 105 80s" and "RAC105 soft". These two channels do not provide any additional information about the music themes playing.

Their two outstanding shows are Fricandó Matiner¹⁵ and Box105¹⁶ have their own profiles in the social network which are markedly differenced from the station's. Moreover, these two shows enjoy certain kind of prominence within the official web page and, under the layer of the show's name; one might find the blogs of its sections and the access to their own generated podcast as well.

Ràdio Flaixbac

In the corporate web site radioflaixbac.cat the access to Facebook¹⁷, Twitter¹⁸ and Youtube¹⁹ makes quite an emphasis. The web map was drawn out of eight tabs; five of them can be unfolded leading to five options, whereas the three left work as a link to get access to general information or to the service they advertise. "Ràdio en directe" (listen live radio), one of the relevant features in the web, has an additional tab which introduces a range of media players to choose. It should be underlined that it does not provide additional information about the music it broadcasts.

Outlined in the initial page	Flaixbac	Programs	Current Affairs	Community	Downloads
The list	presenters	El matí	News	Forum	Audios
El matí/ Feedback/BACUP	Programming	Feedback	Concerts	chat	Podcast
Contests	Contests	BAC UP	The list		
Facebook/Twitter/Y outube	iPhone		Videos		
Podcast	Frequencies				
Concerts					

On air radio	Registration	Contact
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Chart 6. Ràdio Flaixbac web map (www.radioflaixbac.cat)

¹⁵ www.facebook.com/fricandomatiner y twitter.com/#!/fricandomatiner.

¹⁶ www.facebook.com/box105 y twitter.com/#!/box105oficial.

¹⁷ www.facebook.com/flaixbac.

¹⁸ twitter.com/#!/radioflaixbac.

¹⁹ www.youtube.com/user/RadioFlaixbac.

Besides the most popular social networks, Ràdio Flaixbac provides a place for socializing called "Comunitat" (community) at the audience's disposal which allows two ways of participation. First is called "Forum", where the cybernauts have the chance to post their comments over their topics or the some proposed by the show, or even ask for information about what has been broadcasted so far. The second is called "Xat" (chat), which requires previous user registration. There are no further comments over these two possibilities made during the broadcasting.

These three shows appear in a highlight position in the corporate home page, besides of being placed in the shows tab content. Both ways come together in a common space, where one gets informed about the general features of the show. Also the three programs do have a Facebook²⁰ profile, but only two of them have a Twitter²¹ account. In this sense, it seems odd that the morning show uses the corporate²² tag, and the music radio named after The List has its own Facebook group²³.

The cyber listener can subscribe to the podcast right ahead from the home page even though the web site accounts for a "downloads" tab already. From there one can access to "audios", brief show's footages organized by themes, where the cybernauts are able to easily find and download them.

About the usage of Facebook and Twitter

The social networks may be fast and straightforward communication roads. For that reason, we thought it would be appropriate to pay attention not only to corporate profiles but also to the presence of the main shows which, from Monday to Fridays, are located in the most audience slot time of the schedule.

The four stations analyzed provide the Facebook profile although with an uneven number of followers²⁴. The corporate profile of Los 40.com agglutinates the highest number of friends (309.146), followed by FLAIX fm (282.173). In a much further position it follows Ràdio Flaixbac (110.632) and the space of RAC 105 (4.455). It can be observed a correlation between the ranking of broadcasting audiences and the number of friends. However, a more detailed vision of that displays that morning shows are bigger in number of followers than those in the late night show of their own station. Nonetheless it should be underlined that night programs mainly those which call for the audience's participation. But the dragging effect of morning shows that it is strengthened when observed that number of friends is bigger to the corporate profile in RAC105 and Ràdio Flaixbac.

²⁰ <http://es-es.facebook.com/vaparir> (El matí i la mare que el va parir), <http://es-es.facebook.com/feedbac> (Feed bac), <http://es-es.facebook.com/bacupp> (BAC UP).

²¹ <http://twitter.com/#!/feedbac> i <http://twitter.com/#!/bacupflaixbac>

²² <http://twitter.com/#!/radioflaixbac>

²³ <http://es-es.facebook.com/lallista>

²⁴ The data about the number of friends in Facebook's shows profiles was collected in July 14th 2011

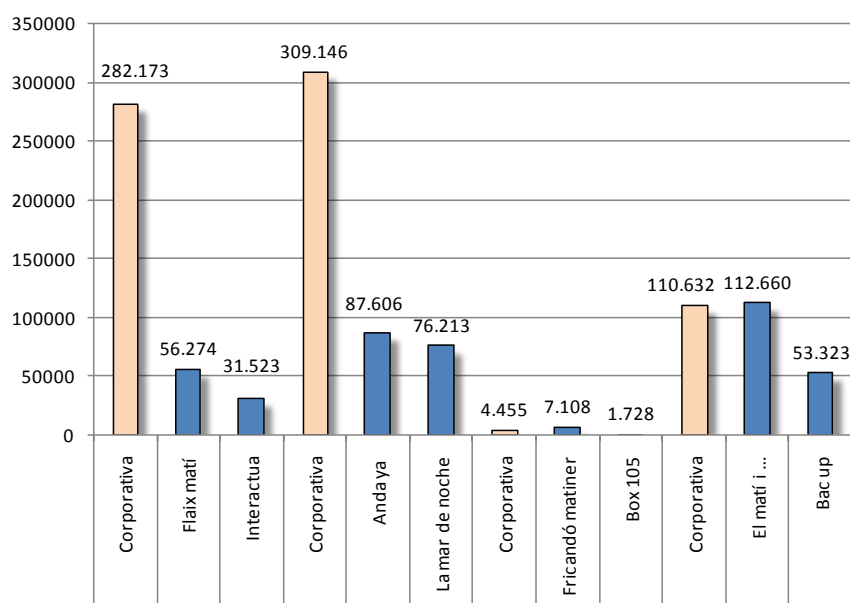


Chart 7. Number of friends in Facebook from the morning and late shows of the theme music stations in relation to their corporate profile

Data collected July 14th 2011.

The set of policies for the use of social networks in the different broadcasting companies have been defined in different times and in different fashions. A proof of that is the high breaking up in the creation dates²⁵ of Twitter accounts: in October 27th 2008, Flaixbac creates its Twitter profile; next day and so does FLAIX fm; in July 2009, 40 Principales launches its Twitter account; and RAC 105 does it August 2010.

So far, 2010 has been the year when most of the shows have created their accounts in Twitter (in order of seniority: Fricandó Matiner, Flaix Matí, Box 105 and Bac Up); in 2011 the profiles of El matí i la mare que el va parir and most recently Interactua were created. All Los 40 shows do not own any space in Twitter; even though some of its presenters have one, they comment and publish personally speaking, and also they often comment on the show's features. Unlike what happens with Facebook, in the case of Twitter, we can affirm that microblogging spaces in late shows are bigger in number of followers than those in the morning show, with the peculiar exception of FLAIX fm²⁶.

²⁵ Data gathered from twittergrader.com.

²⁶ During the observation, the night show's profile of FLAIX fm, *Interactua*, had only 13 days of existence, whereas *Flaix Matí* has been piling up followers since October 2010 (268 days).

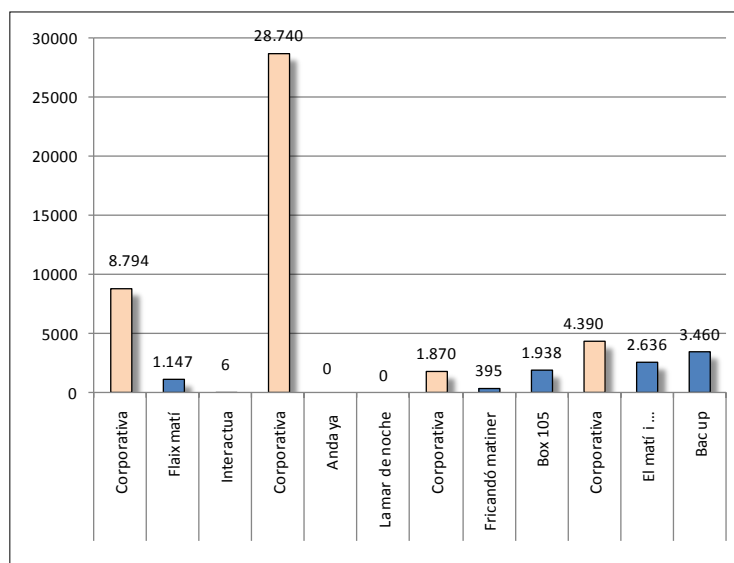


Chart 8. Number of followers in Twitter in the morning shows and in the late shows of the music radio stations

Data collected June 30th 2011.

It thus can be observed a different relationship between the regular programming and social network depending on the time zone, since the night programs gather more followers in twitter than their counterpart in the morning; morning shows, however, achieve a better number of followers in Facebook. In the future, we shall need to corroborate this trend and subsequently analyze its plausible causes. Other proof of the lack of corporate strategy when it is time to take up the social network is the lack of criterion when choosing the profile's name to be used. Except FLAIX fm, the stations take different user names to define their corporate profiles in different social networks. It does not always occurs that there is a straightforward correlation between user's names and the show.

	Profile in Twitter	Profile in Facebook
FLAIX fm	flaixfm	flaixfm
	flaixmati	flaixmati
	interactuaflaix	interactua
Los 40 Principales	los40_spain	los40principales.es
	-	andayaenlos40principales
	-	La_Mar-de-noches
RAC 105	rac105oficial	rac105
	fricandomatiner	fricandomatiner
	box105oficial	box105
Ràdio Flaixbac	radioflaixbac	flaixbac
	vaparir	vaparir
	bacupflaixbac	bacupp

Chart 9. User names used in Twitter and Facebook profiles, by stations and their main radio shows Names of dissenting profiles highlighted in bold type.

One might argue that, the fact of having landed in the network in different times, might have pushed those responsible, to choose different names – as not finding those wanted available- (other user might have previously booked it). But this does not go against the existence of previous unclear policies of communication or the lack of a search for solutions for this inconvenience. Another possibility might be that, having different names does not become a problem; but one might bear in mind that this difference in naming hinders the user to be able to find the presence of the station and its shows in the social networks. And what is worse, without being aware of that, the user might misunderstand the messages launched anonymously as some linked to the station.

The insertion of the net into the broadcast

In this epigraph it shall be covered the level of synergy that the music stations surveyed established between the on air and the online broadcasting. The overall tendency observed in the four analyzed stations points that this synergy is significantly weak, the reminders in the web site and also in the social network are scarce.

40 Principales

Despite of the fact of owning the most developed web site²⁷, the analysis reveals the scarce synergy it exists between the on air broadcasting of the shows and the corresponding online version. In fact, the social network Facebook is the most resorted source in this station to the detriment of Tuenti and Twitter. The use of Twitter is focused on presenters of the shows *Anda Ya* and *del 40 al 1*, although they do not own their own specific profile as a show, as formerly observed by Alguacil (2011). Generally speaking they do not invest much time in promoting this kind of communication with the listenership. The allusion made to *40 Principales* is mainly in theme music shows presented as promotional.

We want to emphasize the null exploitation of the possibilities of on air radio in *40 Principales* web site as it might be the YouTube channel, webcam for live broadcasting and podcasts repository. Moreover, we observed that in sections like participation, mainly in shows like *Anda Ya* and *Mar de noches*, are exploited through traditional ways like the telephone and SMS payment system. Lastly, the regional broadcasting shows promote the visit of the portal of *40 Principales* but they do not exploit any further participation.

FLAIX fm

The synergy between the on air broadcasting and the web is almost inexistent. From all shows, it is the morning show which agglutinates more nominations since it includes a section where there is a calling for the audience's opinion about the topic of the day or simply to comment about any piece of news. This behavior pattern does not appear in Twitter domain, which in general, is used to divulge the list of music topics previously broadcasted. Surprisingly enough, in the broadcasting there is no mention about the possibility of listen to the show audio on demand.

Regarding of the social networks, one might observe that only in *Fórmula Flaix*, from 16:00hrs and 19:00hrs, Facebook is mentioned when reading some comment posted by a station's follower, even though the DJ has not specifically made any call. Through the social network it is also possible for the users to ask for certain songs in *Interactua*, but they also can make the petition via e-mail or phone line. Short Message Send is the option for taking part in the station's contests.

²⁷In Amoedo, Martínez-Costa y Moreno previous research (2008) it was already stated that 40.com was the radio web site most elaborately developed.

RAC 105

The show *Fórmula 105*, in its presenter version, uses Facebook and Twitter daily in order to promote the audience's participation and it does it by taking part of the show's philosophy: from the broadcast two music themes are proposed and they encourage the audience to pick one of them; at a given time, (at 12h midday and at 18hrs in the afternoon session), the show's presenter shall play the theme which accounts for the most number of votes. The participation of the audience goes through RAC 105's Twitter account since this show does not have any Facebook profile. During the 45 minutes, which normally lasts the election, Twitter account registers the order of 8 to 10 votes.

Other show that regularly uses social network, in this case more intensively is "Box 105". The late show has its own profile and normally books the last hour of the show for this section "La hora jukebox" (jukebox's time) where they play the songs users have been demanding via different channels (Facebook, Twitter, e-mail or telephone). The "La hora Jukebox" promotion says: "From 11:00 hrs, the box turns into a Jukebox, pick the music you want to listen to". Surprisingly, neither the self promotion nor the conductor of the show mention which are the contact ways for the audience to call in, neither do they inform about the existence of the show's profile in Facebook or Twitter. There are no explicit callings to attract the audience's participation. Besides, the show is related to its TV version (Box105 TV de 13hrs. to 14hrs.) available in Internet, where again, there are no further comments about that.

As regards of *Fricandó Matiner*, the participation's calling from the broadcast does not have into account the electronic communication either; in certain moments there is a calling asking for a SMS to this number 27271 to get in a raffle. In Twitter, on the other hand, they very much update their new entries in the show's blog and they encourage visiting them.

But what is indeed to mention in the show is the chance of listening live broadcast in Internet as well as the show's podcast and also some other shows.

Concerning the use of video as a multimedia element bound to programming, it is worth to underline the specific insertion of special events in streaming broadcast (producing a show outdoors, stations organized outings). Other outstanding element is the video clips list bound to the music themes played in RAC105TV and in its radio shows as well.

RAC105 has a blog site where they publish news, information and contests. They also make a use of their own *Fricandó matiner* and *Box105* blog. In both cases, the blog collects the already broadcasted content and from that space you are forwarded to the listen of the section through web podcast.

In addition to that, presenters own their space from where to publish their comments. The blog's presenter "Ja ho he dit", uploads his comments with only one entry once a week by posting personal comments; "+Box" provides the voice of Montse Vidal, where she irregularly publishes news related to music on TV.

Ràdio Flaixbac

Several levels of net's broadcasting integration can be observed in *Ràdio Flaixbac*. The highest level is represented with *Feed bac* and *Bac up*, shows in which participation is crucial for the show development. Facebook rather than Twitter quarrels for prominence in the classic phone call. In these two shows, the listeners can send their e-mails or SMS. The reading of the cybernauts' posts on the wall is an important part of the verbal discourse which is built in each one of these shows.

The morning show represents the intermediate level. *El matí i la mare que el va parir* alludes to the comments of the listeners in Facebook, but it does not seek for a straight synergy between the live broadcasting and the participation of the cybernauts. The lowest level is to be found in *La llista* (The List), the name which qualifies the music theme radio in the net. Although with a lower frequency, every 30 minutes, in the best of the

cases there is an advertising indicating the audience to go to the station's web site and meddle in Facebook to complement the music information they are listening.

In the case of the outstanding shows, presenters do not mention the existence of the podcast, neither do they about the chance to tune in the show via Internet. This peculiarity extends to rest of content. The absence of a profile in Twitter as a feedback area is also striking.

Conclusions

The theme music stations have made their approximations, in different fashions and to a different extend, to the net. As a sideboard of the company, the corporate web is indeed a consolidated reality in all of them, but instead, the use of Internet as a channel of participation or form of communication is still on different processes of implementation.

The most active way of integrating Internet to music radio broadcasting, is to be found in those radio shows preserving some of their broadcasting time for their listenership in some different ways, but mostly making use of social networks, where listeners propose music themes in order to build up a playlist on air; in some other cases the audience is required to opt for one of the two specific options. In this kind of shows, which are rooted in those programs people call in for a dedicating song, they substituted the phone line for the comments posted on Twitter and Facebook, as well as for the participation of the listeners to narrate their personal experiences, via Facebook, as it appears in the analyzed sample, it shares the ground with the typical phone call.

All these stations deliver their content through the ether using technologies like the streaming and they even work them out for podcast consumption, bearing in mind the financial effort that implies. Odd enough, these stations do not seize the conventional broadcasting to boost the advertising of all these services and spread the word about their existence in other channels like Facebook, Twitter and MySpace.

One might hint at this point, there is a lack of business policy as far as the presence of the stations in the social network is concerned. Another issue might be the underestimation of the value of these tools, or maybe the lack of knowledge on how to integrate them in productive routines. Sometimes, the creation of a profile and its future running seems to fall in the show's conductor or his/her contributors' individual criterion, with a clear lack of previous planning.

The first results point out that theme music radio has to reinforce its brand in a general perspective, stepping out of the direct competence's policies, and becoming specialized product both in conventional broadcasting as in Internet as well, in order to reestablish the affective laces lost in the youngest listenership within a hyper competitive media environment. In addition to that, broadcasting companies still do not have a clear business online model.

In this sense, conventional broadcasting has and still is the engine of the most proposals send to the web sites; that is all those related to social networks, which it limits the needs of the juvenile new listener.

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Listening to what people who don't listen to Radio listen to

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Abstract:

This paper discusses the rationale and the ways in which Canada's largest private radiobroadcaster, Astral Radio, is transforming its business model and strategies in order to adapt to the imperatives of the digital environment and the new set of codes, practices, listening behaviors as well as advertisers' constant search for engaged consumers that it infallibly entails. A recent initiative, code-named FUSION, serves to illustrate the ways in which Astral Radio is establishing its presence and relevance on the most prevalent digital platforms of the day. An analysis of some 6 000 clients spread over the various French-language markets of the province of Quebec provided the following observations: a) Over the initial six-month period of the FUSION roll-out, digital sales had increased by 81% YOY and were on target with the objectives set out in the initial plan; b) After the first six months of 2011 digital sales, 65% were associated with new digital clients, i.e. advertisers who had never bought any form of digital advertising from Astral before; c) Half of the 2011 digital dollars (51%) were coming from cross-selling radio and digital to the current radio clientele base. In today's mediascape, radio like all of its media competitors, must focus on leveraging technological partnerships to engage, grow and retain a higher percentage of their target customers.

Keywords: Canadian private radio, on-line advertising, digital strategy, engagement

This paper discusses the rationale and the ways in which Canada's largest private radiobroadcaster, Astral Radio, is transforming its business model and strategies in order to adapt to the imperatives of the digital environment and the new set of codes, practices, listening behaviors as well as advertisers' constant search for engaged consumers that it infallibly entails. A recent initiative, code-named FUSION, serves to illustrate the ways in which Astral Radio is establishing its presence and relevance on the most prevalent digital platforms of the day.

As such, a five-year \$6 million in capital expenditure agreement signed in the Winter of 2010 with Emmis Interactive, a fully-owned subsidiary of Chicago-based Emmis Broadcasting, is designed to significantly reposition Astral Radio's image on the web through a combination of a new look, dynamic content and functionalities, a more integrated interplay with the on-air hosts and programming elements as well as innovative rich-media advertising concepts. In this sense, this undertaking constitutes not only a major investment in the broadcaster's everyday operations but more importantly in organizational culture and human resources as well, where 55 new

¹ The author wishes to acknowledge the valuable assistance provided by Teilhard Gentillon during the research phase of this paper.

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positions have been created across Astral's radio properties bringing the total tally of the venture to \$25 million over the five-year covenant.

The Canadian Radioscape

Canada's 1,221 licensed radio and audio services make it one of the better community-based broadcasting systems among the G20 countries. From a language standpoint, 75% of the radio and audio services are broadcast in English (n=910), 22% in French (n=265) and 3% in another language (n=46) (CRTC 2010). With the exception of the United States with its 14,000+ licensed stations, Canada has more radio stations than France (886), Australia (688), the U.K. (510), Japan (368), Germany (278) and Italy (202) (ACMA, 2009; CRTC, 2009). Of these Canadian services, 98% are over-the-air and 60% are provided by private commercial broadcasters, while the national broadcaster (CBC/Société Radio-Canada) accounts for 9%. The remaining 31% consist of religious, community, campus, Aboriginal and other radio and audio services.

One of the defining characteristics of the Canadian radio market is the fact that more than two-thirds of private stations operate in "small markets", i.e. with a population base of less than 250,000 people. The remaining third are located in metropolitan areas of 500,000 people and higher. From an economic standpoint, the 644 private commercial radio undertakings that were operating in 2009 generated some \$ 1.5 billion (€ 1.07 billion), a 5% pullback over the previous year.

One cannot speak of the Canadian radio market as a single commercial entity as the linguistic idiosyncrasies of the English and French-speaking markets³ not only bring about significant business differences but, as we will see shortly, regulatory ones as well. For its part, the English-language market is dominated by five operators which together account for 68% of total national revenues. They are: Astral Radio with 21% of English-language market revenues; Corus Entertainment Inc. at 16%; Rogers Broadcasting Ltd with 14%; Bell Media at 11% and Newcap at 6%.

The French-language private radio market is concentrated around three operators which together account for 81% of total national revenues. Astral Radio is the dominant player with almost half the revenues (45%), followed by Corus Entertainment Inc. at 21% and Cogeco Inc at 15% (CRTC, 2010).

Not surprisingly, average weekly hours dedicated to radio listening in Canada in 2009 were down across all age groups by a collective 3,2%, to 17.7 hours. More troublesome are the comparative numbers for 2008 and 2009 for the following three demographic groups: Teens 12-17 show a year-over-year decrease of 6,2% at 6.8 hours a week; Adults 18-24 down 8% at 12 hours a week and Adults 25-35 at -4.1% with 16.6 hours a week going to traditional radio listening (CRTC, 2010). Such numbers only serve to reinforce what everyone in the industry has feared for many years: the slow but gradual erosion of the younger public to the benefit of digital distribution platforms.

Astral

Astral is a leading Canadian media company, reaching people through a combination of highly targeted media properties in television, radio, out-of-home advertising, and digital media. Astral employs some 2,800 people at its facilities in Montréal, Toronto, and a number of cities throughout Canada.

Astral is Canada's largest radio broadcaster with 83 licensed radio stations in 50 markets. With 23 television services, the Company is also the country's largest broadcaster of English- and French-language pay and specialty television services. Astral Out-of-Home is one of Canada's most innovative out-of-home advertising companies with more than 9,500 faces located in the largest markets in Québec, Ontario and British Columbia. Astral also operates over 100 websites with a high level of interactivity and a variety of different products and services online.

³ Based on the 2006 federal census, Canadians who declared French as their mother tongue represent 22.1% of the total population. Source: <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/as-sa/97-555/p6-eng.cfm>

Astral has built a portfolio of diversified media properties in order to alleviate business risks and maximize Return On Investment (ROI) based on the following three principles:

1. Concentrate, and be a dominant player, in high potential growth media properties such as pay and specialty television, out-of-home, radio and to a lesser degree digital, since the path to profitability in the latter is yet to be clearly established;
2. Optimize a blend of revenue streams to benefit from an upswing in the economy while limiting downturn when Canadians are going through difficult economic times such as now, since people are expected to increase TV subscriptions instead of spending their discretionary dollars outside of their home.
3. Since economic realities from western, central and eastern regions of Canada differ significantly, reduce advertising risks by geographically diversifying media properties that generate the bulk of advertising revenue.

To this day, this strategic orientation has been most beneficial for Astral as it almost constantly earns it an "outperform" rating from the Canadian investment community. However, like most media and entertainment businesses in Canada, Astral Radio is currently experimenting with finding the optimal play in digital. Advertisers are increasingly requesting channels that can simultaneously deliver the maximum number of consumers within the targeted socio-demographics while solidly engaging them with the experience provided by the content that they elect to listen to. In addition, the widespread availability of pure play digital icons such as Pandora, Last FM, Spotify and the like are -or will soon be- offering music on an on-demand basis⁴, providing young listeners with access to music that suits their tastes and preferences as well as those of their peer group. These types of factors and environmental conditions combined to convince Astral Radio's senior management of the urgency to develop a cohesive digital strategy that would have a twofold objective: a) repatriate the so-called "Lost Generation" within the newfangled Astral digital initiatives and, b) send the signal to advertisers that Astral is doing what it takes to bring them as close as possible to where their target customers are. It is thus in this context that Astral Radio designed a business model that strives to synergize radio properties with digital activities.

Astral Radio

By acquiring Standard Broadcasting Corporation in 2007, then the country's largest English-language radio broadcaster, Astral Radio became Canada's *de facto* leader in both official languages with its stable of 62 English-language and 21 French-language stations scattered over eight provinces. The map⁵ below shows the geographical locations of the 83 radio properties and their concentration in the provinces of British Columbia, Ontario and Quebec.

⁴ Although, as of September 2011, Pandora and Spotify are not yet legally available in Canada, many similar services such as Grooveshark, Rdio and Slacker are offering personalized, on-demand musical content.

⁵ URL: <http://www.astral.com/en/advertising/radio/our-radio-stations>

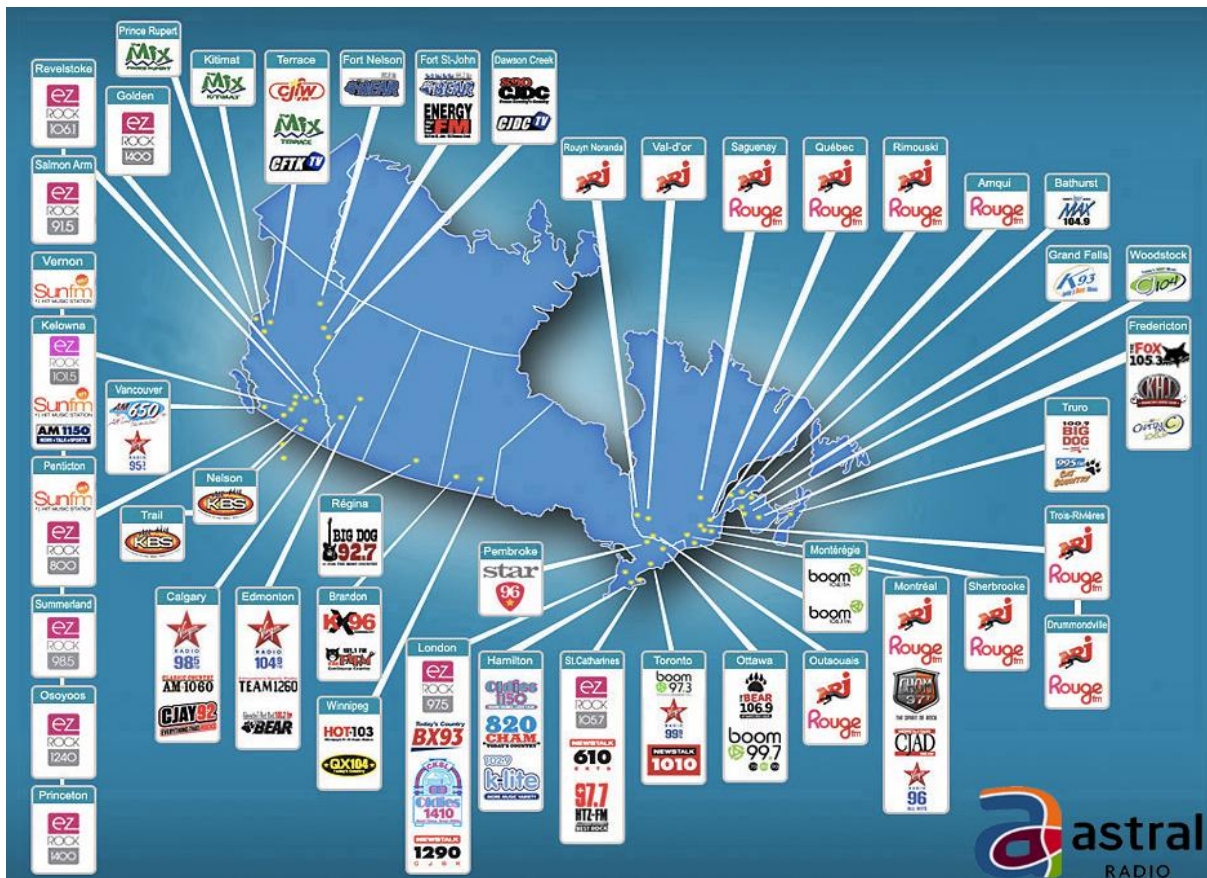


Figure 1: Astral's radio stations

As expected from a traditional private radio broadcaster, Astral Radio revenues are heavily dependent upon spot advertising which provides some 97% of income, the other 3% coming from digital sales (approximately 2%) and various merchandising activities (1%). As such, geographical diversification and a portfolio of well-known brands offer a safeguard against any national and/or regional adverse economic conditions. With its staple of some of the country's best-known brands such as Virgin, NRJ, Rouge FM, EZ Rock and The Bear, Astral's 83 radio stations reach some 17 million Canadian listeners every week in 50 markets with a 15% share of tuning to English-language radio and a 28% share to French-language radio stations. These numbers make Astral the leader among private commercial radio operators in Canada.

Astral Radio's perennial challenge has been to nimbly adapt to a media environment in constant flux and be able to transmute both years of loyal engagement on the part of its listeners and an enviable relationship with local and national businesses into innovative and engaging advertising concepts that could deliver small groups of very interested consumers to advertisers. This seemingly natural objective strikes at the very heart of the transition that most traditional radio broadcasters are currently undergoing. After years of successfully offering popular and generalist content to broad audiences on a market basis, radio operators must now fight a war of relevance with a host of new, and for the most part unregulated, digital entrants that not only cater to personalized content choices but also make them available on a variety of distribution platforms.

The Canadian Media & Entertainment (M&E) Context

One of the best known facts about Canada and certainly one of its biggest tourist draws, is its geographical expanse. Its 33 million inhabitants are scattered over a territory of 10 million km² bridging the Atlantic, Pacific and Arctic oceans, with 75% of the population living within 150 km of the United States border. Not surprisingly, with 3.5 inhabitants per square kilometer, Canada has one of the lowest population densities in the world.

From a media and entertainment standpoint, Canada is the 8th largest market in the world, with a total spent of 38.2 billion dollars in 2010 as estimated by PricewaterhouseCoopers in its latest Global entertainment and media outlook: 2011-2015 (see figure 1).

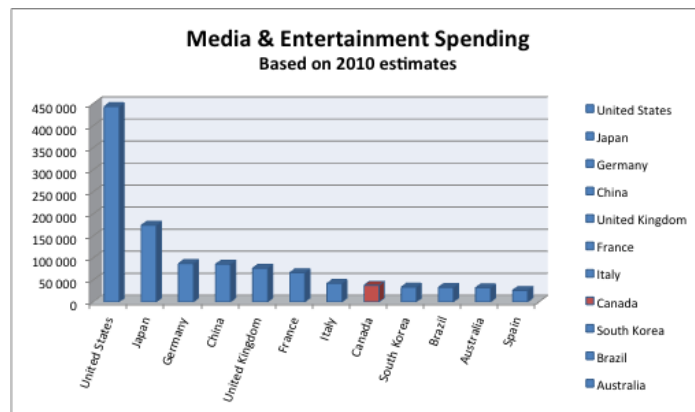


Figure 2: Media & Entertainment Spending
Source: PricewaterhouseCoopers (2011)

As an industry, the Canadian M&E is a healthy one, having grown at a compound annual growth rate (CAGR) of 2,9% over the last 5 years despite the severe economic downturn of 2008 and the subsequent spillover effects that, in many cases, are still being felt. When combining consumer, advertising, digital and non-digital spending, the compound annual growth rate for the period 2011-2015 is estimated to double at 5,8% (see figure 2), a level that would appear to justify the investments made both in the emerging platforms and in their associated products and services.

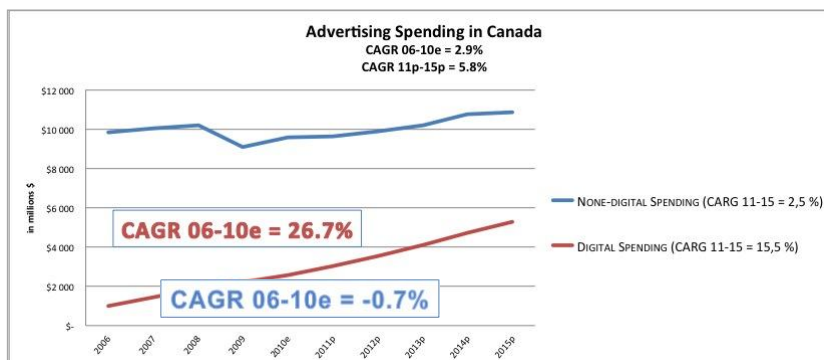


Figure 3: Media & Entertainment Spending in Canada
Source: PricewaterhouseCoopers (2011).

Figure composed with "data explorer" tool at www.pwcmediaoutlook.com

For both traditional and digital media, one of the key vectors of growth is linked to advertising activities. Predictably, the global recession of 2009 significantly impacted the revenues that traditional media generated from advertising dragging the 2009 numbers to pre-2006 level with a return to the 2008 echelon not expected before 2014 (PwC, 2011). For the 2006-2010 period, PwC estimates that the compounded results for non-digital advertising spending in Canada came in at -0.7%. Conversely, digital media continued their growth during the same period with an estimated CAGR of 26.7%. As PwC comments in its 2011-2015 outlook, digital media's forte resides in the advertiser's ability to appear where the right people are, especially when they can provide interaction with the target audience in a personalized way.

"Advertising agencies are responding ... by providing their clients with new ideas for connecting with consumers via digital platforms, thus enhancing ad effectiveness and RoI (return on investment). Agencies are also investing in the success of digital advertising by sharing the risks and rewards with brand owners, and experimenting jointly with new ideas. At the same time, advertisers are increasingly demanding transparent, verifiable evidence that they are hitting the right segments with the right messaging via the right platform, a requirement that is seeing audience measurement move away from volume toward engagement. (PwC, 2011b:2)

The strength of the gradual transition from traditional media advertising toward digital media is unquestionably gaining traction: while spending on digital media represented 9% of total budgets in 2006, it has climbed to 21% in 2010. PwC forecasts that advertising on digital venues should represent a third (33%) of all Canadian advertising spending by 2015. For any traditional broadcaster, the 2.5% compound annual growth rate for the period 2011-2015 envisaged by PwC pales when compared to the 15.5% pace at which digital advertising is expected to progress (see figure 2). In this sense, the writing has already been on the wall from some time now and Astral Radio's digital strategy is but an adaptive reflex to an otherwise rapidly evolving media eco-system in which it still occupies a leading position.

Redesigning Astral's Digital Persona

Although by some standards Astral Radio's decision to establish a marked presence in the digital sphere could have come sooner, its earlier efforts, albeit timid, were far from delivering the sort of unambiguous signals that one would expect. While the Canadian radio industry's yardstick set a range of between 3 to 5% for the portion of advertising revenues attributable to digital properties, Astral Radio's performance was a paltry 1.5%, a number that understandably did very little to convince the administration of the merits of a massive investment in digital ventures. The counter argument of course was that it was precisely because of a lack of a clear, aggressive and efficiently executed strategy that Astral Radio was missing out on the irreversible digital transition. The decision was thus made to extend what was an indisputable dominant radio footprint into the high growth digital media space.

By acquiring Standard Broadcasting Corporation's radio assets Astral Radio was inheriting its collection of antiquated Content Management Systems (CMS) that only added complexity to what Astral was already using. Dealing with a variety of CMS's within the same company is a costly, time-consuming, resources-heavy infrastructure that considerably hinders one's ability to innovate and be nimble.

Soon after the hiring of a Chief Digital Strategies Officer in the summer of 2009, Astral elected to streamline its web activities and migrate its three main CMS's and related sub-systems into a common web CMS. That decision was motivated both by the urgency to bolster many of the group's then stale-looking web properties and by the need to revitalize the entire collection of websites so that they could be a contributing factor in the digital sales strategy that was being developed. The objective was clear: build a dynamic business model capable of expanding, responding and adapting to the changing online landscape while increasing revenue through multiple sources. By proceeding with a massive overhaul of its web operations, Astral Radio was counting

on making significant gains in the way its business partners would now perceive its capacity to blend on air and online strategies.

The decision to proceed with a company-wide integrated web CMS was a no brainer. Everyone in management saw the tangible benefits that would ensue and acknowledged that fast tracking the project was the only way to close the gap with the competition and send a clear signal to the industry that Astral was making the required commitment to extend its leadership in traditional radio over to the digital platforms arena.

In February 2010, Emmis Interactive, a spin-off of Emmis Broadcasting from Chicago, Illinois, was selected as the sole vendor of the web CMS, a service marketed by Emmis as an Engagement Management System. Emmis committed to fully integrate Astral's various CMS models into its BaseStation system and guaranteed its fluid functionality. Most importantly, Emmis promised the launch of a redesigned version of the radio group's 83 websites by the end of the summer, no small feat considering the number of radio brands involved and the French and English language issues.

The external provider chosen had indeed a very good story to tell. For starters, the platform it had developed for Chicago Q101 was being used in some 20 American markets where the proportion of web-driven advertising revenues to total station sales averaged 9% - even climbing as high as 16% in one case-, a hearty number that would get any radio operator's attention. What made those numbers all the more enticing was the way by which they were obtained: they were the direct by-product of a carefully planned business model and developmental strategy that made the BaseStation proposition a compelling one.

For Astral Radio, partnering with Emmis Interactive was much more than simply buying a technological platform that would make its 83 websites look, feel and function better. Astral Radio was getting a fully integrated solution. A suite of services that promised to invigorate its web properties and optimize their full revenue potential. Astral put together a multifunctional team made up of representatives from sales, content, technology, HR and finance whose mandate was to evaluate Emmis' model and develop a tailor-made business model. The project was code-named FUSION, an acronym that stands for Force, User, Synergy, Interactive and ON, as in "all engines running".

The FUSION model is predicated upon a three-pronged strategy: 1) provide local markets with qualified web and sales staff; 2) equip them with the right toolset, and 3) allow for sufficient on-site training to take place. On the face of it, this is a most simple approach. Nonetheless, it calls for a massive financial commitment because of the number of new hires required, the redesign of the website templates and functionalities as well as the associated mentoring costs.

Since the launch of FUSION, it is now incumbent upon each local market to generate, update and publish daily targeted local content and advertisement on Astral Radio's interactive platforms. To that end, two new positions were created and a third one redefined:

- The Digital Content Producer's (DCP) primary role is to make sure that all websites under his care spawn locally pertinent and frequently updated material (see figure 4). He works closely with the Digital Account Manager to produce and implement custom advertising solutions capable of delivering strong return on investment for the buyer. The Digital Content Producer collaborates with Programming and Promotions to build and maintain a meaningful and viral database of the stations' members.
- The Digital Account Manager (DAM) is the new in-house expert at delivering compelling pre-sell presentations and is accountable for making sure that the right message gets delivered to the right prospective client. As such, the DAM works closely with the local Digital Content Producer in overseeing successful execution and launch of campaigns as well as post-campaign reporting. In addition, the DAM is responsible for the on-going digital coaching and training of sales representatives.
- The Brand Manager (BM) of a local market is the new title given to what was formerly known as the Program Director in radio parlance and is accountable for Astral's assets across all platforms. As the steward of his

brand(s), he has final say over on-line content as well as over any programming, promotional or sales partners associated with the various brands present in a given market. The BM is responsible for content, layout, and promotion, both on-air and online, and must ensure the best online experience for his market stations' fans. Ultimately, it is the BM who is answerable for achieving targets for page views and unique visitors while sharing digital revenues responsibilities with the Sales Manager.

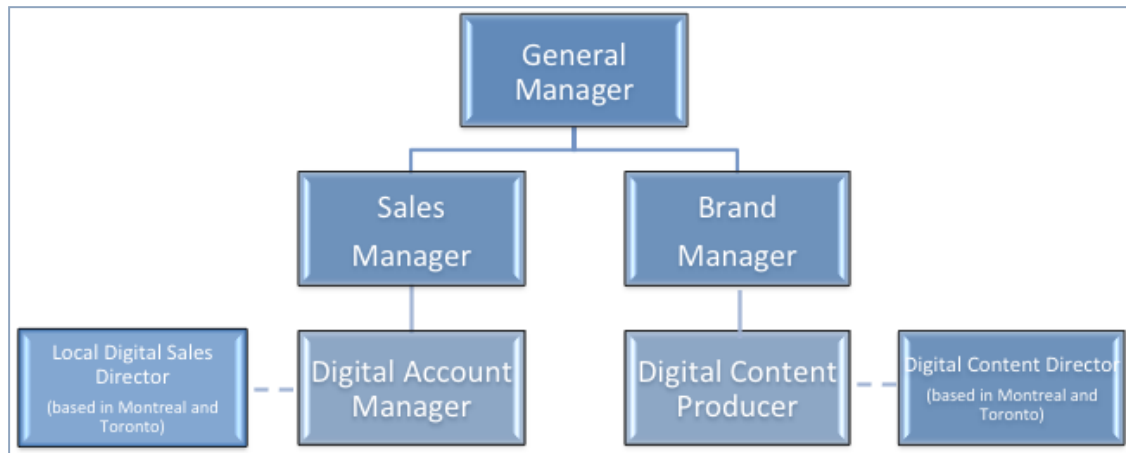


Figure 4: Local Responsibilities

Despite the kinds of repercussions that any operation of this magnitude unavoidably provokes on the organizational structure and daily operations of the company, FUSION was launched because it first and foremost made financial sense for Astral Radio. It is estimated that should the new strategy succeed in raising the proportion of web-based revenues to 5%, the investment will be recouped within three years and become accretive on EBITDA⁶ as soon as the second year after implementation.

After the usual back and forth on the specifics of the contract between the two parties, the agreement was finally sealed in the spring of 2010. Astral Radio was now committed more than ever before to building a two-way thoroughfare between its on-air and online properties and providing to advertisers the desired targeted consumers along with a much improved level of engagement with the brands that they consume and identify with.

Operationalizing the Solution

Senior management was adamant. Now that the agreement was signed, all 83 sites had to be promptly revamped, web and sales-dedicated staff hired and trained before the start of the 2010 Fall season. To coordinate the mission at Astral, a triumvirate was formed and was comprised of: a) a project leader responsible for the financial and organizational elements of the project; b) a former station director, highly regarded and perceived as "one of them" in both French and English markets, in charge of evangelizing throughout the various markets, and; c) a digital platform officer overseeing the technological components of the new solution being implemented.

And so the Road Show began. Starting in March, every radio market was first visited by two members of the triumvirate whose objective was both to explain the details of the upcoming web overhaul and, more importantly, to tell local market staff about the ways in which they would be supported in making the transition. Because Astral Radio was entering uncharted territory, it was felt that in order for this project to develop any traction, everyone needed to understand the nature of the changes coming, the extent of their involvement as

⁶ EBITDA: earnings before interest, taxes, depreciation, and amortization.

well as management expectations. Attending those meetings were the markets' General Manager, the Brand Manager and the Sales Manager.

They were informed that starting now, Head Office was freeing up the required budget so that each market could hire a webmaster, also known as the Digital Content Producer, a specialist in web sales, a.k.a the Digital Account Manager and could convert the program director's job description into that of a Brand Manager. Because Astral was buying the rights to use Emmis' platform and business philosophy, one of Emmis' co-presidents was directly involved in the hiring process advising Astral's human resources and local market's management on the types of candidates best suited to implement BaseStation. In most markets, webmasters and Brand Managers were provided with a full day of on-site technical training where guidelines were spelled out and design and framework standards demonstrated. French-language markets were allocated one and a half days in order to account for *in situ* translation services. Sales teams were also run through a full day of workshops. At the end of the Road Shows in June 2010, a grand total of some 1,000 hours of training had been dispensed. This intense and personalized "on the ground" coaching approach was clearly one of the key features provided by Emmis personnel which swayed Astral to buy into the BaseStation solution.

As critical as it is, adequate training is but one element in a complex series of interdependent factors. Corporate support must not only be clearly expressed and unwavering but frequently reiterated and above all tangibly articulated. As in the way sales compensations have been restructured to create momentum around the launch of FUSION. Thorough discussions were held by executives to evaluate which of the following two scenarios was better suited to the FUSION advertising sales model: a) in order to attain 100% of his target remuneration package, a rep would need to have fully attained both his radio and digital targets and bonuses would be awarded solely on the basis of combined radio and web sales over and above the set targets, or b) turn the digital sales into a lucrative incentive, meaning that whatever is sold over and above the targeted on-air sale generates a premium. At the end of the day, Astral Radio was making a substantial investment into FUSION and wanted to make sure that employees would recognize and be motivated by the financial advantages that it represented for them. Thus, the second scenario prevailed which means that at least during the first year of implementation any web sale would generate the radio sale's normal rate plus an additional 2% commission for the sales rep and the sale managers. Furthermore, a bonus is paid out upon achieving either the radio or web targets with a 50% premium awarded when both targets are reached. This sort of gratification-by-premium program is the time-tested formula to boost sales as reps and their supporting cast are naturally conditioned to respond to this sort of motivation.

Management did not spare any effort in providing the sales team with the wherewithal required to make the digital shift. To that end, a comprehensive playbook was prepared by digital sales directors that spelled out all the new business rules and strategies to promote digital. Both the Digital Sales Process and the Campaign Execution Process guides (see figure 5 and 6) contain definitions of roles and responsibilities, a description of the sorts of digital products that Astral can offer, their technical specifications, pricing, inventory management, on-air promotions of digital products, etc..



Figure 5: Digital Sales Process Guide
Source: Astral (2011). Integrated Radio-Web Playbook Sales.

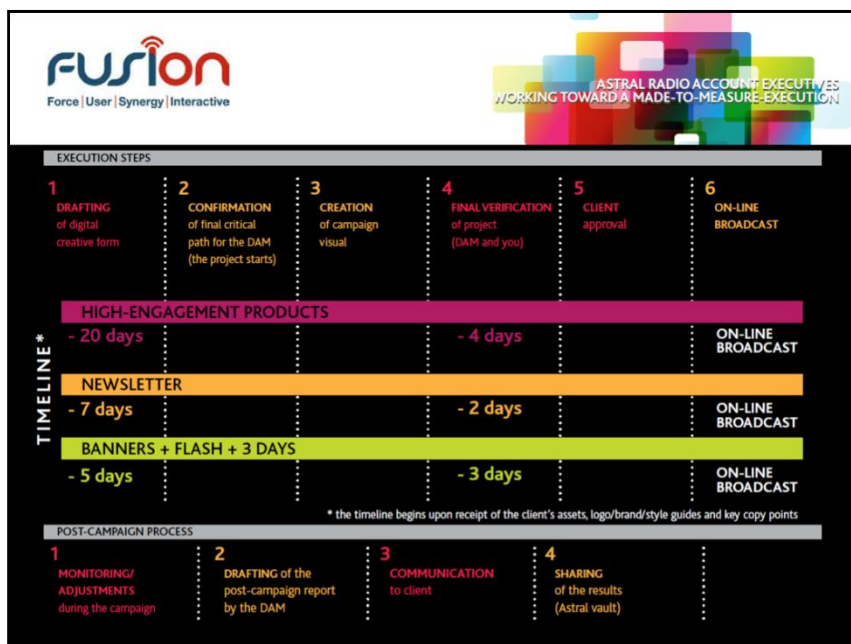


Figure 6: Campaign Execution Playbook
Source: Astral (2011). Integrated Radio-Web Playbook Sales.

Furthermore, a "31 Length" award program was created. Named after the historical 1973 Belmont Stakes race in which jockey Ron Turcotte beat his competition by an unprecedented 31 horse lengths (see figure 7), this program is designed to ignite competitiveness among Astral radio markets and celebrate the over-achievers.



Figure 7: 31 Length Award Inspirational Picture
This is the defining image of Secretariat as it roars to a record breaking 31 length victory.

When FUSION was launched, Astral Radio's sales force jumped out of the gate and quickly closed an encouraging number of digital sales. Momentum was palpable. Clients were presented with innovative products that allow them to engage in a more dynamic and personalized way with their consumers than ever before. Initial reaction from advertisers was auspicious as FUSION was able to deliver progressive concepts that were in tune with the standards and expectations that have become the new digital norm. In an internal memo sent to employees on December 7, 2010, Astral Radio announced that sales numbers for the first quarter under the FUSION strategy had come in at 112% of set target, an achievement that, while still early to make any claims, was the sort of signal everyone was hoping for.

Producing an innovative rich-media digital campaign was a challenge for a sales team used to sell, conceive, produce and air a radio campaign within a day (see figure 6). But there was more. The real challenge was in fact managing sales reps' and advertisers' expectations as both parties saw the potential of this new platform and wanted to push the creativity to new heights. With time and experience, pricing was revisited to better reflect actual traffic generated and as the sales force became more comfortable selling digital, advertisers were not only better supported and advised but their expectations were also better managed. In some cases, in the spirit of openness and exploration, Astral Radio went as far as sharing the risks and rewards with advertisers as they experimented with new concepts.

Lessons Learned

Although it is premature at this point to determine whether FUSION has proven to be a success, initial indicators are sending all the right signals. Twelve months after the rollout, sales growth is coming in at 75% year-over-year (YOY), which is in line with the corporate objective to have web-based activities generating after Year 1 an overall average of 2.5% of broadcast revenues, with a range set at between 2 and 5% per market. As aggressive as these targets might seem, almost every single station gave it its unconditional support. It speaks to the natural entrepreneurial DNA of private commercial radio operators who feel that, given the set of resources that they are now provided with, these sorts of numbers are realistic and achievable, barring any major economic slowdown like the one the western world is still painfully working its way out of. Individual radio markets are now the masters of their own destiny. The targets are clear and the strategy used by Astral Radio has delivered convincing results in over 20 U.S. markets.

Although the online sales numbers are to date unmistakably positive, they nevertheless raise a fundamental question: are they being attained at the detriment of on-air results, that is to say is it possible to establish any kind of correlation between gains made in digital and their potential adverse impact on traditional on-air sales? Could we be witnessing yet another example of media cannibalization and if so, why invest so many financial, human and technical resources if it all ends up in a zero-sum game? The whole FUSION endeavor was predicated upon the premise that digital would contribute to overall sales growth and not simply result in shifting money from one silo to another with minimal benefits other than those related to the broadcaster's organic growth.

Six months into the implementation of FUSION, Astral conducted a thorough study to assess whether any sales indicators could be attributable to the new digital strategy. An analysis of some 6 000 clients spread over the various French-language markets of the province of Quebec provided the following seven observations:

- Over the initial six-month period of the FUSION roll-out, digital sales had increased by 81% YOY and were on target with the objectives set out in the initial plan;
- After the first six months of 2011 digital sales, 65% were associated with new digital clients, i.e. advertisers who had never bought any form of digital advertising from Astral before;
- Even more interesting, 24% of total digital revenues for the first six months of 2011 were coming from new advertisers to Astral, i.e. clients that had bought neither digital nor traditional spots before. Those new advertisers brought over 1.7M\$ in additional new on-air spot revenues;
- Half of the 2011 digital dollars (51%) were coming from cross-selling radio and digital to the current radio clientele base;
- On a net basis, radio spot revenues had increased when Astral was able to sell clients both digital and radio campaigns, albeit both not necessarily aired simultaneously;
- There were no significant transfer of spending between radio spots and digital ads which tends to suggest that those platforms were seen as complementary; and,
- When Astral sales reps were including both media in their offering, there was a noticeable reduction in the churn rate which now stood at 11% compared to the standard 25% to 30% in the radio industry. In the eyes of Astral, that was interpreted as a sign that sales reps might have been perceived by advertisers as media consultant/advisers which in turn might have contributed to increasing their loyalty to Astral's radio properties and brands.

Ostensibly, it would be hasty to draw any sort of definitive conclusions on the relative impact of Astral Radio's digital overhaul. However, as the project unfolds, as people get comfortable with their role and expected contribution, as web traffic and sales numbers move up and technical glitches get ironed out, the road traveled over the last year yields a number of edifying lessons.

In hindsight, although everybody at Astral Radio recognized that something had to be done to steer the ship in a more progressive direction, senior management needed to see the evidence that FUSION was the way to go. Among the factors fuelling the initial skepticism were: the business model seemed exceedingly optimistic; the 100-day timeframe allotted to significantly alter the culture of the enterprise appeared short considering the extent, complexity and amount of hiring associated with the project; how many people whose skills were deemed to be no longer compatible with the FUSION requirements had to be let go?; what was a fair level of pressure to be put on the sales force to make the project work?; was Emmis really capable of dispensing the required training to as large a number of markets within such a tight schedule; how about the websites templates, their initial functionalities, those planned for phase 2 and 3, and road testing them?; and would the magnitude of the focus that was going to be put on implementing this digital sales strategy impact radio traditional spot sales?, etc.. All valid concerns that required factual and measurable answers for any administration to sign off on.

At the end of the day, implementing a dynamic digital strategy to freshen one's online image and combining that change with the imperative to increase advertising revenues because one is facing headwinds in one's traditional business units boils down to being more a human resources challenge than a technological one. Without a doubt, the biggest challenge of this sort of undertaking has to do with giving people a chance to prove themselves and contribute. That fact applies to the Brand directors of course but equally to the entire sales force and the station's management as well as on-air talent who all must now learn to do old things in different ways in order to fully capitalize on the radio/web synergy.

Today, nobody would dispute the fact that the outstanding rise of social networks has provoked a massive paradigm shift in the advertising industry and has consequently forced traditional media to revisit the way they connect their business partners with the clientele that they are seeking to reach. In its Global entertainment and media outlook: 2011-2015, PricewaterhouseCoopers writes about the digital "new normal" as now involving "...new platforms and technologies as central brand touchpoints, and using developments such as location-based marketing and addressable advertising to target ad content and messages at consumers based—respectively—on their location or demographics and interests" (2011b: 2). While digital currently accounts for just over a quarter of total industry revenues, its share is expected to account for 58.7 percent of all *growth* in advertising spending during the next five years (PwC, 2011c) a telling indicator of where the action will be taking place.

By all accounts, to remain relevant in today's highly dynamic mediascape, radio must rise to the battle of mindshare, a battle that is simultaneously being fought at the juncture of traditional, digital and mobile fields. Radio, like all of its media competitors be they traditional or digital, must focus on leveraging technological partnerships to engage, grow and retain a higher percentage of their target customers.

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Radio and Technologies. Ideas for research

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Abstract:

From a historical point of view, this paper aims at putting into perspective the evolution of radio technology. Radio was the first electronic network, and for its better understanding, this paper reflects on the concepts of remediation, improvement, succession, simultaneity and interchangeability. From the magnetic register to an electronic medium, radio is here taken as a medium that still count in cultural and social terms.

Keywords: radio, technology, history

Introduction

In the present text, I seek to reflect on some transformations which occurred in the history of radio, from concepts such as improvement (Friedel, 2007), network and law of suppression of radical potential (Winston, 1998), and remediation (Bolter and Grusin, 2000). To Friedel (2007: 4), the nature of technological change means: "Much of the truly interesting part of the story of Western technology told from this perspective lies in the changing means by which improvements become less likely to be ephemeral and more likely to be sustained over time and distributed over space". An improvement is neither ephemeral nor contingent but part of a sustained series of changes and this is the direction I intend to follow.

Winston (1998) proposes an idea of network which I seize upon and develop. For him, the network, in the modern sense, dates from the electric technologies such as Morse's telegraph, which is governed by the point-to-point principle, and Bell's telephone (1876), which right after involved the notion of telephone switchboard, a set of knots where many interlinked lines came to and left from in a multilinear path. Electronic technology came into the network with the radio (1920s) and with television (end of the 1940s). Hence, network means not just the physical connection between electrical points but also broadcasting, with a tendency to mean a group of persons, provided they have the necessary equipment, but with no need to know one another. In a sort of complementarity to that perspective, Smith (1993) considers the increase of the interaction and convergence of text and image machines at the end of the 20th century. According to him, that trend started a century earlier, when photography, cinema and the phonograph appeared. Smith sets differences between transportation and communication: if the former facilitated mobility and suburbanization in the 20th century, the latter exercised power in the change of the construction of the city's image, culture and events turned into news. Smith conveniently distinguishes transportation and communication and evaluates the differences within the latter, especially the several media. A lot of work has been done on communication, but an interesting line of investigation has been developed in transportation (Bissel, 2009; Packer, 2006; Urry, 2010; Vannini, 2009; Santos, 2011).

Predominant research in the media accepts the idea of the new as a way of overcoming the old: digital technologies such as the internet and virtual reality establish a divorce from the former medium; the recent medium radically suppresses the old medium. Bolter and Grusin (2000) put such an approach into question and offer a theory of mediation. For them, in the digital age, the new media find a new cultural significance because they pay homage to and renew former media, such as perspective painting with regard to photography, film and television. This process of renovation is called remediation, in which former media renew themselves in relation to older means: photography remediated painting, film remediated photography and television remediated film, vaudeville theatre, and the radio. From reading Bolter and Grusin (2000), I come to the conclusion that there is room for an epistemological rupture as well as a cultural reform, in which the new forms see themselves in the old ones, just as the first automobile looked like the carriage, the first television entertainment programmes copied success formats from the radio and the first internet newspapers were similar to paper newspapers.

The present text is the result of my personal experience as a radio listener, namely FM radio in the last four decades of the 20th century, and of empirical knowledge in the construction and repair of receiving equipment between the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the following decade, as well as my experience as a writer of radio history (Santos, 2005, 2010). In addition to this introduction, the chapter has four other parts, the following on development structures, in which I write about magnetic registering as record and memory. In the third, I write about a scientist, Edwin Armstrong, whose visionary capacity marked the evolution of radio, and its relation with other media. The last two parts deal with the massification and miniaturization of receiving equipment, associating technological efforts with the radio audiences and with the way amateurs socially seize the equipment.

Media development structures: succession and simultaneity

For Smith (1993), social and family structures reorganise themselves taking into account the new media and the array of apparatuses they create. Cinema in the 1920s and the 1930s, and the television from the 1950s onwards, redirected the home as family centre. Nowadays, the numerous apparatuses (which include computer, games console and mobile phone) divide the family and re-individualise it, encouraging a new domestic micro-consumerism. To this I call *succession* (or history) of media, not in the perspective of technological determinism but considering social uses, personal biographies and economic interests. The stories of magnetic record and of FM creation and expansion, which I present further on, are good examples. Smith (1993) draws attention to the fact that technological evolution is concentrated in interactions and dependencies of a social, artistic, technical and intellectual order. Marconi's work with the radio occurred at the same moment the Lumière brothers were working with cinema; Zworikyn was working on the basic principles of television (cathode ray tube) in the same decade as Méliès' most important activity. To this, I call media *simultaneity*, where there seems to be a common social and cultural aspiration.

Assuming the role of media historian and sociologist, my goal is to find the main structures of media development. In the radio, I detect four fundamental elements, some of a more historic nature and others of a more sociological scope: 1) since 1947, with the miniaturization brought about by the transistor, 2) from 1950, with the massification of media products (such as recorder tape), 3) impact introduced by transportation and mobility (car, airplane), 4) the articulation of elements for building industrial objects such as mechanization, uniformity and interchangeability (Friedel, 2007: 322-328).

In the interests of time and research, here I confine myself to the topics of massification of media products and the miniaturization brought about by the transistor, as well as to a historical reflection on magnetic registering and the inventions of Edwin Armstrong. On recording and its techniques, I follow Winston (1998), who particularly highlighted the record, film, sound recorder and video recorder. Sound and image recording enables the repetition of programmes, which represents availability in terms of transmission, beyond live transmission. Other authors name this distinction as *stock* and *flux* production (Flichy; Miège), being the former the one that can

be stored and aired at any time (film, radio serial, documentary). Dayan and Katz analysed another form, the *media event*, with preparation (announcement of its production) and long television transmission (royal wedding, music concert, Olympic Games). In this case, previous recording is included in the flow of live transmission.

The history of magnetic registering comprises names that are not known in the public domain, such as Oberlin Smith, Valdemar Poulsen and Fritz Pfleumer (Daniel, Mee and Clark, 1998), and which illustrate the concept of *improvement* by Friedel (2007). Oberlin Smith invented magnetic recording in 1878, after visiting Thomas Edison's laboratory and seeing his phonograph. On the one hand, Valdemar Poulsen, a Danish who was recruited as a telephone engineer in Copenhagen, became interested in magnetic registering, for he felt frustrated by the fact that it was impossible for telephone users to leave a message when no one answered. His magnetic recorder dates from 1898. On the other hand, Fritz Pfleumer, an Austrian inventor living in Germany, was able to invent a cheap recording system with cigarette paper based on bronze powder. Interested in magnetic recording, his first magnetic tape was a strip of paper with particles of pulverized iron. Even without knowing one another personally, these men knew directly or indirectly of the others' experiments, which shows a circulation of information and a technological maturity in central Europe and links to the United States. There is an almost simultaneous knowledge of these technological discoveries.

AEG, the German group, showed an interest in Fritz Pfleumer's invention and a contract with him in 1932 was signed. Eduard Schüller, who developed the magnetic head, a fundamental element in recording, and Friedrich Matthias, a chemical engineer who produced a celluloid tape, joined both Pfleumer team. At the Berlin's Exhibition, during the summer of 1935, AEG's model of recorder (magnetophone) was a big sensation: visitors were surprised when listening to their voices registered. Two and a half years later, AEG, together with BASF, produced an equipment for commercial sale, at a price of 1350 Marks (the average salary of an experienced technician was about 250 Marks) (Daniel, Mee and Clark, 1998). It should be noted that Germany lived under the Nazi regime. During the Second World War, the factory where sound recorders were produced was completely destroyed (1943). With the end of the war, since the Allied Commission invalidated German patents and copyright, AEG, BASF and Agfa did not receive any benefits from the growth of inventions linked to magnetic recording, contrary to what happened with American and European undertakings (such as EMI) and even Japanese (Sony, Matsushita-Panasonic and Toshiba).

Throughout the history of magnetic recording we can detect three main periods. The time when inventors acted in isolation and had a main activity that was different from their invention was followed by a time when researchers worked in big corporations and formed multidisciplinary teams and then by another time when, for several reasons (transfer of technology, copies, cessation of copyright, piracy), technologies became public domain and apparatuses were made by those undertakings which presented better functions or lower prices. If, on the one hand, the era of technical reproducibility (Benjamin) enables democratic access to works through copies, the ease with which a digital file can be copied turns out to be a problem for content producers.

Magnetic recording, first, and optical, after, can be looked at in the sense of Bolter and Grusin (2000), *remediation*. A recording is a way of registering a reality that becomes eternal, since the event is perpetuated and retransmitted (or reset) at any moment. This phenomenon was already happening since photography, which was intended to be a very objective and neutral memory of reality, in the sense of *immediacy* (visual representation that makes the viewer forget about the presence of the medium, as in the case of the cinematographic screen, and which moves or excites us while the images "run" on the screen, as if they were "reality"). Recording is also used in the sense of a record of the history of Man, of its events and technologies.

Remediation occurs in two levels, of which the most sophisticated is magnetic recording. For example, theatre plays through the radio. Before recorders, radio dramas were aired live, with the chances of showing the flaws of live representation. Radio drama is not and is the theatre. It is not because there is no physical and live audience, but it is because there is representation. With sound recording, it is possible to transmit plays that were

recorded a long time before. The example of Eduardo Street, the already deceased director of radio dramas, whose plays were aired at Antena 2 throughout 2010-2011, shows this double possibility.

Radio

I have great esteem for Edwin Howard Armstrong (1890-1954), an American engineer and inventor of three electronic circuits that were fundamental in the history of radio: regenerative or feedback circuit (1912), super-heterodyne (1918) and the FM system (1933) (Sterling and Keith, 2008). That is why I dedicate some attention to his career and examine it. From the reading that I have done, I come to the conclusion that the first, the regenerative circuit, was an apparatus with defective technology (noises of static electricity). For example, a receiver beside another one induced noises that were difficult to control. With the introduction of improvements it became much sought after and sold quite well.

In 1917, young Armstrong became a university professor at Columbia University. The following year he went to France with the American armed forces. As a captain, he developed the super-heterodyne circuit. Seen at a distance of almost a century, it is an easy and logical circuit, of three to four stages (from detection and oscillation to amplification) of electronic valves. The better sound quality and the elimination of many feedback noises turned it into a dominant model in terms of AM radios (amplitude modulation). During my youth, at the end of the 1960s, my closeness with the radio made me build or repair apparatuses with that technology. Without knowing it at the time, I owed a lot to improvements brought about by Armstrong. I worked with electronic valves, when equipment working as transistors gained market position, with the resulting revolution in uses and functionalities. While electronic valve (or lamp) radio, plugged to the electric current, was a fixed set, which took a central position in the home, later replaced by television, transistor and battery radios enabled mobility, making it possible to listen to the radio (telephony) anywhere: on the street, at the beach, in public transportation, still with loudspeakers before the mainstreaming of headphones, implemented by the use of the walkman (Sony), an apparatus that was more appropriate for listening to music tapes than radio programmes (and later replaced by mp3s).

When Armstrong returned to New York with a rank of major, a title he always used, he sold his radio circuits to RCA and became its largest single shareholder. RCA, then one of the biggest radio corporations, was run by David Sarnoff, who accepted Armstrong's proposal for more experimentation of FM receivers. FM (modulated frequency) is a type of modulation that indelibly marked the history of radio. To me, radio means FM, given the cultural context in which I lived my adolescence and as a young adult. FM was thought and developed by Edwin Armstrong at a time when AM prevailed. At the end of 1933, the 85th floor of the Empire State Building was reserved for him, but later Sarnoff retreated because he feared that FM was completely different from AM. That situation could bring business back to a starting position (Sterling and Keith, 2008). In 1935 Armstrong engaged with Carmine R. "Randy" Runyon to transmit in 110 MHz. The superior quality of music transmission pleased a lot of people. But, since there were no FM programmes to justify the acquisition of receivers and the sale of receivers didn't enable the creation of programmes and their commercialization, the process was not launched. In our time, that would happen with DAB (Digital Audio Broadcasting).

In trying to understand Edwin Armstrong's path – as it could have been done with Thomas Edison –, one gets the precise idea of the *improvement* as Friedel (2007) presented it. The scientist designed successive radio reception circuits and tried to eliminate faults in its functioning. After the design came the patents and the effort of commercialisation (the super-heterodyne through RCA, the FM receiver through General Electrics). There was a central core (the succession of stages in the circuit, the use of parts as electronic valves and condensers, dial and amplification) and the understanding of adding good reception (sound quality improved with stereophony) to a popular or elitist programming, depending on the target audiences: classical music in the initial FM, top 40 in American AM, radio drama and talk-shows, which, later on, also became popular on television.

Armstrong's life also illustrates Winston's *law of suppression of radical potential* (1998). The British author seeks to illustrate that the most advanced technological ideas don't always prevail, due to vested interests. Winston (1998: 13) uses the metaphors of the brake and the accelerator to explain his theory, which in turn explains the constraint in view of the latest development while the inventors, with prototypes and business projects, have to concentrate on one objective. Sarnoff's refusal to develop FM, which he himself recognised as revolutionary technology, had to do with the fear that such technology might be a threat to the system already installed (AM), while, on the other hand, a promising new medium was emerging, television, forcing investments in the latter. This made Armstrong seek other entrepreneurs that would understand him and forge partnerships for the transmission of programmes.

The radio had, from the very beginning, a special relation with music, first through live programmes and then the record. The advertising of musicians, good sound reproduction (electronic) and the updating of music broadcast on the radio made these two media inherently linked. There was a circulation between the two media: the radio advertised a record or singer, who became famous with live interviews. In the American case, RCA (industry and radio stations) on buying Victor (the record company that owned the brand "His Master's Voice") further developed this linkage. But the relation was unequal, since the record industry has no conditions to resist the competition from the radio (Winston, 1998: 84). In the case of the United Kingdom, there were efforts to use copyright to limit the radio's access to records, but to no avail. The relationship between the radio and cinema should also be noted: the radio advertised films and interviewed film stars. Differently, the press refused to read news on the radio based on the former. That happened in several countries, including Portugal. The first editing department in a radio, with journalists producing news reports, was formed during the 1960s, at Rádio Clube Português, although Emissora Nacional already produced news outside their studios with Fernando Pessa, a radio announcer, at the end of the 1930s.

Massification and miniaturization

Massification and miniaturization are two different elements although they are interlinked in radio reception and occur at well-determined times, even though developments occur throughout long periods.

Massification emerged right in the 1930s in the United States when radio plants take the place of amateurs who produced their own equipment and when listening to the radio goes from an individual to a collective experience (such as a football match at Rossio, in Lisbon, at the end of the 1920s) or with the whole family. In Portugal, massification occurs later, dating from around the 1940s and 1950s. Massification means better AM transmitters throughout the country and varied programming and with different broadcasters. On the other hand, purchasing power is necessary, because radios sets are expensive. In advertising done during the 1930s, it was obvious that only the upper-middle class and the upper class could buy such apparatuses. The values associated with advertising of the several brands are also geared to high culture. On the other hand, in a country with a long political dictatorship, a rather unattractive conservatism of form and content was imposed. Throughout the decades of the 1930s and 1940s radio prices fell, so it was easier to purchase them and also there were many stores that sold them on instalments. The radio, after its first few years, lost its aura of "educator" and became an "entertainer", gaining popularity especially those broadcasting stations that had a programme that was closer to the listeners' tastes.

The radio had two big advantages when compared to the press. On the one hand, it does not demand literacy, thus being understood by everyone, as long as it expresses itself in the national language and with music also sang in the same language. On the other hand, beside an initial investment (the purchase of the radio) and the electricity used, the radio doesn't cost any more money and reaches everywhere, working at any moment and can be shared simultaneously by a group of listeners.

The radio sets of the 1950s became smaller, although they were still equipped with electronic valves. With the application of the new technologies, such as the transistor, which replaced the valve, and small supply batteries, in the middle of that decade and even more in the 1960s, the size of receivers shrank substantially. Some of them were small enough to be held in one hand. The mobility of this equipment with new technologies made its use much simpler, bringing a new wave of massification. From then on, it was frequent to have a fixed radio at home and a transistor radio to be carried. The same phenomenon would occur with computers, with a desktop one at home and a portable one to be carried by the person, to work outside the home.

Transistor receivers came equipped with a loudspeaker. It was usual to see pedestrians with their small radios stuck to their ear to listen better to the programmes. Also, some of the programmes, transmitted for example at lunch time, made listeners carry their radios turned on. In 1974, a very popular soap opera was listened to in those portable radios: *Simplesmente Maria* (Santos, 2010).

Amateurs and technologies

The new transportation technologies that emerged at the end of the 19th century (bicycle, automobile) created a new class of social players, the amateurs, who had, by personal experience and from sharing with other amateurs, the capacity to repair and improve equipment (Friedel, 2007: 398). The emergence of the radio caused the same wave of enthusiasm, with knowledge acquired namely through popular technical publications. The amateur remained, throughout the 20th century, an important element in terms of innovation and change. Communications mechanisms built with the amateur in mind – magazines, centres and associations – were fundamental elements in the culture of improvement. Knowledge linked to the radio and the automobile, for example, became a men's affair. More to the end of the 20th century, the line between amateur and specialist became more blurred, especially in technologies linked to micro-electronics such as computer software and the internet, with amateurs spending endless hours searching for knowledge and updates.

The amateur produced two lines of approach: those who became specialists and professionals and those who spent time on it as a hobby, keeping a line separating them from the professional activity. Many of those who promoted the radio learned from the everyday difficulties that would come up. Thus, they belonged to a generation of practical people, almost with no time for theory, which was later fed by the faculties of engineering. Technical schools appeared at the end of the 1950s to eliminate shortcomings in technical knowledge at an intermediate professional level. The amateur who saw the activity only as a hobby could regress in terms of allocation of resources (time, financial, technical). In Portugal, the first entrepreneurs of radio stations abandoned radio broadcasting after a period of time, such as Abílio Nunes dos Santos Júnior (CT1AA station), who was active from 1924 to 1938 (Santos, 2005).

Linked to the amateur, the concept of fan emerges, an individual with a special preference for a project and who dedicates a substantial part of his life to knowing more and defending a project or brand. Besides the characteristics of the amateur, the fan shows passion in participating in the construction or reformulation of objects and is motivated to be part of initiatives to make known those objects of which he is a fan. He does not become a professional but has a specialization that is close to that of an expert. Amateur workmanship of electronic parts and circuits, before equipment was produced industrially, the preparation of transmission and reception antennas, the creation of programmes that range from telegraphy, radio broadcasting and the radio during the first years as a means of communication (Santos, 2005) and the publication of articles in magazines, for example, stressed the role of the amateur fan.

The fan is close to a distinct category which I will now present: the consumer. In the research that I have made on the first few years in the history of radio (Santos, 2005), I analysed the role of the consumer, whose main characteristic is being a listener of a programme geared for the general public. The listener can be a dilettante (good taste, specialized taste) or can be looking only for entertainment in music or any other programme. As

different audiences are formed through massification, the offer of programmes was altered and enlarged, creating specialized radio stations. Today, niche programming is more evident, replacing the more generalist offer. If initially the music that was transmitted had a classical repertoire, massification represented the popularization of the music listened to, with special emphasis on urban and popular music, shows (with no single standard) and record requests and talks related to contests. The consumer is already different from the amateur, for he is not a specialist and does not try to know the technical details of the equipment neither does he read science magazines.

Research on radio reception done at the end of the 1940s (Field and Lazarsfeld, 1946; Lazarsfeld and Kendall, 1979) indicated that listening to the radio was a feminine activity during the day, such as married women, while men listened to the radio at night, due to their professional activities. Seen from today, these conclusions have the stamp of its time: for example, women went into the workforce and, because of that, are not a different audience from that of men. But there is still a distinction between young adult consumers and older ones, such as in cinema. It is easy to understand the fact that cinema fans belong to the younger generation – adolescents and young adults have less personal and social responsibilities and more “free evenings”. Since young people are developing intellectual goals, a free evening can be spent at the cinema or another activity. Going to the cinema means the possibility of establishing fundamental personal contacts. What I wish to underline here are the constants and the structures throughout the decades and the methodologies of the survey, of which Lazarsfeld was a pioneer. When Lazarsfeld started his radio project, in 1937, he conceived it around four themes: radio and reading, music, news, politics (Scannell, 2007: 14).

Parallel to the concepts of amateur, fan and consumer, there has also been work done on the concept of hacker. This one takes two perspectives, that of the youth who enters into a sophisticated system and reveals safety fragilities and that of the specialist who develops systems and contributes to the improvement of a project or product. The second meaning was the first one to be created, while the first has acquired negative connotations, criminal action and is punished by law. The hacker is, like the other categories, someone who specialises, who knows the elements that are parts of a process and shares knowledge. The hacker, if included in a group albeit anonymous, follows his own code of ethics: the greater the difficulty to be overcome the more he will be admired by his peers. There is, then, a sense of pride in this illegal activity, which defies the canon.

Conclusions

My study was based on the radio as a means of communication, the technologies that supported it throughout the 20th century and its social and cultural improvements. Radio was the first electronic network, and for its better understanding I worked the concepts of remediation, improvement, succession, simultaneity and interchangeability. I looked for examples in the history of the radio and the media, such as magnetic registering and transformation of electronic circuits, to render the evolution of the medium more comprehensive. Massification and miniaturization of equipment and different specialised users (amateur, fan, hacker) were also elements of research.

The key issue of my research is technology. The use of a technology is not neutral, but based on the social use and private interests of corporations and official bodies and on the existing correlation of forces. Sometimes, there is pressure to keep a technology, other times successive experiments (from prototypes to launching products onto the market) lead to experiments and consumption in different directions. Other times, old ideas are recovered, because there is a more adequate knowledge and a renewed interest in the matter. The role of individuals, corporations, and countries, and exchange and technological knowledge follow paths not previously trodden but are able to follow expectations or old dreams.

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Chapter 2 | Towards Industry Imperatives and Multimedia Contexts



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Radio journalists and the Internet: A study on perceptions

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Abstract:

This study investigates how Portuguese radio journalists evaluate the changes that have occurred in the profession since the Internet has been integrated in newsrooms. The main purpose is to understand how these professionals perceive the influence of the Internet on journalism practices, roles and ethics. In order to achieve this purpose, it was carried out a survey of 30 journalists working at the four main Portuguese radio stations newsrooms. Results confirm that Internet is considered a positive influence on journalism. The global network allows an enhancement of journalists' communicative and practical performance, but is perceived as having a limited impact on traditional journalists' roles in a democratic society.

Keywords: journalism, journalists, radio, Internet, perceptions

Introduction

The rise of the Internet as a technological innovation has influenced journalism in many different ways. It stirred shifts in the news flow, in daily journalistic routines and in professional accountability, in rules, roles, practices and ethics, in the production and consumption of news information (Deuze, 1999; Bastos, 2000; Loosen, 2002; Garrison, 2003; Díaz Noci & Arriaga, 2003; Hermans *et al.*, 2009).

As summarized by Fortunati *et al.* (2009), in terms of journalism practices, there is evidence that the Internet has brought many changes. On the positive side, the new medium has been considered a source of new opportunities for journalists. It offers the possibility of enhancing their work and enables a faster and wider interactivity with readers. From a pessimistic perspective, the Internet has introduced a new breed of professionals devoted to preparing online editions, often young and underpaid, with tight deadlines, and forced by time pressures to focus on copy-and-paste work rather than writing articles. Most of their work is produced indoors at their desks.

Some of the most fundamental questions of journalism are related to professional roles, with the way journalists perceive themselves, how they describe themselves and the extent to which their views support the 'policy function' of the media (Quandt *et al.*, 2006). In terms of professional identity, journalists have reacted with ambivalence towards the Internet. They have revealed defensive attitudes and preferences of traditional professional role conceptions. Journalists, both print and online, continue to rate the interpretative/investigative and disseminator functions as very important. Thus, even if journalists' tasks have changed, they continue to rate as crucial for their profession the investigation of governmental decisions, the analyses of complex issues, and the ability to get relevant and verified news to the public as quickly as possible.

Journalism ethics seem to be changing and newcomers seem to be able to mingle traditional and new normative values. It is the case of Portuguese online professional journalists: the majority believes that 'traditional' journalists and online journalists should share a common ground of ethical values and standards (Bastos, 2008). Today, they all face new and complex ethical dilemmas in a media industry context marked by cost-cutting strategies that have transformed journalists into scoop seekers at any cost and have imposed them the need to recycle stories and manipulate them in order to continuously provide readers with "new" content (Davies, 2008). The creation of content in the global news industry takes place under increasingly precarious conditions, as the reliance on agency feeds grows, and as journalists are expected to do more with less time, fewer resources and colleagues (Deuze e Marjoribanks, 2009).

The pressure on online newsrooms has also been increasing due to the new demands in terms of audience expectations. In fact, media organizations are quite aware of what the public wants, and immediacy is pointed out as a very important factor for online news consumers. Still, they also expect accuracy and depth which, altogether, have new implications in terms of journalists' professional practices (Nguyen, 2010). Media organizations expect from digital contents the capacity to attract the public and, thus, features as free access, immediacy, interactivity, multiple choices will have an impact in the way news are produced and published. Furthermore, internet implied new technological skills, transforming practices and professional roles with different levels of acceptance amongst journalists. The multimedia concept is applied to the news production process and the journalists' ethos becomes dimmer in face of the recent challenges such as production roles, access to sources and public interaction. The response to this transformation is variable, even though, some of the studies point out that TV and radio newsrooms seem to adjust easier than newspapers or magazine newsrooms (Brown & Groves, 2010; Witschge & Nygren, 2009).

The aim of this study is to provide an empirical approach to the perception that Portuguese radio journalists have of the changes brought by the Internet in their everyday practice, professional role, and ethics. It is part of a wider research project on journalism and the Internet in Portuguese mainstream news media (Bastos, Lima & Moutinho, 2010) and follows closely the goals and methodological approach used in a previous international study by Fortunati *et al.* (2009). The current investigation has been conducted in the first semester of 2010. Our main research questions are: How are the features and innovations associated with the Internet perceived by Portuguese radio journalists? What are the main changes that have occurred, or may occur, in the various fields of the profession following the advent of the Internet? In journalists' perception, do these changes raise or lower standards of journalism?

Over the past decade, these topics have been investigated in several countries, with different methods. In Portugal, Bastos studied the impact of the Internet in the main Portuguese media newsrooms (2000) and investigated practices, professionalism and ethics of Portuguese online journalists working in mainstream media (2008). In this country, scarce investigation was made in both these areas, and even less in the specific area of broadcast journalism. In fact, few studies deal with the impact of the Internet on radio and television journalism.

The study of the relations between radio and Internet seems to reveal fewer differences than other media environments. In fact, it can be complementary since radio is the one medium that easier adapts itself to Web 2.0 and, furthermore, amplifies the social networks from the ether (Cardoso *et al.*, 2009).

Radio did not have to change but to adjust itself to a new technology, according to similar transformations made through its entire history, which some scholars, such as Fidler, call the *radiomorphosis* (Prata, 2008; Cardoso *et al.*, 2010). Even tough, and in spite of the referred proximity, radio has not been able to take full benefit from the potential that Internet can provide.

A Portuguese study concludes that online newspapers emerging from broadcast media (radio and television), broadly are the ones that take best advantage from Internet (Zamith, 2008). In this study, a chart

including 22 online news media was constructed with the purpose of measuring the global use of Internet potential. In this rank, two radio stations are in the first five best listed.

Several reasons can be provided in order to explain the under utilization of Web potential. Cardoso (2009) points five main causes that are strongly connected with production and reception: profitability/projects' funding; online audiences remaining in low levels; feeble citizen participation; increasing interactivity in radio programs in traditional broadcast; journalists' resistance to a greater flexibility in their professional cores.

Technological improvement brought a change in labor practices, transforming routines and professional demands, speeding up production and opening all the process to new capacities. An empirical study carried both in Sweden and in England enhances the relation between media companies' economical strategies and new professional roles developed by practitioners and the way they can transform the very core of the journalist profession (Witschge & Gunnar, 2009). Accordingly, and in a more centered level, these changes often put in question the traditional radio journalist's role, now transformed in an interactive multimedia journalist (Garrand, 2006) or even a net handler (Saíz Olmo, 2005). The classical cognition process was also modified and demands a newly web reasoning. Internet entered in practitioners lives at the end of the XX century, a bit more than two decades, but, even so, professional identity and self-representation as well as traditional journalistic routines cannot be replaced by the gesture of a simple click.

Internet generated new routines in radio newsrooms, which affected the way sources are treated, the general newsmaking process, or even the way that newsrooms assimilated the former online sections in their global production system. Radio journalists were used to handle sound but after these changes he's confronted with new challenges and had to learn new skills involving new languages as well as new tools. A study concerning Portuguese radio stations shows a progressive convergence process (Bonixe, 2009) and, accordingly, journalists develop multitasks skills, and are no longer limited to sound productions. Every day, practitioners have to deal with new technological challenges, new forms of expression, new routines and new ethical demands. Portuguese news radio stations take Internet seriously. However, their most important effort is made towards the traditional broadcast format, and, therefore, the organization is predominantly planned to support it. This reality is strongly entangled with the way radio people approach technology. Radio production staff regards it, mostly, as a tool that takes influence over professional routines the means for distribution and broadcast contents. Technology facilitates the diversity of contents and allows migrations to all kinds of platforms (Crisell & Starkey, 2009), the multiplicity of channels and thematic profiles, and broader sources of income (Cardoso *et al.*, 2009). In radio evolution process technology had a central role but, nevertheless, scholars tend to put it in a secondary level. Studies show a greater attention on contents and often forget the production process or the way they are distributed. Accordingly, the sound product is considered the transformation agent and the technological platform is disregarded (Cardoso, 2010; Herreros, 2008; Meditsch, 2001; Crisell & Starkey, 2009; Priestman, 2002; Cordeiro, 2004; Campos & Pestana, 2003). This conceptualization is clearly opposed to the technological determinism and has consequences in the way practitioners adapt to the new reality, delaying the global transformation of this medium.

Theoretical background

In order to interpret the changes occurring in the profession of journalism, one needs to consider both how this profession is socially constructed and how these socially shared meanings emerge from the relationships between journalists and their social context. Far from being static, these meanings and relationships are continuously reshaped and negotiated by social actors, with different levels of power (Fortunati *et al.*, 2009). The theoretical framework assumed in this study follows the approach outlined by these authors. Based on previous propositions by other authors, they look at journalism as a "social construction", which coconstructed meanings are rooted in the social relationship between journalists, publishers and readers. It is a framework that points

towards systemic complexity rather than simplification of analyses. Conceptualizing journalism in this way, they argue, allows us to see it as a phenomenon that is neither inevitable nor unilateral. In this framework, journalism is made of different images, ideologies, and perspectives that are generated by various actors and negotiated along the different lines of power existing in their relationships. In our study, though, the attention is focused mainly on journalists' perspective, foregrounding their acceptance, use, and vision of the Internet. Publishers and readers, however, remain on the scene as actors who influence the work environment in the newsrooms and with whom journalists confront.

In this context, it becomes relevant to understand how the adoption processes of digital technologies evolve in the profession of journalism. Over the last decade there has been much debate about the impact of the rise of the Internet and other digital technologies on traditional news media. One dominant focus in earlier studies was the technology-driven approach. These studies suggest that news content is determined by the available technologies. Hence, changes in journalism can be explained predominantly by technological developments (Hermans *et al.*, 2009). Technological determinism is also common among journalists when reflecting on changes in their profession. Several studies show that journalists credit great power to technology. In their minds, many if not most of the changes taking place in contemporary journalism are essentially *technology driven* (Örnerbring, 2010). According to Örnerbring, there are at least two reasons for the persistence of technological determinism as an explanatory factor among journalists with regard to their own work: first, technology is a highly integrated and therefore very tangible part of the everyday working life of journalists; and second, the technological paradigm for explaining change in journalism has deep historical roots.

Despite the insights provided by the initial technological determinism approach, later work dealing with the relationship between journalism and technology has generally rejected technological determinism in favor of more nuanced explanations. Hermans *et al.* (2009) formulated one model that stems from the integrated perspective of social constructivism. Here, the adoption of innovations is seen as a complex interaction process between professional, organizational, and economic factors. With this in mind, the role of social context factors, such as working conditions, workplace organization, and professional values, should be taken into consideration when studying the adoption of technological innovations in news media. Hermans *et al.* studied how the use of Internet applications by journalists working in mainstream news media is influenced by social context factors, such as background characteristics, work-related factors, and the perceived utility of Internet use as part of the daily journalistic routines. They suggest that implementation of technological innovations not only leads to changes in the daily routines of journalists, but also leads to redefining notions about themselves as professionals. Although journalists may be seen as a homogeneous occupational group, they are not expected to use all possibilities provided by the Internet to an equal extent and for the same purposes. Earlier studies indicate that differences occur between journalists in terms of how, and to what extent they use the Internet in their daily work (Garrison, 2000; Bastos, 2000; Hui-Ming, 2001; Niebauer *et al.*, 2000).

Research questions

The purpose of this research is to understand how radio journalists perceive and evaluate the changes occurring in their profession following the advent of the Internet. The main interest is to investigate this perception and evaluation across gender, age, length of work experience, intensity of Internet use, and degree of familiarity with the Internet.

As regards changes in journalist functions and practices, the research question is:

RQ1. Is the Internet considered a source of new opportunities in terms of work enhancement, speed, and opportunity to reach and interact with a wider audience?

Our hypothesis is:

H1) Younger journalists are more receptive in accepting the Internet and should appreciate more the opportunities that it provides for the improvement of their work practices.

As regards to the changes in professional identities, the research question is:

RQ2) Do journalists rate positively the changes wrought by the Internet on their traditional profile, especially on the gatekeeper, investigative, and disseminative functions?

Our hypothesis is:

H2) Most journalists may have difficulty to identify significant changes on their traditional role.

As regards to ethics, the research question is:

RQ3) Are journalists developing a new ethical outlook that mingles traditional and new values?

Our hypotheses are:

H3a) Older journalists may passively resist change, may seek to emphasize traditional roles, and may look at the online world as irreconcilable with traditional values.

H3b) Low and high Internet users, as well as male and female journalists, differ in the evaluation of the credibility of online news.

Sample and methodology

Four of the main Portuguese radio stations newsrooms were chosen: the public radio station RDP and the privately owned TSF, Rádio Renascença and Rádio Clube Português (shortly after the survey, the ending of this radio station was announced). The convenience sample involved 30 radio journalists. The research applies the questionnaire used in the international study made by Fortunati *et al.* (2009). The original questionnaire, elaborated in English, was translated and adapted by the researchers in to Portuguese. Afterwards, it was submitted to participants, through an online platform.

With the purpose of investigating the role of the Internet in newsrooms recognized or foreseen by journalists, we focused our study on some features of the profession: everyday practices, professional identity and ethical issues. All questions use the psychometric Likert scale, in which respondents specify their level of agreement to a statement. In order to compare all questions and calculate value means, we convert all the answers into a scale where 1 indicates a strong negative influence of the Internet to that factor and 5 a strong positive impact. For each question we calculate the 95% confidence interval for the mean and the median.

We also obtained personal data such as gender, age, newspaper, length of work experience, intensity of use and degree of familiarity with the Internet. Group comparisons were explored through analyses of variance and post-hoc analyses. Composite factor scores were computed and submitted to regression models in order to identify the importance of the personal variables.

Participants

Most participants work at the radio station TSF and Rádio Renascença. Male respondents represent 64,1% of the total. The average age is 34 years old and the average salary is 1.393,88 per month. In average, respondents have 12 years of professional experience in journalism, have had 15 hours of professional training in the last year, use the Internet for journalistic reasons since 2001, and spend 5 hours a day using the Internet for professional purposes.

Results

Work enhancement

According to our sample, the answer to our first research question (“Is the Internet considered a source of new opportunities in terms of work enhancement, speed, and opportunity to reach and interact with a wider audience?”) is clear: on the whole, the Internet is considered as having a positive influence on journalism.

			Statistic
WORK	Mean		3,8370
	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	3,5359
		Upper Bound	4,1381
	Median		4,0000
INTERACT	Mean		3,4410
	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	3,2310
		Upper Bound	3,6510
	Median		3,4231
SPEED	Mean		2,9833
	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	2,7769
		Upper Bound	3,1898
	Median		3,0000

Table 1 - Relevance of Internet on work enhancement, speed and opportunity to interact

However, some degree of ambivalence can be identified concerning the speed factor, which seems to be less relevant for radio journalists in comparison with print journalists. In fact, a previous study (Bastos, Lima & Moutinho, 2010) indicates that Portuguese print journalists ascribe greater importance to the speed factor.

It is possible to confirm the general positive perception of the Internet in their daily practices, in particular when it comes to Web searching for the latest news and for contextual information. But radio journalists still seem to have in great account traditional journalistic routines, such as face to face or telephone conversation with sources. At the same time, they valorize web search engines and information sites when it comes to finding information. News agency feeds seem to be less relevant in this process.

If we analyze closely each question, it is possible to conclude that Portuguese radio journalists consider the Internet very useful above all as a tool keep updated with the latest news, to have access to national governmental documents and to find background material for investigation. Web is seen as less useful to fact checking or to search for basic reference information, such as addresses or phone numbers. Consequently, it comes with no surprise to verify that if they stopped using the Internet, speed in the process of newsgathering would be the most negative effect. It would also be more difficult to live broadcast relevant news and to keep updated with the latest news. In all items regarding this issue, results show that, in general, the effect on journalistic work would be negative or very negative. According to our respondents, the impact would be less negative on matters related to fact checking or the development of investigative journalism projects.

Most radio journalists strongly agree that multimediality is a new important component to present the news and that in the long run online journalism is necessary and progressive for the radio stations. They also

agree that the Internet opened new possibilities for the radio stations defending, at the same time, that the news should be published online as soon as possible regardless the traditional radio station timings. On the other hand, they strongly disagree with the statement according to which radio sites get in the way of traditional radio stations. When asked if citizen journalism and blogging can be considered serious journalism, most journalist's show their disagreement. Furthermore, journalism "do it yourself" is not perceived as being a possible threat to radio journalism.

In terms of perceptions on the influence of the Internet on their practices, respondents strongly agree that the importance of technological skills increased considerably with the Internet and that the online publications allow the development of more attractive news formats. They also admit that there is some information that they could find only through the Internet. Hence, they consider the Web an important information resource. In contrast, they agree less with the statement according to which working for multiple platforms bring more rewards to the journalist work.

In terms of relation with the audience, there is a large consensus among our respondents around the statement according to which the combination of traditional radio and Internet potential benefits the public. In their view, the public demands radio stations to make use of Web potential. The relation with the public is also seen as an important advantage of online journalism. On one hand, respondents disagree with the statement according to which traditional radio is more reliable than online radio but on the other recognize that the public prefers traditional radio when it comes to important issues. They are less clear regarding the statement according to which the public wants news not interaction with journalists, since they point to a middle of the table "do not agree nor disagree".

In order to verify which are the most important variables in predicting variation in work enhancement, speed and opportunity to interact with the public we use the Stepwise method which adds predictor variables to the regression that best correlate with the dependent variable, and subtracts predictor variables that least correlate. This way one generates a regression equation using only the predictor variables that make a significant contribution to the prediction.

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	3,654	,179		20,397	,000
Training	,551	,265	,406	2,081	,049

Table 2 – Coefficients obtained using Stepwise (Dependent Variable: WORK)

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	4,721	,393		12,026	,000
Gender	-,778	,172	-,669	-4,515	,000
Age	-,950	,201	-,839	-4,727	,000
net_use	,712	,190	,649	3,750	,001
net_connect	-,078	,036	-,338	-2,164	,043

Table 3 – Coefficients obtained using Stepwise (Dependent Variable: INTERACT)

The number of hours of training is the only variable that explains the perception of the Internet role on the work enhancement, but it is not relevant to explain interaction with the audience. Regarding this last factor, the decisive variables are gender, age, Internet use (it considers the number of years using Internet for professional reasons) and Internet connection (it regards the number of hours using the Internet on daily bases for journalistic purposes). *Ceteris paribus*, older journalists, male, intensive Web users and professionals using Internet more recently tend to evaluate less positively the influence of Internet on interaction with the audience. None of the variables explain the perception of journalists regarding speed. Nevertheless, it is possible to confirm that, similar to the interaction analysis, *ceteris paribus*, younger and female journalists tend to evaluate more positively the role of Internet over speed.

As regards to our first hypothesis, according to which younger journalists are more receptive in accepting the Internet and should appreciate more the opportunities that it provides for the improvement of their work practices, it was confirmed.

Female and younger journalists tend to evaluate more positively the influence of Internet on journalistic work enhancement.

Changes in professional role

As regards to our second research question (“Do journalists rate positively the changes wrought, after the advent of the Internet, on their traditional profile, especially on the gatekeeper, investigative, and disseminative functions?”) it is possible to confirm that respondents rate the changes as generally positive: means and medians are superior to 3 in all matters regarding the traditional profile. Nevertheless, radio journalists seem to evaluate less positively the relevance of the Internet on the gatekeeper role, since the lower bound of the 95% confidence for the mean is less than 3.

		Statistic	Std. Error
GATEKEEPER	Mean	3,1067	,12345
	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	2,8542
		Upper Bound	3,3591
	Median	3,1000	
INVESTIGATIVE	Mean	3,4444	,09855
	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	3,2429
		Upper Bound	3,6460
	Median	3,4167	
DISSEMINATION	Mean	3,3222	,10137
	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	3,1149
		Upper Bound	3,5296
	Median	3,3333	

Table 4 - Relevance of Internet on traditional profile

On the whole, radio journalists ascribe great importance to the influence of the Internet on professional functions such as getting news as fast as possible, keeping contact with the public, broadcasting credible information or signal new tendencies and ideas. In their assessment, Internet has also a positive impact in other functions. For instance, maximizing the audience or assuming responsibilities towards the public reactions to the journalistic work. These perceptions are also identical to those of European journalists studied by Fortunati *et al.* (2009), who see the Internet as the driver of a new role, more visible and public, for the readership. On the other hand, more traditional and historical roles of journalists, such as being democracy watchdogs, providers of in-depth analyses or to be spokespersons for groups, are seen as less significantly influenced by the Internet. The global network permits an enhancement of journalists' communicative and practical performance, but is perceived as having a limited impact on traditional journalists' functions and journalism roles in a democratic society. These kinds of perceptions are similar to those of European journalists (Fortunati *et al.*, 2009) and Portuguese print journalists (Bastos, Lima & Moutinho, 2010).

In terms of perceptions on the influence of the Internet on their roles, respondents consider that radio journalists can enhance their work by delivering it through different platforms. In their view, radio stations must migrate to the Internet if they want to survive. They also strongly agree that online journalism provides journalists with better tools to deliver contextual information. On a more negative side, Internet is perceived as having some responsibility in transforming journalism in a more sedentary or at the desk job. At the same time, respondents do not see a clear relation between the Internet and the raise of journalistic superficiality.

Therefore, these sorts of perceptions introduce a certain degree of ambivalence on the answer to our second hypothesis, according to which most journalists may have difficulty to identify significant changes on their traditional roles, since they tend to emphasize empirical achievements instead of important changes in their professional identity. The hypothesis is confirmed only to a certain degree.

Regarding the discussion of the factors that explain the perceptions of Internet influence on the traditional profile, we calculate a variable collecting the mean of answers given by each respondent. Using the same stepwise

method as before, we conclude that age, gender, income and intensive use of Internet statistically explains changes wrought on traditional profile of journalists.

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	5,886	,563		10,453	,000
Age	-1,295	,250	-1,025	-5,176	,000
Gender	-,781	,202	-,601	-3,873	,001
Income	,001	,000	,574	3,141	,005
net_connect_2	-,557	,213	-,414	-2,619	,017

Table 5 - Coefficients obtained using Stepwise (Dependent Variable: PROFILE)

The signs of coefficients obtained by the stepwise method in the regressions indicate that *ceteris paribus*, younger, female, less intensive users and journalists with more income are more enthusiastic regarding the Internet influence on traditional profile. It is possible to observe in the next figures the observed differences by gender and age of the Internet influence on some traditional roles of journalism.

Professional ethics

The answer to our third research question, “Are journalists developing a new ethical outlook that mingles traditional and new values?”, is ambivalent: all central measures are close to 3, but we observe a great dispersion of values, indicating that journalists have a non-consensual perception on the matter.

		Statistic	Std. Error
ETHICS	Mean	3,1028	,08967
	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		
	Lower Bound	2,9194	
	Upper Bound	3,2862	
	Median	3,0833	

Table 6 - Relevance of Internet on Ethics

Nevertheless, most respondents strongly agree that the Internet allows the use of a higher diversity of news sources and is a useful tool to double check information. Again, the instrumental side of the Internet, rather than the professional one, is clearly stressed here. At the same time, they recognize that the Web increases the volume of information hard to confirm and to distinguish in terms of credibility. Respondents do not consider

Internet a threat to the quality of journalism but are not clearly convinced that the interactive side of it can help turn journalism into a more credible profession in the eyes of the public. To some extent, they also agree that the online journalism sacrificed accuracy because of the speed required by continuous deadlines.

In respect to our hypothesis H3a, according to which older journalists may passively resist change, may seek to emphasize traditional roles, and may look at the online world as irreconcilable with traditional values, it is not confirmed. By the contrary, it is somehow surprising to find out that older journalists have a more positive perception of the Internet regarding this matter: the coefficients obtained by the stepwise method in the regressions indicate that, *ceteris paribus*, journalists with more experience and more hours of training are more enthusiastic on the positive influence of Internet on ethics. Although ANOVA test indicates, for the age variable, that the hypothesis of group means being equal is not rejected, it is possible to conclude that older journalists are globally more optimistic about the relationship between Internet and ethics.

As regards to our hypothesis H3b, according to which low and high Internet users, as well as male and female journalists differ in the evaluation of the credibility of online news, it is confirmed: ANOVA testing reveals that the division of journalists according to the number of years using the Internet is relevant to explain differences and reveals that perceptions of women are different from men. In fact, as we can observe in the boxplot presented in figure 5, males have more fear of the possible negative impact of Internet on ethics.

In sum, journalists with more experience on the Internet do not fear possible negative impacts on the ethics dimension and do not seem to passively resist change. Again, these results are identical to those found by Bastos, Lima & Moutinho.

Conclusion

This research confirms, at a Portuguese level, the main results which have emerged both in the study by Fortunati *et al.* (2009) and by Bastos, Lima & Moutinho (2010) concerning the influence of the Internet on journalism since it also allows the identification of two main ambivalent perceptions by journalists. On the one hand, Portuguese radio journalists positively assess the impact of the Internet on major journalistic practices. Internet is seen as an optimizer of journalistic routines that gives them opportunity to enhance their research capabilities and communicative performance. On the other hand, Internet is perceived as having a limited influence on the traditional role of journalism in the context of a democratic society. Portuguese radio journalists also tend to perceive the Internet above all as a useful tool that serves practical needs and purposes (speed, diffusion, information gathering, interaction) and not so much an instrument that enhances journalism traditional roles (watchdog, gatekeeper, provider of analysis and interpretation, to influence upon political agenda and public debate).

On the whole, Portuguese radio journalists underline positive consequences of the Internet on journalism, in particular when it comes to Web searching for the latest news and for contextual information. They consider the global network very useful above all as a tool keep updated with the latest news, to have access to national governmental documents and to find background material for investigation. At the same time, they ascribe great importance to the influence of the Internet on professional functions such as getting news as fast as possible, keeping contact with the public, broadcasting credible information or signal new tendencies and ideas. In a more negative perspective, the global network is perceived as having some responsibility in transforming journalism in a more sedentary or at the desk job. The Web increases the volume of information hard to confirm and to distinguish. Their assessment on the impact of online journalism is also positive in general. Nevertheless, online journalism is considered to have sacrificed accuracy because of the continuous deadlines pressure.

Furthermore, this research confirms that radio journalists' perceptions depend on a series of variables, particularly age and gender, since female and younger journalists tend to evaluate more positively the influence of Internet on work enhancement and older journalist are more optimistic about the relationship between Internet

and ethics. Low and high Internet users, as well as male and female journalists, differ in the evaluation of the credibility of online news.

At this point, some caveats should be stressed regarding this study. Our respondents worked for the four most important news radio stations. Thus, it is possible that the views expressed may not correspond entirely to the universe of Portuguese radio journalists. Further research, with enlarged and randomized samples, could expand our results taking in consideration other kind of radio stations and newsrooms. Although the sample of our study can be considered representative, the number of observations should be higher if one wants to include more parameters in the study.

The research, however, adds new perspectives in Portuguese journalism studies concerning the relation between radio journalists and the Internet, a field scarcely studied in Portugal. It should also be taken in consideration that it makes part of a broader and deeper study on the influence of the Internet on Portuguese news media in general.

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Casting doubts on Web Media. Can Internet Radio make a difference in the Greek Case?

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Abstract:

The paper presents and summarizes the basic features of the radio landscape in Greece. Research shows that like most media in the country, radio developed upon a hierarchy of political, economic and cultural considerations, affected by complexes of political and economic interests. In this case, radio is not a simple "pipeline", but rather an instrument that performs a dual function: it promotes the complexes of political and economic interests while it contributes to the construction of ideology and culture. Previous studies indicate that this double function is performed in multifarious, sophisticated and indirect ways. A complicated approach therefore is needed, and in this sense, the paper examines radio within the wider context of the media landscape in this country, setting out an example for the operation of the medium in small European markets.

Based on this review, the paper goes on to analyze the challenge that the webcasting radio represents in the local media landscape. To study the probability of net-only radio making a difference in a media environment like the Greek one, the paper discusses the aspects that should be included in a future research, suggesting that this approach might be used in other similar cases as well.

Keywords: Internet radio, webcasting radio, net-only radio, Greece

Introduction

This paper sets out to examine the basic components of web-radio research in the Greek landscape. For this reason not only does it paint the general characteristics of the latter, but goes on to examine the particular conditions for the development of a research project. The availability and content-characteristics of news and music output that address the Greek audiences at large on the cyberspace remain this paper's major consideration. Thus, after drawing the main features of web radio research, the paper first delineates the hierarchy of the politico-economic interests that affect radio production on traditional Greek radio as part of the international communication system. For this reason the paper employs an interdisciplinary research approach based on history, sociology, economics, law and politics³. The very same approach is used to explain the development – or, indeed, the voluminous absence – of communication policies that serve both the public interest of the audiences and the economic growth of the radio industry. Finally, the paper goes on to discuss the

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³ For the methodological considerations of this undertaking see Barboutis, 2010: 177-8.

dimensions most adequate to be included in research on the operation of internet radio in Greece and small European countries alike.

Complexities and ambivalence of webcasting radio

Compared to a station that operates exclusively on the Internet (i.e. to a webcasting station) a radio station simulcasting its program (i.e. broadcasting over the air and over the Internet), is in an advantageous position as a business (Ren & Chan-Olmsted, 2004): in terms of branding, it is an already established company which – in terms of regulations – operates in a more or less stable environment. In this case, the Internet is used as a complementary or secondary revenue source. A webcasting station, on the other hand, operates in an unregulated environment as the Internet is the sole channel for the distribution of its content and consequently the main source of its revenues. The only regulation applied in most cases is music licensing. Analysis shows that the simulcasting radio stations use this medium as a *side channel* for content distribution to reach a *secondary* demographic by streaming on the Internet their program without any modification. At the same time, however, they give rise to yet another competitor of their aired program that might become a “cannibalizing force” (Ha & Ganahl, 2004; Gartley & Smith, 2006; Baker, 2009), a situation unknown – of course – to the webcasting stations (see

Figure 1).

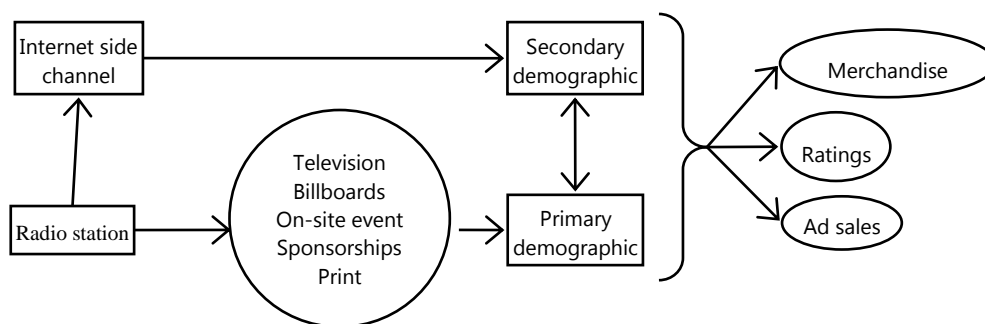


Figure 1. Internet radio as a side channel (adapted from Gartley & Smith, 2006)

Some researchers (cf. Ren & Chan-Olmsted, 2004) hold that the webcasting stations are more motivated in certain, less conservative directions. This is because (a) they operate in an unregulated environment, (b) they have at their disposal only one outlet to brand, communicate and generate revenues, and (c) they also have to compete with a much wider range of choices available on the Internet. Thus, they are expected to be the innovators or the early adopters⁴ who implement original, unprecedented models of management, provide content alternative to the aired one, and encourage interactivity to propel audience loyalty by enhancing, at the same time, audience participation and empowerment. Hence, compared to the simulcasting radio, the webcasting radio stations appear to be considerably more radical and progressive (cf. Ren & Chan-Olmsted, 2004; Baker, 2009). Given all this, and taking also into account that the traditional radio did not live up to expectations for a wider democratization of public communication and culture⁵, it is understandable why the webcasting radio inspired a lot of new hopes. These may be grouped just as David Hendy (2000) pointed out several years ago: “more choice, more democracy, and more interactivity”. Consequently, there are several good reasons to make the distinction between, on the one

⁴ For definitions of these categories, see Rogers, 1983, chapter 7 (pp. 241-270).

⁵ For example, see the well-known expectations expressed by Brecht (1979 [1927]).

hand, the stations webcasting radio content, and on the other, the radio stations either simulcasting their program on the Internet or just broadcasting it over the air.

As can be seen in the relevant literature throughout the decade (Hendy, 2000; Ha & Ganahl, 2004; Ren & Chan-Olmsted, 2004; Gartley & Smith, 2006; Baker, 2009), a commonly accepted terminology for this distinction has not been established. In that vein, Baker (2009; 2011) – for example – defines the Internet-only based stations as *net-only stations* and the terrestrial radio stations that stream their program online she defines as *radio online*, while Ha and Ganahl (2004) make the distinction between “*clicks-and-bricks*” and “*pure-play Webcasters*”. Anyway, researchers agree that the webcasters (i.e. Internet-only stations) should be distinguished from the traditional terrestrial radio – called also *over-the-air* (OTA) or *RF* radio – that may broadcast on the Internet (in which case they might be called “simulcasters”).

As we have shown in details elsewhere (Baltzis, 2010), research on the net-only or webcasting radio is well-developed. Several researchers describe or examine the challenges and the potential of webcasting radio for audiences and producers in accordance with the new possibilities it offers (see for example Hendy, 2000; Tacchi, 2000; Field & Hartel, 2001; Priestman, 2004; Gartley & Smith, 2006; Kibby, 2006; Baker, 2009; Baltzis, 2010; Baker, 2011). Priestman (2004) analyzes various aspects of the web radio by focusing on the features of narrowcasting and access on demand: webcasting radio makes programs available in real time to a global audience, while the traditional radio is more or less domestic in scope; it may be used to pool content in collaborative productions without geographical limits; it may be used also to extend the “life of the programmes” by making them available on demand at any time; finally, it may be used as an alternative grassroots medium for news and entertainment, due to its low cost compared to traditional radio. Besides, it offers a much wider range of options for analyzing audience preferences to provide customized and personalized content (Field & Hartel, 2001; Gartley & Smith, 2006; Kibby, 2006), as well as encouraging interaction (Kibby, 2006) and “niche alliances of virtual communities” (Baker, 2011) of producers and audiences or of radio *prosumers*⁶. In short – as Tacchi (2000) explains – the Internet dismantles barriers of space and time as well as the divide between production and consumption of radio content.

In terms of the musical content, the constraints of the playlists and powerlists repertoire become meaningless: listeners have access to a virtually unlimited range of genres and styles and to music that would never be broadcast on the airwaves, while the producers have access to vast searchable and customizable databases (Priestman, 2004; Gartley & Smith, 2006). From a business point of view, audience fragmentation – conceived by the traditional radio on a local basis – needs also to be redefined because both audience and webcasting radio content are becoming global.

Some researchers, however, suggest that there are several constraints limiting the potential of the net-only radio for enhanced choice, democracy, and interactivity (Hendy, 2000). For the users, net-only radio is more expensive compared to a common radio receiver, since a computer powerful enough and software are needed as well as a subscription to some Internet Service Provider for fast and stable connection (cf. Menduni, 2007). There are also additional higher non-monetary costs: a specific knowledge is needed to operate a computer, use the software and navigate on the Internet; further literacy and time are necessary to look for net-only radio and make use of the eventual personalization or customization options, let alone to create an acceptable web radio programme⁷. The profile, then, of the net-only radio audience (or *prosumer*) is quite different compared to the profile of the user of a common radio receiver (cf. also Menduni, 2007; Baker, 2011). While there are radio receivers even in the less favored social environments and in the most distant places, this is not the case with webcasting radio. Certainly, its audiences do not constitute a majority of the population and they are by far smaller than those of the traditional radio. Besides, researchers like Priestman (2004) suggest that the current

⁶ Coined by Alvin Toffler and formed by the words *producer* and *consumer*, the term suggests that these roles merge. See more details in Blättel-Mink & Hellmann, 2010.

⁷ Even students in Schools of Journalism and Mass Media have to be trained in coping with technical and other peculiarities of the medium.

music license regimes together with the ever-increasing use of programme automation might lead a large section of radio towards closer integration with the interests of the mainstream music industries. This might also affect content diversity. Analyzing the Yahoo! web radio (*Y!Music*), Kibby (2006) found rather high non-monetary costs of personalization and interactivity. She also found that the complexity of the available options does not necessarily entail more freedom for the user, especially when the system imposes predefined music classifications. In addition, complex systems for personalization, customization, and interactivity, higher costs of providing access to bigger audiences and creating original content, obtaining licenses for music transmission, and using large content databases may be affordable by bigger operators, but not by small grassroots organizations or groups of enthusiasts. Finally, it remains to be seen what the impact of the current crisis on the affordability and the economics of the webcasting radio will be.

The economics of the webcasting radio and the requirements of its use and operation suggest that the realization of its promises is more complicated than it looked like at its inception in the mid-nineties. This brief overview shows that net-only radio raises a number of issues concerning its potential for further democratization of the communication at large. Moreover, as we have shown elsewhere in details (Baltzis, 2010), skepticism also prevails regarding the functions of the medium in the production of culture. All these issues call for further investigation to evaluate and understand the extent to which webcasting radio can make a difference in terms of its potential as an alternative medium in cases like the Greek one – and (perhaps) in cases of other small countries in the European periphery as well. A systemic and critical comparison with the traditional or simulcasting radio is part of such an investigation.

Research has shown that in the Greek case the presence of traditional radio broadcasters on the Internet is limited to simulcasting while very often their websites are designed as promotional handouts (Baltzis, Hahn & Hargitai, 2006; Arampatzis, 2007). Probably, there are no major differences compared with other countries of the European periphery. Analysis also shows that after media de-monopolization in this country, the political dependence of traditional radio on the State has been replaced by dependence on complexes of economic and political interests, with negative effects on the institutional framework and its implementation, as well as on the quality of the available content (cf. Zaharopoulos, 2003; Sims, 2003; Sims, 2007). Additional research has shown that intense competition, as a distinctive feature of this case, does not seem to result in product differentiation or improved quality of the services provided, due to low-cost strategies followed by traditional radio stations (Agas, Tsourvakas & Pekaiti, 2009). At the same time, community or social radio is almost unknown with only a few exceptions⁸. In these circumstances, pluralism, inclusion, participation and empowerment remain under question. In short, democratization as a function of the traditional radio is questionable for both sectors of the content provided: information and entertainment. The distinction, then, and a critical comparison between webcasting and traditional radio (either simulcasting or not) are interesting from both an academic and a political point of view.

The off-line Greek radio landscape: history and policy, politics and economics

The case of Greek radio landscape is clearly one of late development. The first period of radio broadcasting activity in Western societies is characterized by a perception of the medium as an instrument for the construction of national ideology as defined by the state itself and the promotion of governmental interests (van Cuilenburg & McQuail, 2008: 28-30, 32). Radio broadcasting in Greece could not provide a better confirmation to this rule. On the one hand, the introduction of public radio takes place under a dictatorial regime (1936-1941). This delayed introduction is due to the fact that the geopolitical interests of the great powers of the day (England, Germany,

⁸ One of the few examples is the project *Commedia.Net* (<http://www.commedia.net.gr/>), funded by the European Social Fund and the Hellenic Ministry of Employment and Social Protection (Community Initiative EQUAL). The project included the operation of community media centers in Athens and Thessaloniki and two multicultural web radio stations respectively, supported by the municipal radio stations in both cities and the participation of immigrants. Other examples are five or six radio stations operated by groups that define themselves as autonomous, self-organized or anarchist.

USA) postponed from 1927 to 1938 the license award to the company expected to provide the relevant technological infrastructure for the commencement of public/state radio broadcasts. On the other hand, private radio broadcasting, which is already introduced much earlier in Northern Greece in 1926 – similarly to the case of France as an example of the attempts to overcome the overt statism in the domain of wireless communication –, is suffocated by the nefarious influences of the Greek state by the late 1930s⁹. Especially in the domain of output production one has to wait until the early 1950s for the formation of professionals that employ the unique aural properties of the medium similarly to radio's heyday in the West during the Interwar period (Yiaitsis & Barboutis, 2001: 60-1, 68-9). The second phase of radio broadcasting activity as a communication policy medium, which, ideally, should be based on "sociopolitical rather than economic or national strategic concerns" (van Cuilenburg & McQuail, 2008: 34-7), simply never takes off in Greece. Radio is considered too crucial a medium for the interests of the governments of the day to be allowed to operate independently. After the introduction of the television medium – in yet another at least politically controversial era, the 1967-74 dictatorship – radio almost immediately starts to play second fiddle in the lives of the Greek people.

Nevertheless, state radio still vehemently refuses to develop a public service identity, especially as far as the production of its news output is concerned. The abolition of the state monopoly in broadcasting during the late 1980s has as its spearhead the operation of the radio medium only to confirm that the swift transition from "pirate to private" becomes the rule of the game in Greek radio. Moreover, the real stakes involve the privatization of the TV medium, in which Greek publishers are encouraged to participate by the then legislation (Act 1866/1989). What happens in reality is the expansion in the electronic media domain of wealthy businessmen, who originate not only from press and publishing enterprises, but also from shipping, construction, banking, petrol-oil and communication businesses. This minority develops close relationships with politicians and governments of the day or local authorities' officials. The ultimate result is the media interweaving with political and economic interests (the Greek word for it is "diaploki"). Moreover, when transposing this case in the radio domain, where the stakes are usually lower, one realizes why the majority of local radio stations in Greece does not operate as capitalistic enterprises with view to a profit. Instead, they serve the private economic interests of their owners and advertising is been given away as a means to offset their debts in other businesses (Heretakis, 2011: 4, 29-30; Karamanis, 2003: 122-26; Barboutis, 1997: 3).

Therefore, in the radio domain prevails at that period a *de facto deregulation* similar to the case of Italy a decade earlier. After the abolition of the established *de jure* monopoly, competition is introduced in a monopolistic market via the liberalization of broadcasting services. What's more, anomy prevails as far as licensing is concerned until today as an indirect means of the state to influence the operation of the medium. At the same time, a new type of radio broadcasting, municipal radio, is born during the deregulation period. However, it cannot evade the rule of the direct political influence of municipal authorities in its operation, it is requested by the then existing legal framework (Presidential Decree 25/1988) to directly compete with private broadcasting and never dares to built and sustain a special relationship with its local audiences through its programming output. (Antonis, 2001: 166, 171; Zaharopoulos, 2003: 237, 241) In addition, the inexistence of sustainable community radio experiments, combined with the absence of a distinct public radio broadcasting tradition and standard setting function, irrevocably mark the status of radio broadcasting in Greece. Any notion of complementarity in the operation of the public, private and non-commercial radio broadcasting tiers is outrageously missing from the current Greek radio landscape. The Greek radio broadcasting legislation is not very helpful towards this goal

⁹ In fact, if one examines the comparative data provided by Briggs regarding the penetration of radio in a pan-European context between 1938 and 1946 (Briggs, 1995[1970]: 737), out of a total of twenty three countries, only Albania and Luxemburg are left with a smaller number of radio sets on their territory when compared with Greece. Even if these data have to be treated with caution, due to the fact that this survey cannot take under account the thousands of radio sets that operate in Northern Greece between 1928 and 1936, it reveals to a staggering degree the late development of public radio in Greece.

either. It is rather trying to respond to the *de facto* evolutions in the broadcasting market¹⁰, instead of first introducing structural regulation and then pro-active policies for the attainment of public purposes in radio broadcasting.

The Greek Constitution's "paternalistic elements" evident in its Article 15 (1), i.e. the hard and fast rule of outright state intervention and control of broadcasting, were left untouched by its 2001 revision. This is simply because the political parties involved could not reach a consensus as to the extension of the guarantees enjoyed by the press (i.e. freedom from censorship and other means of prior control in Article 14) in the case of broadcasting. At the same time, however, according to the Constitutional theory, Article 15 (2) creates an equal obligation of the state to create all necessary conditions that guarantee the "triptych of objectivity, impartiality and good quality" in broadcast programming. Especially as far as the latter is concerned, broadcasters need to attain it in accordance with the "social mission of radio and television and the cultural development of the country." The National Council of Radio and Television (NCRTV) is the independent authority in charge of exercising the direct control of the state over broadcasting. Only after the enactment of Law 3051/2002 it becomes truly independent and acts as a democratically legitimate authority. (Katsirea, 2008: 60-7)

Therefore, Greece reaches today a third phase of radio broadcasting activity as a communication policy medium, which clearly involves the public embodiment of economic and consumerist values (van Cuilenburg & McQuail, 2008: 42-3), without even going through the second stage. Until the present day the NCRTV acts in the wide majority of cases as a policing authority, which imposes fines more than often in an inequitable as much as an unreasonable way. The case of an overregulated and meticulously developed legal framework is exemplified by the legislation ruling journalistic deontology and programming standards. Two NCRTV Codes of Practice (Regulations 1/1991 and 2/1991), Law 1730/87 (Article 3.2), as well as one Presidential Decree (77/2003) deal with the production of relevant broadcasting output. Most of the times, however, they are disregarded in practice by the journalists themselves. Despite the fact that legislature conceives pluralism as primarily relating to equal political representation, the NCRTV still needs to strike a balance between its policing and other regulative powers by facilitating the manifold development of pluralism. After all, with the enactment of Law 2863/2000 it acquires a sole responsibility for broadcasting matters. NCRTV, thus, needs more than ever to consider new recipes for the simultaneous engagement of all parties involved in the Greek media landscape so as to effectively advance public purposes in broadcasting matters (Katsirea, 2008).

After the end of the 1990s radio functions principally as music accompaniment in the lives of the Greek audiences. It continues, however, to retain the place of the "poor relationship" in the Greek media landscape in terms of both advertising expenditure and advertising time exposed (see Figure 2).

¹⁰Suffice to mention that by 2005 there are thirteen relevant Laws and three Presidential Decrees enacted, also complemented by Ministerial Decisions and Guidelines of the regulatory authority (NCRTV). The ultimate result is an "overregulated and extremely detailed [legal] framework" (Katsirea, 2008: 67; Kalogirou & Sourpi, 2006: 79).

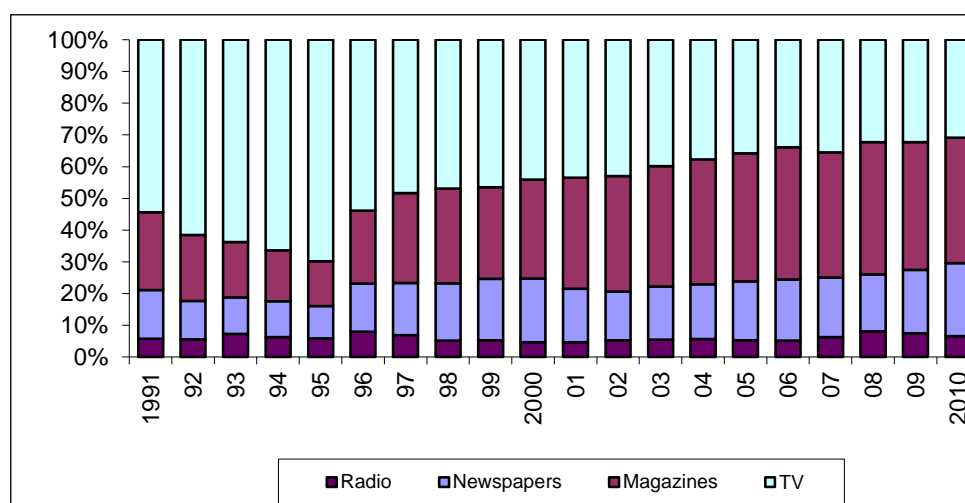


Figure 2. Percentage of advertising expenditure per medium 1991-2010 (adapted from Heretakis, 2011: 27-8; source: Media Services)

Figure 2 reveals once more radio's external competition with other media, but more staggering data available are related to the dramatic decline of advertising income by the end of the first decade of the 20th century in the Greek media landscape. Heretakis (2011: 2, 7) points out that this is an endemic phenomenon in European media landscapes, while he also states that according to general predictions the downfall of advertising expenditure will continue well after 2010. Thus, he bewares of media organizations resorting to even more blatant commercialization tactics in order to safeguard their income.

Another characteristic of the Greek radio landscape is that despite the fragmentation of its audience, it retains quite low levels of concentration. Papavasiliopoulos and Heretakis (2006: 182-3), as well as Agas, Tsourvakas and Pekaiti (2009: 114-5), underline that market concentration in the Athens area remains relatively modest until 2007 according to the relevant CR4 and HHI measurement indexes¹¹. The former authors maintain that from the late 1990s and the waning-off of the popularity of a handful of informational radios that were able to reach huge audiences (Papavasiliopoulos & Heretakis, 2006: 183)¹², the gradual ascent of music radios leads to audience fragmentation and modest levels of concentration. The latter authors point out that the low levels of concentration relate to fierce internal competition in the radio domain and, most importantly, external competition with other media. If their recommendation for the regulatory allowance of networks (the most profitable radio business along with national radio in the European landscapes) is to become sound, it must be combined with content obligations that serve the public interest. According to the experience of Western broadcasting landscapes, it still remains to test the hypothesis that the regulatory encouragement of monopolistic competition in the operation of radio networks encourages the creation of economic diversity via the promotion of exposure diversity (Barboutis, 2010: 185)¹³.

¹¹This means that detailed studies have to be undertaken in Thessaloniki and Patras the other two big Greek urban centers in the prefecture of which the biggest bulk of radio stations operate. On the other hand, since Greece still retains a considerable amount of rural population, the policy need to license the operation of regional rural radio stations remains to be confirmed.

¹²For example, see Yieroyianni: 2001: 190.

¹³Especially as far as the Greek case is concerned, radio networking has been allowed ever since the enactment of Presidential Decree 25/1988. Subsequent radio legislation failed to lay out content obligations like children's stories, news and music documentaries and radio plays, would now make even more sense, competition-wise, if introduced as part of the current digital multi-media environment (for example, Internet audio content enriched by 3D graphics and animation). Not only do they minimize external competition between different media, but they also deal sufficiently with internal competition by avoiding the "hoteling effect" – the phenomenon of stations competing by copying each other, only to produce a lowest common content denominator (cf. Heretakis, 2001: 17-9, 29-30).

In Greece, due to the fact that political pluralism is mainly conceived as equal political representation and strong local financial interests were given the ability to enter and consolidate in the Greek media landscape, there is the continuous intermingling of media, political and economic interests. The flipside of the same coin is "panpoliticismo" the phenomenon of political interests permeating all strata of social, economic and cultural life. No wonder then that the lack of independence from political and economic interests remains the most daunting characteristic of Greek radio function (Sims, 2007: 252-3; Sims, 2003: 212-3). What perseveres in the Greek case is a post-authoritarian culture in the production of programming, in which the radio system cannot safeguard the independence of radio producers to perform their tasks by serving the public interest.

The Greek media landscape in the international communication system: comparisons with east European broadcasting

General overview of comparisons

For the needs of this paper the Greek media system is compared with the ones in Bulgaria, Croatia and Hungary. The reasons are not only geographic, since this comparison covers the southern, eastern, western Balkans and neighboring CEE (Central and East European) in the north, respectively. A number of authors that deal with post-communist transformation have already suggested the feasibility of this comparison (Splichal, 1994; Splichal, 2004; Sitter 2005; Jakubowicz, 2008). Most above all there are socio-political and cultural reasons that induce this comparison relating to the ultimate prominence of politics in their media system (Hallin & Mancini, 2004: 26-32). The unavoidable result is the high degree of "systemic parallelism" due to the low degree of their media systems' democratic consolidation (Jakubowicz, 2008: 303-04).

According to Culek (2003: 116) the term "Italianization model" holds many similarities with the Croatian case, and consequently with the majority of post-communist European democracies. The reasons are fourfold:

- state control of broadcasting,
- strong degree of media partisanship,
- strong degree of integration of media and political elites,
- no real consolidation of professional journalistic ethics,

and, if we may add a fifth one, the partial only success to reform the state broadcasting system into a public one, which is combined with the notable absence of a non-commercial media tier, as a reason and explanation of the relative weakness of civil society organizations.

The Greek radio system has already been compared with the one of post-communist countries as new or forthcoming members of the EU (Barboutis & Gazi, 2003). The findings of this comparison have suggested that the combination of the centrifugal forces of EU integration and the centripetal ones of established national and international politico-economic interests lead to an ever-growing commercialization of the radio domain. It additionally has to be pointed out that the Hallin and Mancini model remains unable to account for the constant state of flux in the economic and socio-political environment that affects the operation of radio in all countries examined. This may range from "partitocrazia to formal democracy" (Jakubowicz, 2008) and from the respect to civil liberties (notably the right to freedom of expression) to their direct or indirect suppression¹⁴. Purpose of the above analysis is to show that a systemic overview of the Greek experience may have an important contribution in creating the dimensions of the future communication policies for radio in post-communist democracies in small countries.

¹⁴For example, as far as the case of Greece is concerned, a simple consultation of the Freedom House and the Reporters Without Borders annual reports seems to suffice for the confirmation of the above arguments.

Lessons of the Greek radio experience

The characteristics that the radio landscapes of post-communist countries need to acquire according to the lessons of the Greek radio experience are as follows:

- Need to reinforce the democratic culture of the media via a combination of media literacy and “command and rule” regulation measures, especially in regards to civil society organizations, the attitude of political parties and attitudes toward media journalism from the university to the everyday level.
- The application of legislation has to be monitored and offenders to be seriously penalized.
- A combination of structural and pro-active regulation which promotes public interest purposes in broadcasting needs to be developed.
- Measures to modernize public radio broadcasting need be adopted. Fragmentation of programming markets and audiences with the simultaneous aging of their traditional audiences remain the greatest obstacles for their success, which may lie in the option of developing public service (or community) networks, the case of French public radio and the community Italian one or, indeed, Spanish municipal stations.
- Complete restructuring of the internal public service radio organization with a view to effective production and exposure (i.e. programming content efficiency).
- Development of market niches so that the “quality” becomes “popular” and vice-versa via calculated risk-taking (especially when combined with audience research and radio literacy findings in relation to uncharted private radio territories).
- Independent Radio Authorities need to re-direct decision-making to the consideration and targeting of public purposes and account for weak news competition, pro-commercial attitude of small media markets and the continuous development of entertainment genres and sensationalism.
- Transparent and open decision for the public service radio (and non-commercial radio) parliamentary and government tutelage (it must not be affect at all programme-making, and introduce a clear and coherent funding strategy).

Research to be done – dimensions of a comparison

The complexities of the issues raised, suggest that there is no simple and straightforward answer to the research question whether net-only or webcasting radio services can really make a difference in the Greek case (or in similar cases in the European periphery). The short review presented above, outlines the various dimensions or aspects that should be studied to reach a consistent conclusion and to understand the main trends in the development of the new medium in the cases under discussion. These dimensions include:

- *Institutional frameworks and regulatory models.* In broad strokes, all media are affected by regulation and its implementation in a variety of ways (Albarran, 2002). For example, competition is affected by regulation concerning ownership, and economics is affected through taxation, licensing regimes and other regulatory instruments that also have an impact on barriers of entrance. The operation of any communication medium is affected by regulation on labor relations and staff composition in terms of qualifications. What’s more, regulation affects in several indirect or direct ways the content provided. For example, regulation about the freedom of speech and the work of journalists affects news media, while regulation on quotas and licensing regimes affects entertainment media. Recently, a public debate has been launched to regulate the blogosphere. Aspects of this debate in Great Britain and Greece, indicate that freedom on the Internet is neither immune nor unlimited. Besides, in the Greek case, research has shown that implementation peculiarities and complications, are related with and affected by various complexes of political and economic interests (e.g. Sims, 2003; Zaharopoulos, 2003). Implementation peculiarities and complications can also function as barriers of entrance. For example, due to immense bureaucratic obstacles, an operator might give up on setting up a traditional radio

station and turn to webcasting radio instead. Therefore, to understand the chances for the net-only radio in Greece to make a difference in comparison with the traditional radio, regulation and its implementation should be examined.

- *Market structures and business models.* Business models and market structures affect the webcasting radio chances to make a difference. Several issues like market concentration, the existence of major players and their influence, the size of the market, the barriers of entrance for both producers and consumers, competition, and other related issues determine the openness of the net-only radio world, its relations with complexes of political and economic interests (including the mainstream recording industry), and the chances to make a difference. From the point of view of a comparative analysis of webcasting business models that considers accessibility factors, content and revenue strategies, and culture (Ha & Ganahl, 2004), it may be concluded that interactivity, participation and inclusion, content diversity, and even the adoption of innovations may be affected by the model employed. Hence, this dimension should also be considered, despite the fact that several of its components like determining the shares in advertising expenditure or audience metrics are not very clear in the case of net-radio (cf. Gartley & Smith, 2006). In addition, business models and the structure of the net-only radio market in Greece, have not been studied yet.
- *Content diversity and availability.* Because democracy is guaranteed by pluralism of voices, multiplicity of choices and heterogeneity at large, diversity of content is a major issue for scholars, public authorities, political parties, media operators, organizations, and audiences. However, usually in the public discourse outside specific disciplines, diversity is considered in terms of the news and information content, rather than in terms of the entertainment and the production of culture. Strangely enough, most legislators (including the Greeks) seem to believe that there can be democracy if everyone is forced to feed on the same cultural swill produced in a single bucket. Taking into account the potential of the net-only radio to make available a wider range of content and options for a variety of audiences, and by unrelated owners, this dimension could hardly be neglected. Although it is generally accepted that the webcasting radio has added substantial diversity to the traditional radio (e.g. Compaine & Smith, 2001; Priestman, 2004), often there is a scarcity of hard evidence. Especially for musical content, assessing diversity is not an easy endeavor¹⁵. Despite the difficulties and complexities, this aspect is an indicator of the differences between the net-only and the traditional or simulcasting radio in Greece and in other similar cases. In a fully developed research scenario it may also be used as an indicator to evaluate the adoption of innovations by producers and consumers taking into account also the diversity of exposure. Finally, another aspect of this dimension concerns issues about the relationship between quality and popularity in programme making, i.e. how “the popular might become good quality and the good quality might become popular”.
- *Audience profile and fragmentation.* As already mentioned, several researchers describe some general characteristics of the net-only radio audiences, but – excluding certain audiences – there is a number of difficulties in getting detailed profiles and drawing a more or less consistent picture of audience fragmentation (cf. Gartley & Smith, 2006; Menduni, 2007; Baker, 2011). Difficulties of audience metrics have been also pointed out in the relevant literature (Gartley & Smith, 2006). Ideally, in a research to evaluate the webcasting radio as an alternative, more democratic medium, the inclusion of audiences marginalized by the traditional radio and mainstream recording industry, should be studied as well and there is already some relevant research experience on that (e.g. Tacchi, 2000). There is, of course, some research on the variability of uses and gratifications driving some groups away from the traditional radio and towards net-only radio (e.g. Albarran *et al.*, 2007; Baker, 2011). Anyway, excluding some

¹⁵See Baltzis, 2007, for more details, a literature review, and the main trends in this field.

evidence about Greek audiences outside the country, the Greek case remains unexplored in this respect so far. Clearly, audience profiles and fragmentation are viewed in the context of this paper from a sociological viewpoint; not in the sense used in marketing for commercial purposes. Understanding the scope and the size of the net-only radio, as well as the trends in its development, is important also for understanding the future of the medium.

- *Degree and types of interactivity encouraged.* By definition the net-only radio is interactive in terms of the practices it involves to access its programmes. It certainly requires a greater degree of active user involvement (cf. Priestman, 2004; Kibby, 2006; Baker, 2011). As mentioned above, the webcasting radio has also the potential of collaborative models of production, enhancing communication with the audiences, and blurring the distinction between producers and consumers, increasing audience participation and empowerment (Priestman, 2004). However, not all net-only radio stations realize this potential and – as we have seen – there are certain limits (Kibby, 2006). This may be also an indicator of the difference (if any) between traditional and webcasting radio. The degree and the types of interactivity allowed by the Greek net-only radio, then, need also to be studied and an assessment of the general trend is necessary.
- *Sociability.* The contribution of the traditional radio in the development of communities is more or less known, as it is an instrument for the construction of collective identities (national, ideological, cultural, etc.). In Greece, as in other cases, before de-monopolization the pirate radio performed important functions in social networking supporting emergent cultures or forms of counterculture (Barboutis, 2001; Baltzis, 2010). After de-monopolization, part of these functions has been taken by private radio, especially in cases where their annexation by the mainstream industry was feasible. Municipal radio and some radio stations associated with political parties have also taken part of these functions. The encouragement of social networking (virtual or not) and of “alliances of communities” (Baker, 2011) may be another indicator to evaluate the differences (if any) between traditional and webcasting radio so as to assess the realization of its potential. The study of relations with small grassroots organizations (Priestman, 2004) or the civil society should also be included in this dimension.
- *Relations with the recording industry (and other cultural industries as well).* One of the main issues raised by webcasting radio concerns its functions in the production of culture. Baltzis (2010) has shown that the study of the net-only radio has not been fertilized yet by the long and rich tradition in the analysis of radio as co-producer of musical culture. To understand whether webcasting radio can make a difference, a more detailed study needs to be done in this direction taking into account the arguments on the likelihood for closer integration with the mainstream music industries, instead of developing an alternative medium (Priestman, 2004). The relations of radio with the recording industry and other cultural industries have been studied only partially in Greece so far. No matter how this aspect of the research may seem problematic and difficult, this dimension should not be excluded from further analysis of the methodological specifications and details from a practical point of view.
- *Relations with major news media and organizations.* The share of the news and other information content in the programmes of the Greek net-only radio has not been studied yet. Less known are the sources of this content. The use of sources other than the mainstream or not related with major news media and organizations (e.g. civil journalism), may also be an indicator of the differences between traditional (or simulcasting) and webcasting radio. These issues, however, should be included in the dimension of content diversity, described briefly above. Also, the relations of net-only radio with major news media and organizations mentioned here, concern issues of ownership.

Conclusion

Considering the restrictions of this paper, the aspects that should be studied in one or more research scenarios on the webcasting radio in Greece have been described briefly. The discussion on relevant methodological issues has not been included as it exceeds the scope and the purposes of the analysis presented here. However, the paper suggests the general outline of an approach that might be useful in other similar cases as well. As has been mentioned on several occasions during the analysis, each aspect or dimension includes several components and certainly, more than one research scenarios might be developed on this basis. Moreover, each dimension has its own difficulties to be studied in a country with a traditional scarcity of research on traditional radio. In any case, answering the question whether net-only radio can make a difference in the Greek case (and in other similar cases) or – in other words – studying the chances for the potential of the webcasting radio to be realized, is a complicated task. It is, however, a task that needs to be accomplished, if we are to understand whether webcasting radio does really worth getting the academic attention, as well as the support it needs by investors, public authorities or the civil society and, finally, in what directions this support might be. In this respect we will also hope that this discussion exceeds the borders of the Greek case to encompass other similar cases of small European countries and in particular of post-communist democracies.

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The development of the news-information production model on general-interest radio in Spain: the case of Cadenaser.com

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Abstract:

The current digital environment has caused a shift in the conceptualization, production and programming parameters that condition traditional general-interest radio contents. Established professional procedures are being transformed by the availability of new (multimedia, hypertextual and interactive) languages and the convergence processes shaping both platforms and content distribution. The purpose of this paper is to offer an in-depth account of the formulation of production strategies and broadcast criteria in relation to on-air and online news-information contents on general-interest radio stations in Spain, as well as a description of the work procedures implemented in radio station newsrooms. The focus of inquiry is Cadena SER, a national, commercial broadcasting company in Spain.

Keywords: radio production, radio convergence, radio journalism, Internet radio

News-information production on general-interest radio before platform convergence

The expansion of the Internet in the mid-1990s enabled communication companies to initiate content coordination processes across platforms so as to evolve into multimedia and multiplatform conglomerates (Salaverría 2010: 29). Such convergence processes in newsroom organization were initially led by the print media, and only much later began to have an impact on general-interest radio operations. A greater impetus could only be achieved once it became clear that the traditional model of radio production and distribution had to be integrated into the editorial coordination, content development and broadcast flow of other digital platforms.

Nevertheless, the concept of convergence involves more than the mere integration or merger of newsrooms; it also encompasses changes in editorial management and organizational culture: in other words, changes in the way content production, management and distribution are structured, which amounts to “the most strategic, most complex, most painstaking dimension of the transformation process as a whole” in the newsroom (Orihuela, 2011: 85).

“Problems relating to adaptation [within the new media environment] have thrown the production procedures and professional profiles that had developed over many years into disarray” (Salaverría, 2010: 33). The defining features of such procedures on radio include the exclusive use of sound, sequential narrative continuity, constant updates and listener participation. However, radio language is now multimedia: the narrative is hypertextual, publication takes place in real time, and the listener plays a more active role in media conversation and content production.

Cadena SER is taken as a case study to describe this process of change. Cadena SER is part of PRISA Radio, and is subject to the radical digital conversion process shaping the PRISA Group, a leading media corporation in the production and distribution of cultural, educational, news-information and entertainment contents in both the Spanish and Portuguese-speaking markets¹. PRISA Radio is the largest Spanish-speaking radio group, reaching more than 23 million listeners and comprising more than 1,200 broadcasters, including its own stations and participating and associate channels in Spain, the United States, Mexico, Colombia, Costa Rica, Panama, Argentina and Chile, as well as franchise partners in Guatemala and Ecuador. In all, PRISA Radio manages nine talk radio brands and twenty-three music radio brands. The specific focus of this paper is to explore the convergence process in news-information production at Cadena SER, the national general-interest radio broadcaster that enjoys the highest listenership ratings in Spain: 4,355,000 listeners daily².

The methodology followed to capture data for further analysis was a semi-structured interview comprising twenty four open questions, which address three strategic elements of the convergence process as such: content organization and management; technical structure; and product and marketing development across new platforms. The questionnaire is part of a broader methodology designed to study convergence processes in Spanish communications media within the framework of a research project entitled *The Development of Spanish Cybermedia in the Convergence Context: Multiplatforms and Journalistic Integration, 2009–2011*, which is funded by the Ministry of Science and Innovation (CSO2009-13713-C05-03, Government of Spain). A number of managers at PRISA Radio, as well individuals involved in the online multimedia newsroom, were interviewed on 12 and 13 April 2011 at the PRISA Group headquarters in Madrid. The interviewees included the following: Susana Elguea, editor-webmaster on Cadenaser.com; Javier Casal, Editor-in-chief of Cadenaser.com; Gema Rodríguez Lavín, Director of Cadenaser.com; Juan Pablo Álvarez, Director of Marketing and Research at PRISA Radio; Borja Martín-Lunas, Spain and Latin America Corporate Web Production Coordinator; and Julio Collado, Director of Innovation and Technology.

The results presented below are analyzed in relation to three different dimensions: the structure of the newsroom; the editorial processes and procedures of news-information content production; and the management of listener participation.

Newsroom organization in a multiplatform environment

The organizational structure of newsrooms has shifted from the established hierarchical and pyramidal model to more decentralized, convergent frameworks in the new media environment. Thus, as Tascón averred, “the deficiencies of the hierarchical newsroom model that had proved so useful in a news market marked by scarcity are pointed up in a market of information abundance” (in Orihuela, 2011: 91). Like the Internet itself, these new models are variable and versatile; the structures do not take on a fixed form; rather, they are shaped “by individuals who make links to other areas, organizations and networks”.

The newly-structured integrated newsroom was inaugurated at Cadena SER in the 2009–2010 season, incorporating a more refined definition of functions and a fusion of synergies between on-air and online broadcasting. Although the process has not yet been completed, the streamlined organizational flowchart at

¹ The PRISA Group is present in 22 countries and reaches more than 50 million users via its global brands: *El País*, *40 Principales*, *Santillana* and *Alfaguara*, in addition to its free-to-air and pay-per-view television, talk radio and music radio services. Its expansion into Brazil and Portugal, and the growing Spanish-speaking market in the United States, has enabled access to the Latin-American market, a global market of more than 700 million users. The group’s four major areas – publishing/education, press, radio and audiovisual – are supported by transversal digital development. The role of PRISA Digital is to roll out the production and distribution of digital contents. PRISA Servicios Digitales provides R&D support for all the digital products of the group as a whole. The plan is to adapt products and services to mobile telephones, PDAs, e-books, PSP video consoles and other portable devices; moreover, Internet and iPhone, Android, BlackBerry and Smartphone applications are strategic priorities.

² AIMC, General study of audiences. General summary, April 2010–March 2011; Madrid, 2011.

Cadenaser.com has set aside the previous hierarchical structure so as to facilitate its integration into the station's general newsroom framework as follows:



Figure 1

At the moment, Gema Rodríguez Lavín is the general manager of Cadenaser-com, whose responsibility it is to ensure that the webpage dovetails with the overall strategy of the network. The editor-in-chief is Javier Casal, whose work involves managing the web contents and striking the right balance between news and current affairs, sports and entertainment products.

A number of professional roles have been defined at Cadenaser.com in relation to content production: webmasters; editors; video producers; designers; and a community manager. The role of webmaster is to organize and refresh the website homepage, and to ensure that the Internet contents are constantly updated and that the homepage is live. The webmaster is also responsible for the division of tasks among editors. The role of webmaster mirrors that of the news editor in on-air broadcasting. There are currently three webmasters at Cadenaser.com, to cover three timeframes: morning, afternoon and the weekend. The newsroom updates the website at night, and special shifts may be set up should particular breaking news stories so require. In general, the role of web editor involves editing contents produced by the network's news, sports and other programming sections. In addition to sourcing on-air contents and adapting them to the specific requirements of the Internet, there is an increasing commitment to web-specific topics – above all, as part of the provision of ongoing coverage of breaking news. Another key task in this regard is program coordination, which involves familiarity with what each program may produce and making suggestions with regard to how contents might be posted on the website. Although each program webpage is managed by the program's production crew, a member of the digital

management team liaises with them so as to identify subjects or stories that might be highlighted on the radio station's homepage. Video production is undertaken by a team of technicians; such videos are based on on-air broadcasts or may be online exclusives. These technicians work in tandem with the editors and program coordinators to produce a type of contents that is becoming more and more important. A social media manager has been employed at the radio station since September 2010; social media management involves promoting and generating traffic on Cadenaser.com contents, as well as handling the station's profiles on social networks, a role that is described in greater detail below.

A team of designers also contributes to the online broadcasting strategy by proposing improvements to webpage presentation and by providing the graphic resources required for content development and production. The role of product manager encompasses special coverage and broadcasts, a responsibility that extends beyond direct production as such. This is a new professional profile that is designed to integrate the work carried out by different areas in offering specific coverage, and involves the coordination of marketing, technological development, design and content production so as to ensure that the product (election coverage, for example) is ready to go live across all platforms at the right time. Systems management encompasses the development of applications for other digital platforms, as well as a supervisory function that includes technical responsibility for the production process for all analogue and digital products, and their availability via all distribution channels.

The professional roles in the traditional and digital newsrooms are analogous to one another. In fact, work-shifts in the digital environment parallel the structure and pace of production in traditional radio broadcasting: morning, afternoon, night and weekend. According to editor-in-chief Javier Casal, new employees are required to be familiar with radio broadcasting, the Cadena SER brand and programming schedule, and the digital tools to be used. Such criteria are also gradually being extended to the job descriptions of existing posts at the station. All those working in an integrated newsroom must adapt to the tempo of source screening and moderation effected by new technologies, as well as contribute contents to both platforms.

The technical aspects of content and resource management in professional development are handled in-house, along with training in the use of new applications and digital tools. Courses in the use of the editing system have been run in recent years, and in the management of social networks more recently still. Thus far, such training has not been outsourced, nor is there any immediate plan to do so.

Although twelve people have full-time posts in the Cadenaser.com newsroom, clear synergies have been created with the established on-air newsroom and other departments. The editorial committee that meets to decide on what stories to pursue and the assignment of tasks includes representatives from both the on-air and online crews, and follows the format established in traditional broadcasting: two meetings per day, at 10:00 and 16:30, in which producers and department heads discuss different topics and decide on relevant coverage. Contents production for the Internet avails of the structure and programming schedule of traditional on-air broadcasting. Thereafter, each platform implements its own production timetable: hourly updates on-air and continuous updates online. An integrated system has arisen from the two parallel newsrooms, wherein on-air and online teams carry out separate production procedures but draw on the same contents production framework. Roles specific to the language of the Internet have emerged on the web, but overall the work is carried out by an integrated and horizontal newsroom, which functions as an editorial coordination and contents production unit.

Editing and broadcasting criteria for news-information contents on Cadena SER

Three main factors condition the generation and on-air and online distribution of current affairs contents at Cadena SER: first, news production – that is, the selection, assessment and treatment of news stories addressed at the editorial committee meeting; second, content distribution: scheduled in hourly updates for traditional on-air broadcast (the bulletins that punctuate the narrative continuity and during news programs, or at any time during the programming schedule), and continuously updated on the Cadenaser.com homepage; and third, news-

information production procedures, which have become more numerous since editing tasks have been integrated within a single committee and common work-space for the production of radio messages (for on-air broadcast) and audiovisual contents (for online distribution) as part of the overall purpose of providing information.

News-information editing: the application of journalistic criteria in production

The production of contents is the primary activity of the integrated newsroom at Cadenaser.com. From the contents produced by news services, sports bulletins and other programs, the editorial committee selects, assesses and deals with the news and current affairs topics to be published on the webpage at every given moment. As the Cadenaser.com editor-in-chief Javier Casal avers, "based on what is produced in the newsroom, as well as other program production teams and sports desk, we select certain contents for the Cadenaser.com homepage." And Gema Rodríguez Lavín, Director of Cadenaser.com, adds that "there is a greater commitment all the time to contents produced in-house" across "all radio production contents", which is carried out at the multimedia editing desk.

The web production team takes direct responsibility for the (most pressing and immediate) general current affairs news stories to be published on the Cadenaser.com homepage. According to webmaster Susana Elguea, political news stories are regarded as particularly topical. Webmasters and editors are tasked with immediate online publication of such news items. Supplementary information and reports are provided by various departments; other in-depth and extensive news stories and accounts are allotted to journalists working for different departments and programs at Cadena SER by the editorial committee.

At the same time, the production team on each radio program has begun to make the generation of web contents a part of their normal professional procedures, prioritising online distribution of breaking news stories as an alternative to standard on-air broadcasting. According to webmaster Susana Elguea, the departments that deal with society and cultural issues produce some of these contents.

With regard to the sources of the news stories distributed, 50% are sourced from news agencies and 50% are produced in-house by the newsrooms at Cadena SER. Editor-in-chief Javier Casal has stated that "agency news stories are to be avoided (...) because everyone one has the information produced by news agencies".

The editorial team is also responsible for planning contents. In any case, the online and on-air news-information strategies ought to be coherent with one another; production and distribution should be coordinated across both platforms. The Cadenaser.com editorial committee follows the criteria agreed on the at the twice-daily (morning and afternoon) contents meetings, which the Cadenaser.com webmaster attends as another member of the team. Coverage of events scheduled for broadcast over the course of the season is likewise planned. The support in the production of reports provided by the Documentary Service at Cadena SER is especially highly valued at Cadenaser.com.

Content broadcast: coordination in news-information publication

The work-dynamic in operation in the Cadenaser.com editorial team is to publish and update online contents continuously. A rolling production schedule has been put in place, enabling constant news-information updates, wherein the webmaster decides from one moment to the next whether or not particular contents are to be broadcast online immediately.

The regularity of news broadcasts and updates in traditional on-air broadcasting is hourly: news-information continuity in on-air radio is marked by hourly bulletins and the main news programs. Unlike standard general-interest radio broadcasting, no established hourly programming schedule is required on the Internet.

The foregoing overview of the editorial work procedures in use prompts questions regarding the order of priority to be followed in news-distribution on Cadena SER's two main platforms, on-air broadcast and the Internet: the issues of what platform a specific content should be distributed on or which platform it should be

broadcast on first are addressed via the free-flowing decision-making process enabled by the integrated newsroom made up of members of the on-air and online production teams.

The Director of Cadenaser.com, Gema Rodríguez Lavín, says that there are no pre-existing, fixed criteria with regard to whether or not specific items are to be broadcast first on one platform rather than the other; instead, each case is addressed separately as it arises. Editor-in chief Javier Casal likewise stated that such editorial decisions are taken on a case by case basis, depending on the specific news item involved. Hence, a news story might be broken first on the website, before it is broadcast in an on-air bulletin. Sometimes, decisions regarding priority of distribution are made jointly by the Head of the News Service and the web-manager: first via on-air broadcast, or first via website publication, or both at the same time. Some subjects tend to have on-air priority, although publication may be simultaneous, on-air and online. News headlines are occasionally flagged first on the website and then dealt with in more detail in an on-air broadcast shortly afterwards. The use of different genres enables a differentiated approach to broadcasting via the two platforms, without having to limit news publication to only one support or the other.

Professional procedures: multipurpose producers and editors

The tasks relating to the production and distribution of news-information contents on radio involve the generation of texts and sound-files. However, in addition to these conventional functions, further tasks have emerged through the means and modes, tools, processes and resources afforded by the Internet, for all the program production teams working at Cadena SER, but especially those in the field of news and current affairs. According to editor-in-chief Javier Casal, "this is the model we are implementing in the newsroom; that is, everyone (all the members of the newsroom) can write up news stories and submit them to the editorial system, but, at the same time, continue to do their radio work".

With regard to narrativity, the Internet draws on programming synergy in sound production by posting interviews and program segments, broadcasting live interviews, as well as live streaming of whole radio programs. The sound broadcast on-air is edited in line with the publication and distribution requirements of the Internet.

The multimedia language of the Internet also involves the editorial and production procedures of image recording and technical editing, in both photo and video formats, tasks that are carried out in the newsroom and radio studio spaces, as well as those recorded on location. Thus, a video recording and editing team is also based in the main radio broadcasting studio at Cadena SER. For instance, this team can record interviews carried out live during the program, images that can be edited once the interview has been completed and distributed across a variety of media, or posted on the Cadenaser.com webpage. At the same time, based on the decisions taken by the editorial committee at Cadenaser.com, video recording is now also standard on certain news stories.

In relation to the procedures and technologies used to deal with sources, all the producers have access to the EFE, Europa Press and Reuters news agencies. Every work station includes an audio administrator, a text administrator and an agency administrator. Photographs are sourced from EFE, Reuters and Getty; video from Atlas. As regards the in-house production of resources, audio material is produced by Cadena SER (recorded and edited on location or in the studio), as well as the videos and photographs taken on location as part of news-information coverage.

Moreover, in addition to covering the information on location by taking notes and reporting the news via the spoken word, all the journalists also take into consideration the possibility of taking a photograph and/or posting a news headline on the Cadenaser.com Twitter account. Thus, the process by which news is produced and/or updated is not limited to radio broadcast criteria; rather, it has been expanded to encompass other approaches, using different genres and formats designed for distribution via the Internet.

The multimedia environment of the editorial committee enables such tasks and procedures via multiplatform, technological convergence.

Listener participation, user-generated contents and added values

While other media entered the Internet era without ever having experienced a culture of interactivity, this was not the case of radio. Cadena SER regards audience participation as a key aspect of its role as a radio station, both as an on-air and online broadcaster. Although listener participation is an historically-fixed feature of radio broadcasting, the immediacy afforded by the Internet helps to ensure that such conversational interaction may become an essential dimension of radio communication in the Web 2.0 and social network environment.

The editor-in-chief at Cadenaser.com, Javier Casal, emphasised this trend by noting the fact that radio has been a participative medium for more than eighty years, via phone-in programs and by allowing people to tell their life stories. Social networks now enable radio listeners to respond in a more immediate way.

As its development has progressed, Cadena SER has set up a Social Media department that is part of the newsroom established in the multiplatform model. In this way, the newsroom has taken on board a line of work whose purpose was to enhance the Cadena SER brand reputation on the Internet. The Social Media department is responsible for (re)organizing all the station and program webpages and network profiles. The newsroom administers website participation, while magazine show production teams manage such interaction on their own webpages.

The role of Social Media department manager is a professional profile that is specifically tailored to the tasks involved: a journalist who, like a community manager, works in a collaborative way with producers, web managers and the sales and marketing teams to achieve the following objectives: a) generate ongoing interaction with listeners; b) monitor online comments and debates among users on social networking sites; and c) promote the added value of Cadena SER brand products by giving them greater meaning via (re)distribution and visibility on the Internet.

Thus, while the social media management role combines journalistic tasks with promotional activity, the criteria of good journalistic practice are seen as setting the standard for the performance of the following tasks: a) manage the comments posted by users in relation to online news stories and moderate the debates that such comments may prompt; b) encourage the submission of questions for inclusion in interviews carried out on magazine shows and/or online; c) 'tweet' headlines from such interviews as trailers or simultaneous to their appearance on the homepage; d) be familiar with which contents ought to be promoted; and d) respond in appropriate ways to criticism, complaints or positive feedback from listeners.

Cadena SER has implemented a number of different techniques designed to gather opinions and suggestions made by users. In addition to participating in online and on-air interviews, listeners may comment on news stories, fill in surveys and/ or send e-mails. At the same time, the established modes of communication are not overlooked: users are also advised of telephone numbers and postal addresses. The radio station also fosters specialized forms of interaction between programs and their audiences, and among listeners themselves, via the communities that develop around blogs, vlogs, forums, chat-rooms and social networking profiles³ (Facebook and Twitter have proven to be the two main channels of interaction with audiences). These modes of interaction are also used as sources of information, as well as means by which news stories and interviews may be formulated – in particular, the handling of current affairs via the Twitter accounts, @la_SER and @serdirecto.

Cadena SER also welcomes the contribution of user-generated contents, and has set up a number of dedicated sections to handle such interaction: "SER Periodista", news stories, audio and video files; "Fotos de los oyentes", photographs sent in by listeners; and "Frases de los oyentes", comments posted by users. Given that it may foster the emergence of new audiences, and especially younger listeners, the goal of enhancing the status of user as creator and producer of contents is an ongoing challenge. Julio Collado, the Director of Innovation and

³ For example, Cadena SER has set up profiles on Tuenti and Youtube, where almost all of the videos the station produces are posted.

Technology at PRISA Radio, underscores the need for radio to begin to “do things in a different way”, to create a stronger sense of community and to add value to the contents produced.

In general terms, social media management involves oversight and endorsement of the flow of conversation that arises in different ways from on-air and online radio broadcasting, and of user-generated contents. The goal is to build user loyalty to the Cadena SER brand within a framework shaped by interactivity and multiple modes of production. To count the number of discrete users and to analyze the development of individual user behaviour, comments on the network and its contents are tracked daily, responses to listeners are posted, and the impact of particular news stories and specific contents is measured (‘re-tweets’). The external ratings systems used by PRISA Radio are Nielsen for Spain and Comscore for Latin America; and the internal system is Omniture⁴.

These ratings figures, along with the modes of radio participation and interaction outlined above, appear to function as excellent tools to monitor user traffic, to register each discrete user and to track his/her activity clearly. The objective is to identify what it is users want on the basis of a qualitative account of audiences, a type of knowledge that also adds value to the broadcasting brand as such.

Nevertheless, the concept of online audience, specifically in relation to traditional radio broadcasting, poses new challenges for commercial radio management, especially when, as Juan Pablo Álvarez, the Director of Marketing and Research at PRISA Radio, says, its commercial status is “an intrinsic part of the SER product” both on-air and online. On the one hand, advertising and sales synergies are tapped by attracting sponsors for program sections and special coverage, and the editorial development of a specific content is assessed in terms of advertiser interest. On the other hand, there is a greater stated commitment to web-focused advertising campaigns, an initiative marked by the difficulty involved in managing advertising business on the basis of the volume of Internet traffic.

As an advertising medium, radio can avail of the following competitive advantages: it can function as a strong force in local sales, and draw on the sub-division and recommendation skills of communicators in commercial activity. For these reasons, and in light of its editorial agenda, Cadena SER is exploring the possibility of commercializing its online audio stream and other digital platforms independently – that is, the sale of end-user oriented advertising based on the replacement model, rather than the temporally sequenced continuity of on-air advertising.

Conclusions

The process of integration between the traditional newsroom model and the digital newsroom environment is now under way at Cadena SER. The clearest sign of this is the single editorial committee, which is multimedia in context and non-hierarchical in composition, and decides on both the topics to be covered and the types of coverage to be provided on each platform. At the moment, the integration process only encompasses the contents of on-air broadcasts and the station website, to the exclusion of other platforms, and its further development and implementation is the responsibility of the Technical Systems department.

Nevertheless, the traditional newsroom has greater visibility and resources. The website depends on the work of a limited number of people whose work it is to carry out web-based production and editing tasks, and whose efficacy rests above all on the synergies established with the production and editing processes carried out in traditional on-air broadcasting. Employees at the radio network are gradually receiving the education and training they require to edit the contents they produce for both on-air and online broadcast. Such evolution has brought about changes in work culture and practices, marked by a distinctive, well-defined editorial agenda that is

⁴ From September 2010 to April 2011, traffic from social networking sites to Cadenaser.com has increased from 1% to 5%.

shared by those working at the network, as well as by the features that characterize the Internet as an information and social medium.

The processes whereby information is produced and distributed across both platforms are complementary, disclosing close-knit synergies in decision-making. The in-built pressure on the Internet to update news stories constantly has prompted the definition of coherent procedures whereby information is distributed or its publication withheld so as to highlight the story on one or other platform, in accordance with the decisions taken on the basis of ongoing dialogue between the on-air news production team and the producers at Cadenaser.com.

Moreover, the immediacy of current affairs as such determines the real-time distribution on the Internet of certain news stories, rather than broadcast in parallel with scheduled, hourly on-air broadcasts. In such cases, it is the task of webmasters and editors to proceed to immediate publication of the news, and to request supplementary information from the traditional newsroom organization thereafter.

Changes have also been made to established professional procedures. In addition to the production of text and audio-files, the production team at Cadenaser.com also includes specialists in image, video and graphic design; such products are not limited to online radio broadcasting, but may also be distributed on other platforms, thus enhancing the network's brand visibility and multimedia contents. Although journalists continue to draw on the traditional sources used in any standard newsroom, the production of in-house news stories is being prioritized.

At the same time, radio professionals are learning online that interactive dialogue with the listener is a keystone of radio communication in the Web 2.0 environment and on social networks (mainly Facebook and Twitter in Spain). Cadena SER has acknowledged the absolute need to frame a more open narrative, which is responsive to the interests, opinions and suggestions of listeners, and available via a diversified range of on-air and online modes and techniques of participation and interaction. Hence, in the new multiplatform model, the newsroom has a dedicated social media management department, whose functions are shaped primarily by journalistic concerns and, secondarily, by promotional goals.

Nevertheless, so as to create a more participative form of radio, Cadena SER faces the challenge of fostering the notion of radio listener as content producer, using a production space on the website designed for that purpose and supported by the technology services of the media group. This challenge is especially acute in relation to younger audiences. In other words, the aim is to spur new forms of social participation centering on radio listenership so as to reinforce the Cadena SER brand and to transform the medium of radio as such into a social network.

In the digital convergence context, general-interest radio may reassert its status as a highly participative medium, which can now also enable communal interaction regarding its news, programs and contributes on the Internet and via social networks. Thus, the questions and answers, comments and recommendations made by listeners comprise an added value in the radio product, whose authorship may rest with the radio producers and/or the audience. This trend also dovetails with the new model of commercial management for online radio, which fosters the emergence of editorial and commercial ties between different media within a single communications group.

To sum up, therefore, the idea of Cadena SER as an editorial brand is not a new concept for those working at Cadenaser.com; this awareness and familiarity facilitate structural and professional change towards a new model of news-information production and distribution. Brand reinforcement and content optimization are key to the convergence process on which the broadcasting company has embarked.

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Digital radio in Brazil: analysis of an unfinished debate

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Abstract:

Government and radio broadcasting stations have been debating the model of digital transmission to be adopted in Brazil, without having come to a consensus. The impasse is related to the technological characteristics of the available systems (HD Radio, DRM, and DAB) that are not integrally adaptable to the model of radio broadcasting, to the regulatory laws, and to the rules of the radio market in the country. Tests done with HD Radio revealed that the digital system does not provide the same coverage as a quality analogical AM radio. Other aspects are the technical conditions of the Brazilian broadcasting stations and their adaptability to a digital system: 37% of them still function with valve transmitters, most of them being between AM commercial and public radios. As they are broadcasting stations with few resources for investment in transistorized equipment, it will be necessary to create public policies of incentive for digitalization, which would collaborate to the sustainability of the sector. The data are integrated into national research, based on a sample of 750 stations, which corresponds to 96.42% of the profile of the Brazilian radio market.

Keywords: radio broadcasting, digitalization, communication policy

"...friends, I can tell you of the last 30 years. The years to come... humm, we do not know anything."

"..Right now we do not have any view of the future..."

"...I see the radio as the unknown in the face of such significant changes for the future and the little orientation that we have in the present... after all, how do we prepare for it?..."

(Testimonies of radio broadcasters about the digitalization of the radio in Brazil)

Throughout the last two decades, there has been a growing of a consensus within the radio broadcasting media on the imperative necessity to digitalize sound radio broadcasting, as a strategy that will allow for its integration into the new multimedia profile that should emerge from the incessant marching towards a convergence. This true combination of techniques implies sensitive changes in production, commercialization, and distribution of information and communication services. It will mean making the same information available on different network platforms (mobile phones, Internet) in different languages (text, image, sound) and in different modes of interactivity. This also means altering the logic of how the mediatic industries operate, namely, the form of how they process and distribute information and entertainment to the public of these media.

The new resources made available by technology have radically increased the way in which the public has access to the means of communication, including our good and old radio. In the past, the transmissions of the vehicle were limited to the part of the radio electric spectrum that had AM and FM frequencies. Today, the possibilities of listening have been extended and the radio has been absorbed by the digital platforms: Internet, MP3 players, mobile telephones, and satellite. This situation led the American research institute – Arbitron – to name this phenomenon as “radio without limits”. The growing integration of radio into Internet and onto the digital platforms is confronted with the process of migration of the media to a system of digital transmission that has been showing itself to be slow and irregular in most of the world.

This context of uncertainties is also replicated in Brazil. Doubts, a lack of perspectives, apart from anxieties about the economic difficulties faced in the present and the uncertainties with the real benefits that the technological changes could offer, are some of the feelings expressed by Brazilian radio broadcasters when questioned about what they think about the process of digitalization of the radio in the country. A process that has encouraged a growing sensation of deadlock in the owners and professionals of broadcasting stations and of an indefinite prolonging in the track to be adopted for technological change and operated in radio. These are uncertainties fed mainly by the difficulties found in the development of a new technological standard that could fully attend to the basic technical regulation established by the Ministry of Communications for the full functioning of the Brazilian System of Digital Radio. Furthermore, the uncertainties are fed by the inadequacy of the new transmission systems in existence to the reality of the Brazilian radio broadcasting market. Moreover, they are fed by the absence of public policies to promote the transition from analogical to digital, and finally by the political disputes among the different actors involved in the process to guarantee political positions already historically reached.

From a historical perspective, although not less paradoxical, the sector developed from an initial moment marked by euphoria and hope, due to the advertising of potential innovations offered by the new technology, to a more recent one that is proving to be a moment of great indetermination. Uncertainties that have offered perplexity, in a larger proportion to the small and medium radiobroadcaster, in relation to the immediate future of the stations, to the model of business, and to survival as a medium of popular reach in the Brazilian scenario.

The market of which we are talking

The Brazilian radio market is the second largest in the Americas, being one step behind the United States. According to the data from the Ministry of Communications, updated in 2011, there are 9.184 stations in operation in the country, 49% being communitarian, 46% commercial, and 5% educational. The communitarian radios, stations under the administration of segments of civil society or of resident associations without any profitable aims, with a potency of 25 watts, have had an accelerated growth since their regulation in 1998, going from 542 in 1998 to 4.526 in 2011.

Although there is no central position in an economic sense in the mediatic scenario evermore convergent and characterized by the diversity of players in the offer of content, the radio in Brazil is still a very popular medium. According to data from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) of 2009, radios are present in 88% of homes, 80% of cars in circulation, and in 36% of mobile telephones. The penetration of the radio reaches 90% of the population and the average rate of audience reaches 12 to 15%¹. The commercial stations have a yearly invoicing of more than a billion dollars, and receive just over 4% of the advertising sum destined to all the communication vehicles (Antonik, 2011).

Throughout history, a contiguous relation between the communication companies and the political agents molded the Brazilian radio broadcasting market. This proximity established a system of public concessions

¹ National Research by Sample of Homes Summary of Indicators 2009 available at <http://ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/populacao/trabalhoerendimento/pnad2009/default.shtm>

through time, constructed and operated from political party interests and conveniences, by means of obtaining incentives and fiscal subsidy, of privileged participation in the distribution of publicity sums from the government, or by the achievement of advantages for the planned development of telecommunication infrastructure, as well as by the establishment of regulatory acts that guaranteed the free flow of capital. The symbiotic model between communication and politics established a dense concentration of economic, political, and symbolic power in the hands of private entities concentrated in the South and Southeastern regions of the country, where there is a strong consumer market that demands vigorous advertising investments, especially in the larger radios in size and audience that act online via satellite. In opposition, the commercial stations of the other regions in the country, highlighting those situated in small interior towns, face serious difficulties to obtain sponsors and guarantee economic sustainability.

In addition to this aspect, the model of channel concessions depends on the approval of the National Congress, which, without the supervision of an independent regulatory organ, promoted a representative distortion in a market, in which deputies and senators, in full exercise of their popular mandates, directly or indirectly explore radio or TV channels. This situation flagrantly disrespects article 54 of the Constitution, which forbids them to maintain contracts or have paid posts, functions, or jobs in companies that are public service concessionaire (Lima, 2005). Parallel to this, members of the Congress who are owners of stations integrate the Commission of Science and Technology, Communication, and Computer Science of the National Congress, where the requests for concessions and renewal of conferrals are approved for the channels of radio broadcasting. Article 223 of the Constitution determines that the responsibility for the conferral belongs to the Executive Power but it also states that it is only true when approved by the Legislative Power. However, the same article establishes its own rules for renewal. It does not occur only if two fifths of the National Congress, in nominal voting, pronounces itself against it. This procedure of exception makes the appreciation of renewal of radios and TV conferrals rare in a different way to other kinds of public concessions. During its validity, the conferral can only be canceled by a legal decision. Therefore, different from other public services, the renewal of radios and TV concessions is practically automatic and without more thorough evaluation.

Digital radios: paths of the debate

The configuration of the market of Brazilian radio broadcasting established its own dynamic for the discussion on the digitalization of the spectrum molded by the historical process of its formation. Having established a closer relation with the political and government agents, the more economically powerful radio entrepreneurs have demonstrated preferences in the attempt to influence government decisions, in relation to the technological profile to be adopted in the digitalization of the sector, with the intention of preserving current positions and, at the same time, regulating the public debate on the subject beforehand.

On the other hand, sectors of the civil society, like the social movements related to the communitarian radios, put pressure on the Ministry of Communications to establish adoption parameters for the new technical standard, which will promote enlargement, diversification, and democratization of the model of radio broadcasting and the emergence of sustainable forms of financing. At the root of the arguments of the civil society is the comprehension that the use of technology cannot be an element in the increase of differences in technological standards, in production resources, and in financing, which are already currently faced by the stations. Moreover, they also argue that the technological transition should create opportunities to incorporate new actors into the scenario of radio broadcasting, being they educational, cultural, institutional, or communitarian.

The Brazilian Association of Radio and Television (ABERT) has led the discussion on digitalization since 1998, when it held the first demonstration of the functioning of DAB (Digital Audio Broadcasting) technology at their yearly congress. The radio broadcasters had the opportunity to see the prototype in landline and mobile

reception modality of DAB. At a Technical Seminar of ABERT held in 2000 representatives of Ibiqity, detainers of IBOC – currently named *HD Radio* – and *Dibeg*, responsible for the publication of ISDB-Tn (Services Digital Broadcasting – Terrestrial Narrowband), showed how these systems function. In 2001, the entity created a Technical Group to study the introduction of digital radio with the mission of accompanying, researching, and subsidizing a future decision by the government, and of maintaining the radio broadcasters informed in relation to the model to be chosen. In the next year, ABERT put out an informative primer about the active systems in the world, pointing out the challenges for the future of the radio. The technological demonstrations were frequent at the yearly congresses held from 2000 to 2010, spanning all the digital transmission formats, including the novelties of DRM (Digital Radio Mondiale).

The debate was intensified in the period between 2006 and 2010 when 28 tests (23 with HD Radio and 05 with DRM) were held. Of this sum, 14 tests presented final reports and 14 were not concluded. Some factors prevented half of the stations from finishing the tests, amongst which the lack of a standard methodology defined by the Ministry of Communications. The situation was only solved in 2007, when the Department of Electrical Engineering at the University of Brasilia established criteria and procedures for tests similar to some used in the United States by NRSC (National Radio Systems Committee). The aim was to evaluate the quality of audio in the system, an area of coverage compared to an analogical reach, robustness of digital signals, and the degree of coexistence without mutual interference between analogical and digital signals.

With the standardization of the tests, the federal government, ABERT, and the Mackenzie Institute of São Paulo performed the first reliable test with the system HD RADIO in the period between 2007 and 2008. The North American system operated experimentally in five AM and FM stations. The transmission and reception conditions were analyzed during nine months, as well as the robustness of the digital signal, accompanied by engineers from the Ministry of Communications and from the National Agency of Telecommunications (ANATEL). The technical report of the Mackenzie Institute (2008) concluded that the digital reception offered a leap in quality in relation to the analogical system, especially well for AM in points where the quality of analogical audio was considered fair or very bad. The results pointed to the fact that the real coverage of analogical stations, especially AM, remained below what was estimated by the models of determination of field intensity currently adopted. Serious problems of broadcasting in this technology were detected with areas of larger shadows than those that are observed in analogical systems when AM is used. That is, the HD Radio did not provide the same coverage of the analogical AM radio with quality, being susceptible to urban noise. In relation to robustness, the tests indicated an improvement of the signal in relation to the analogical modulation, although the AM band still requires a lot of perfection (Mackenzie, 2008)².

The tests revealed that the range of the discussion has always been circumscribed to the choice of a standard and to the technical capacities for a transmission of quality audio in any reception situation. Furthermore, it has also been restricted to satisfactory levels of efficiency in the capture of the signal in cities with different topographic characteristics, and the conditions of use of the electromagnetic spectrum, as well as providing the maintenance of the original area of coverage of the signal of the station.

The testing phase consolidated, among many commercial stations, the choice of the North American standard HD Radio, due to the advantages that it offers, mainly in the sense of the preservation of the business and the brand, in view of offering a hybrid transition of the system. The American standard allows for the mutual existence of the analogical AM and FM channels with the new digital mode, without needing to change the frequency on the dial. Once the digital signal is transmitted from an adjacent channel, an additional channel is not necessary, nor is it necessary to require new bids or conferrals. Another advantage is to favor the use of existing infrastructure. The changing of towers does not seem to be a necessity, nor changing the places of transmission,

² The tests with DRM done by the University of Brasília – UnB – for the Brazilian Communication Company were not conclusive and because of this, they are not mentioned in this paper.

although some stations only need a new exciter of digital radio broadcasting and some equipment and attached devices.

The critical point, which is feared, especially by the small and medium sized stations in the interior of the country, is the possible payment of royalties in the use of the technology. Most of them claim not having additional financial resources to maintain the payment and have suggested the interference of the central government in the sense of negotiating an alternative with the consortium detainer of the technology.

Nevertheless, we believe that a subject relative to the current process of technological change in sound radio broadcasting has not been very well discussed: the real conditions of adaptability of the Brazilian stations to the new digital technology. We should consider that the reflection on this issue is complex, and should be developed from the understanding of different aspects that mark the action of the stations, in an integrated manner. This also includes the comprehension of the models of exploring radio frequency, the forms of financing, administration and insertion of radio in the different local and regional markets, which compose the varied marketing universe of Brazilian radio. Faced with this preoccupation, fundamental questions emerge that mark out the research done, and which are concentrated on surveying the current state of preparation of the national stations, to face the changes in the process of digital migration; the different degrees of adaptation of the stations that are now in the debate; and the public policies needed to guide and support this change in a sustainable way.

What radios do we have?

The research project "Mapping Technical Conditions of the Stations of Brazilian Radios and their Adaptability to the Standard of Sound Terrestrial Digital Transmission"³ worked on at the Laboratory of Communication Policies of the University of Brasilia (LAPCOM-UnB), under the leadership of the authors of this paper, approaches and analyzes these subjects. It is a new diagnosis in the country that reunited data, which encompass the technical, productive, and physical infrastructure characteristics of the stations. These uncover the profile of the professionals, who act there within and that explain and allow for the comprehension of the technical and economic strategies of confrontation of the process of digitalization, being planned, or not, by the radio broadcasters.

With the information obtained from the survey, we produced an analytical reading of the multiple operational conditions presented by the stations in the country. The objective of generating this knowledge is to constitute a bank of information that can collaborate with the realistic design of public policies applied to the process of technological transition, to encourage and stimulate the discussion among the different sectors – radiobroadcasters, industry, citizens and the State – involved in the chain of radio broadcasting value. With the data collected and interpreted, we established standards of general classification of the stations in relation to their adaptability to the digital transmission system.

To develop the mapping, a database was constituted with 6.338 AM, FM, OC and OT stations of a commercial, educational, cultural, public and communitarian character. For this, we used the record from the registration of the Ministry of Communications, from ANATEL and from the catalog of Media from the Media Group of São Paulo⁴. The data used were those related to items like the identification of the radio, its locality, address, prefix, type of concession, and type of frequency among others. For the research, we created a computer system that permitted the automatic generation of access passwords aimed at the exclusive use of stations, which agreed to answer an electronic questionnaire, made available on the site www.lapcom.unb.br. The survey was complemented by the distribution of a printed questionnaire to the registered stations with a pre-paid envelope. This allowed those radios that do not have access to Internet to answer the form and send it by mail without any

³ The research project was financed by the Ford Foundation.

⁴ It was necessary to obtain information on the stations in other non official databases, considering the high level of not updated data in the registrations of the stations within the Ministry of Communications, available on the System of Control of Radio Broadcasting.

cost. During the survey, more than two strategies were used to guarantee a larger participation of radiobroadcasters: personalized marketing e-mails, as well as continuous actions of telemarketing were sent to those stations that had not answered the questionnaire within the stipulated deadline.

Between April 2009 and December 2010, fewer than 750 Brazilian stations participated in the investigation, 76.44% of which named themselves commercial, 10.06% educational and 13.50% communitarian. Of this group, 56% are FM (including the communitarian ones), 43% AM and only 1% presented themselves as OC and OT. Most of them are installed in the South and Southeast regions. The values collected, compared to those registered in the database allow us to state that the partial results here within, practically correspond to 96.42% of the profile of Brazilian radios.⁵

Profile of Brazilian Broadcasting Stations

The data collected allows us to state that the majority of the participants in the research is constituted by small and medium stations with a very limited physical infrastructure. In general, the sectors of these radios are installed in spaces that do not go beyond 7 rooms, the spaces destined to the administration, to the production of content, to the studios and technical and administrative areas there included. Most of them only have two studios, one for transmission (79.61%) and another for production (77.75%); one room dedicated to journalist editing (74.46%), one room for the production of programs (71.31%) and one for musical production (68.87%), one destined to the commercial management (84.46%) and one dedicated to the general management (84.95%). A little more than half the stations have rooms for programming management (57.85%) and for the technical director (58.88%). We also observed that little more than a fifth of the stations surveyed stated not having a production room (21.07%), one fourth do not present a room for musical programming (26.82%) and little more than a sixth do not even have an editorial office (16.67%). In the radio broadcasters' manifestations, we could also register that the installation conditions of these sectors very precarious and the available resources to work are greatly reduced. This context indicates a profile of the conditions of production that are very limited, determining anchored programming, primarily in the communicative capacity and personal charisma of the communicators and in the use of music, with little production of programs and of journalism itself.

In general, our respondents are local stations, considering that 74.06% do not integrate the satellite network. Moreover, of the 25.94% that are on the network, only 13.37% are heads of networks. Most of them appear as affiliates (86.63%). The predominant characteristic of the programming is a combination, balanced up to a point, between journalism (27.21%) and music (27.86%), tacked by services (17.68%) and variety programs with popular communicators (11.52%). The fact that little less than 5% of them declared having communitarian programs in their programming comes to attention, and of those who do have them, most concentrate on the specific segment of communitarian radios.

The profile of the professionals found until now, allows us to confirm the diagnosis of another research project developed by FGV for ABERT in 2008: more than half of the people employed by the commercial radios are only of a high school level⁶. In the UnB-LAPCOM survey, of the 750 participant stations, just under 38% do not have any journalists at higher education level, and 27% of the stations also inform that they do not have producers. Of the stations that have journalists, 47% only have from one to three undergraduate professionals, and 53% state having from one to three journalists without a higher education level. In the stations that register the presence of producers, 34% present from one to three producers graduated in Communications, and 66% have from one to three producers without any university degree. These indicators suggest unfavorable conditions for production of journalistic, informative, and even entertainment content, especially if the strong presence of

⁵ The survey presents around 3.50% of sample error.

⁶ Analysis of the Socio-economic Profile of Radio Broadcasting in Brazil, FGV, available at http://www.abert.org.br:8080/abert/?q=biblioteca_Censo_Radiodifusao

announcers and the importance of announcers and communicators are considered within the staff at the stations, as well as in the structuring of their programs. Approximately 68% of the stations have from one to 6 announcers, and 70% from one to 6 communicators. Another interesting datum is the reduced presence of advertisers in the commercial radio segment: 50% of the universe surveyed does not have one of these professionals, and 39% said they had less than three in the staff.

Digitalization of production processes

The mapping of the stations draws a panorama in which most of them have already incorporated digital resources to the processes of content production, be it by the disseminated use of computers in the main sectors of the radios, or in the use of transistorized equipment. The large majority of the stations has at least, one to three computers in the following installations: transmission studios (72.56%), production studios (84.29%), production room (70.84%), editorial offices (59.46%), and rooms for general, technical, and programming management (67.34%).

In terms of studio equipment, we observed a considerable decrease in the presence of analogical technology resources: 51.53% do not have a K7 reproducer, 84.53% do not use DAT, 80.76% have abolished roll ribbon recorders, and 92.08% have already removed the old cartridges from operations. Replacing this equipment, the computer occupies the space left and has become the central machine in the measures used, in which 83.12% of the radios use from one to three computers in the production studio, and in both cases, a system of automation in the programming has been installed. A little below 13% of the radios heard, stated having no computers.

In the editorial part, 80% of them said they had at least one program for the processing and edition of sound in the computers that they used in the productions. From the data and the information collected from many professionals at the stations, it is possible to infer that computers still cohabit with analogical equipment, the entire and immediate substitution of which is considered by the radio broadcasters to be of difficult implementation, due to the high cost and the low investment capacity of most of the stations. An example of this cohabitation among technologies is the digital console table, an essential element in the new transmitting process. From all those who answered the survey, 52% stated not having one, while 48% informed us that they had from one to three in operation. The analogical console table continues in operation in more than 92.71% of the surveyed stations, cohabiting with the new digital equipment in most of them. Although the audio automation systems are already present in a representative segment of the stations, the use of recorders and mini disc reproducers (66%) and recorders and reproducers of CD (88%) is still reasonably common in the operating of the stations.

Another relevant datum that conforms to the varying technological universe of the stations is the increasing number of radios with access to Internet (96.78%). Of this sum, 95.45% used dialed access, and 4.55% broadband. At half of the stations that already had Internet, the access is available in the entire facilities. The rate of computerization in the segment reflects the increase in amounts of computers in Brazil in the last 5 years⁷ and the heavy expansion of broadband access, which has been occurring in the country. This increase made the points of access leap from the near on eleven million and a half at the end of 2008 to just over forty five million at the end of August 2011, that is, an increase of around 400% in little over three years.⁸ More than 4.600 municipalities,

⁷ The number of computers in Brazil has reached the mark of 60 million, between corporative and residential machines. With this, proportionally speaking, there is one computer for every three Brazilians. The prediction is that, in 2012, the country will have 100 million computers, which would be equal to a micro for every two inhabitants. The data is in the 20th Yearly Research in Use of Computer Science, held by the Center of Applied Computer Science of the Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV) of 2008. JB Online <http://jbonline.terra.com.br/pextra/2009/05/26/e260510292.asp>

⁸ Data from the Brazilian Association of Telecommunications of 2011. Available at <http://www.techtudo.com.br/Acessado> on August 31 2011.

which corresponds to 82% of the entire area of the Brazilian territory already have the infrastructure for fixed broadband access.⁹

The increasing computerization that we are witnessing, led 79.55% of the stations to create a webpage on Internet, 34.48% having started operations more than five years ago. It is in the communitarian radios that most of the stations have not yet opened their own webpage. The radio broadcasters consider a webpage mainly as a space of interaction with the listeners (44%), and as an alternative form of transmitting live programming (41%). Due to this, the most effective motivation of the radios to create their webpages is based on the idea of enlarging the proximity with the listener (33.68%) followed by the aim to increase audience (31.57%), and attract new advertisers (23.15%). The act that surprises us is the fact that only 2% use Internet as a space to make podcast productions available. According to the stations, the best benefits received from the creation of their webpages were the increase in publication of their events (54.36%), and a better proximity and interaction with the listeners (40.37%), as well as the growth in numbers of advertisers (3.63%). The radios that still do not have webpages justify that it is because of a lack of resources (38.26%), followed by the high cost of the infrastructure of communication and maintenance of the sites (30.43%), and, finally, because the profile of the audience does not require having a website on Internet (20.86%). Those who intend to create a website on Internet say that they will do so within the next six months at the most.

According to the stations that have already had sites for some time, the creation of webpages has not yet provoked a significant change in the way the listeners maintain contact with the stations. The audience still does not consider the sites to be the main reference to interact with the stations. According to the radio broadcasters, the traditional models of communication centered on the telephone (35.02%), electronic mail (18.97%), letters (14%), stations' sites (11.53%), and personal visits to the stations are still predominant. The service of SMS telephone messages and chats, mechanisms that are of late so popular as an alternate form of participation, reach 9.5% of the entire participation.

Transmission Structure

One of the tenets at the beginning of the survey was of a significant number of radios operating with valve transmitters, thus being necessary to change to another transistorized type with devices that could facilitate possible adaptations to the process of digitalization¹⁰. We suspected that the educational, communitarian, and commercial stations with low invoicing would have difficulties to invest in resources in the changing of their transmission parks. A national modular transmitter of 5 KW, with medium quality has a market cost of approximately three hundred thousand *reais* (US\$200.000), while one of superior quality can reach the sum of seven hundred thousand *reais* (US\$450.000).

The refined data show that our preoccupation was proceeding. After all, 35% of the stations still function with valve transmitters, while 65% operate with modular transmitters. On analyzing the data by way of the kind of transmission technology, we observed that 37% of the valve transmitters are within AM stations and 63% within FM. Although the communitarian ones are within the classification of FM, only five of the 84 surveyed said they had valve transmitters. Among the commercial FM, half of them have valve equipment, a third of the AM commercial ones, a little under half of the FM educational ones, half the AM educational ones, and all the OC and OT stations present this kind of technology.

Most of the transmitters are of national fabrication (89.54%) and can be considered new. Apart from this, we did not find the existence of a practice of buying used transmitters, seeing as most of the radios declare they

⁹ Revista Carta Capital 29/07/2010.

¹⁰ Modular transmitters use potency transistors in place of the old transmission valves. This allows for the decrease in size of the transmitter cabinet and a large economy in electric energy. Another important characteristic is to be able to connect via Internet, like this, permitting maintenance at a distance by the responsible engineer.

acquired their transmitters first hand (95%). In the analyzed context, stations that present transmitters with less than 10 years of use (68%) predominate. What becomes evident is that 11.33% of the stations have transmitters that have been in use for 20 years. Most of the stations operate with transmitters, the potency of which does not go beyond 10 KW (72.96%).

Faced with this framework, 52% of the stations would like to change their transmitters, to adapt to the requirements of digital radio (39.07%), enlarge the potency in which they transmit (29.07%), or, due to the advanced age of the equipment and difficulties in buying replacement parts (33%). Those who do not want to change allege that the buying of a used transmitter is recent (less than 5 years), or that the current equipment fully attends to the necessities of the station. However, 16% of the stations heard do not change due to the uncertainties of technology, the lack of resources, and the cost of the transmitter.

We must still consider that the capacity of manifested investment by most of the stations, to promote the adaptations to digital technology, does not come even near US\$150.000 (81%). In this issue, the difficulty is generalized and no significant differences are seen among the stations in the kind of technology or in the region where they are located. Whoever already has plans to digitalize their station (52%), has a modular transmitter (31%), hence, consider they are a little more integrated in the new process. Among those who have less than US\$150.000 to invest in digitalization, 53% operate with modular transmitters and 27% with valve transmitters. This indicator warns us of the low investment capacity of the stations that need profound and substantial changes in their transmission park to conform to the new technology, especially the AM commercial stations and the (AM and FM) educational ones, where the largest number of valve transmitters are concentrated. Little more than one tenth of the stations (13%) have an investment capacity of over US\$200.000.

Knowledge on Transmission Digitalization

Another objective of the survey was to identify the level of knowledge of the radio broadcasters and of the technicians of the sector about the technology of digital transmission. We observed that 86.83% of the managers/directors and 76.46% of the technicians state that they accompany the discussion to a certain extent and a little under a fourth of the technicians declare that they are not informed in relation to the subject (23.54%).

The most common means that they usually use to get information are news from the press, followed by the reading of specialized magazines, through participation in technical congresses and through the information from the Ministry of Communications. Less than 8% of the technicians have already participated in some training and diploma course, or visited stations that are developing tests with digital systems.

The most frequent reasons, given by radio broadcasters, for not being more assiduous in discussions, are based on a perception that the debates are centralized in the hands of few (47%), in the belief that the technological changes will not happen within the next five years (32.35%), as well as in the belief that the process is being developed without the required caution and tranquility (16.91%). Moreover, this is due to the lack of seriousness in the discussions and the dissension in relation to path of the data by the government in the process of decision making about the new technological standards (4.00%).

The position of ABERT and, initially, of the government in favor of HD Radio system was much published by the media, and consequently contributed to form a climate of opinion amongst the radio broadcasters. We can see this in the answers and comments made by the radio broadcasters and professionals who demonstrate that just over a third of the technicians indicated that the system they knew best is the American one (39.17%), followed by the European DRM (18.85%) and DAB (7.83%) and finally the Japanese ISDB (6.72%). Less than a fifth of them state they know about all the existing current systems (19%), and a tenth completely ignore the technological standards that are being discussed. A little over one third of the technicians state they have knowledge, classified as introductory about the technology of digital radios (35.86%). Less than half (42.47%) say

they only have precarious knowledge in relation to the digitalization and just over one-fifth (22.11%) consider themselves informed.

Awaiting Digitalization

The country is going through a moment of uncertainty in relation to the standards of digital transmission. The Ministry of Communications promoted initial tests in search of a standard that could be adequate to the system of Brazilian radio broadcasting. Only two rules for digital radios were tested: HD Radio, the ownership standard in the United States, with unexpected results, and which deserves even more publication, and DRM (Digital Radio Mondiale), of a European origin, done on a more inferior scale than the American one, and which has not even been finished, neither has it offered definite conclusions up to this moment.

The most recent action of the government in this process was the administrative rule n.290/2010 from March 31 2010 from the Ministry of Communications, instituting the Brazilian System of Digital Radio – SBRD. The document gives signs of the adoption of fundamental parameters for the process of choosing technological solutions, such as to provide the efficient use of the spectrum of radio frequency. As well as this, to also make the participation of Brazilian teaching and research institutions possible in the adjustment and improvement of the system, according to the necessities of the country. In addition, to make solutions for low potency transmissions feasible, with reduced costs, as well as to allow for the creation of a network of distance education. It also motivates the regional and local industry to produce digital instruments and services, allows for the transfer of technology to the Brazilian industry of transmitters and receptors, exemption of royalties guaranteed, where appropriate. The institution of SBRD by far ends the debate, as the model to be adopted has not even been determined in the administrative rule. Furthermore, in May 2011, the Ministry of Communications resumed the process of tests for the technologies of digitalization of radios, by means of the launching of a second public call, so that those interested in experimenting could do so up to March 2012.

This situation of uncertainty influences the way that radio broadcasters face the task of preparing themselves for the arrival of digitalization. Among the participants of the survey, 54% said that they already had “some type of plan” for digitalization, while 39% do not think about it because they are awaiting the technical definitions about the standard.

There is quite a positive expectancy among the radio broadcasters in relation to the possible profits that the new technology will give the stations. The hope that with the digitalization it will be possible to obtain a representative improvement in the quality of sound (37%), the increment in the offer of additional products (17%), the increase in audience (14%), and the desired growth in invoicing (10%). On the other hand, few see in technology a potential to acquire different listeners from the current profile (9.58%), nor do they believe in the improvement in the administration of radio as a business (7%).

This optimism in relation to the technical improvement goes against the critical analysis of the radio broadcasters, relative to the way the process of migration is being carried out. A little over one-fifth of the stations think that the process is slower than should be (21%) and just over one-sixth of them consider the discussions to be centralized and occur around very few radio broadcasters (16.19%). For approximately one-sixth of the radios, the process has not been developed with the appropriate quantity of information (15.71%), and has been marked by the absence of clear policies by the government (15%). A little over 25% believe that the process has had little participation of the radio broadcasters, that the discussions are centralized around the Ministry of Communications and that they have not been conducted with the deserved caution and necessary time.

The bottom line is that the radio broadcasters are awaiting public policies that, according to them, will help them face the enormous challenges that the transition will impose on the stations. The supporting measures that the radio broadcasters believe could be more important in this process are fiscal exemption in the purchase of equipment (36.28%), and the opening of lines of credit in official banks for the financing of the technological

modernization process of the stations (28.24%). The other measures also considered – and to be adopted by the radio broadcasters – are the reformation in the mode of administration of the stations as an enterprise (12.44%) and the establishment of a coherent industrial policy (6.11%). Nevertheless, it is necessary to consider that 17% of the stations said they were not sure which measures should be taken during the process of migration. It is important to perceive that the radio broadcasters in these data manifest a clear expectation not only in the definition by the government of a technological standard for transmission, but that it will create fiscal incentives and credit sources to subsidize the change.

Optimism and Uncertainties

As well as the objective and quantifiable information, the survey had the intention of uncovering what radio broadcasters think about the process of choosing and implementation of a new technological platform for radios, and which would be the expectations that they have, in relation to the present and the immediate future of the stations. In addition, what the possible changes announced by the radio broadcasting market are with the approaching process of change. In general, it is possible, from the hundreds of manifestations by radio broadcasters, managers, directors, and professionals in the sector, to perceive feelings of hope and animation with the innovations to be offered by the new technology. However, this “state of animation”, optimistic to a certain degree, cohabits with a profound sensation of insecurity, generated by the quest that exists about the survival of the media, by the doubts coming from the commercial and finance crisis faced by the sector, added to the lack of perspective of the current reality.

“...It is difficult to declare something, because of the uncertainties of the sector. The financial difficulties are never ending, and they do not allow us to speak of investments. The advertising market is slowly disregarding our capacity as a media vehicle, which is an enormous lack of knowledge about the behavior of the people, who have not stopped listening to the radio. However, there is still hope that we will be able to survive with this media in the next 20 years... Summarizing: with or without digital radio, the next 5 years will be very difficult, as were the last 5 years...”

“...I struggle every day to cross the quagmire and maintain the radio on its feet. In relation to the future of radio, I see it with lots of difficulties and uncertainties to survive...”

“...the AM radio needs a solution that will put it on an equal footing with the rest of the Medias and the digitalization is our salvation and only path to survival...”

“...a closer relation with the ministry and producing the means to allow for the modernization of the stations in the country. Develop a policy that would help the radio broadcasters.”

(Excerpts of comments made by radio broadcasters who participated in the survey)

The manifestations of hope and optimism are based largely on the constitution of a positive view – and idealized to a certain point – in relation to what the digital technology can offer the radio. For the radio broadcasters, digitalization could be an invaluable instrument of economic recuperation, audience increment, and the redeeming of the importance that the vehicle has in day-to-day life. Besides, in several manifestations, the stations demonstrated a great preoccupation with a larger problem related to the fact that radio, notably the AM stations, and to a smaller extent, the FM ones, are not having the renewal of their public at a decent rhythm and in sufficient quantities. In this context, the technological innovations are seen by the stations as important and powerful instruments for the radio to again come closer to the younger segments of the population in an efficient and continuous way, and transform them once again in potential consumers of the programming.

Yet the insecurity of the radio broadcasters manifests itself largely in the analysis and negative values, as is happening in the process of public debates on the adoption of technology, of the (non)orientations of the responsible government sectors, for carrying out the process of discussion, and in decisions of which technology to adopt, and finally, in why many of the radio broadcasters believe that radio, as a business, is going through a difficult, problematic phase full of challenges. Technological stagnation and a persistent decadence predominate in the sector – quantitative and qualitatively – in the production of content. This is explained by the stations as a crisis context, as the sum of complex causes that are tied to issues like: a) a lack of support from the government by means of public policies of investment for the modernization and development of the sector; b) with the “disloyal commercial competition” which they denominate as “communitarian and pirate” stations all over the country; c) with the lack of an equal fiscal policy among the commercial, communitarian, and educational stations by the governments.

May it also be registered that part of the radio broadcasters also believe that the current crisis faced by the sector comes from a lack of more professionalism and a strategy of business planning of the radio broadcasting sector itself. From the point of view of these stations, the vehicle and its administrators should rethink the form of exploration of the so-called “radio business”. In this case, the modernization of the sector would also go through the qualification of the production actions of content and the selling of programming to the publicity market. These changes are seen as enormous challenges for the sector, which should not think – according to the radio broadcasters themselves – that the technology will be the guarantee, in its own right, of the success and improvement that radio broadcasting is demanding in search of a sustainable future.

Concluding: Between Anxiety and Expectation

The reading of the broadcasters and professionals’ manifestations in the sector and the analysis of the quantitative data collected by the survey permits us to point out some conclusions about the situation of the studied radios before the imminent process of digitalization.

The first perception is related to the infrastructure of the Brazilian stations. Our survey shows that most of the radios present limited physical installations, precarious conditions of production in the realm of technical possibilities, as well as in the existence of specialized human resources like journalists and producers. There is also a low invoicing; they do not present good rates of technological investment and renewal, and very little financial “working power” to face the enormous challenges, which the digitalization process will bring to the media, to its professionals and owners.

Regardless of the uncertainty, in relation to the adoption of a standard for digital radio, and consequently the uncertainty of the definite needs and possibilities of adaptation, which will be offered by the radios, the limited and precarious conditions found by the survey give us a profile of a complicated scenario, for the segments of sound radio broadcasting to face in an autonomous way and with the minimum of security, as well as the still unpredictable “rough sea” of digitalization and its many consequences. An outcry for the government to establish a group of coherent public policies in the industrial, fiscal, or credit scope, which would represent an effective support to all the sectors of the productive chain, and sustain the implementation of a new technological base in Brazilian radio are the main arguments that fundament the manifestations of small and medium radio broadcasters. This call for the government to act in an articulated way on several fronts of action also marks the discourse of the communitarian, educational, and public stations that were heard.

These conditions demonstrate just how urgent it is for the government and other actors involved to promote an ample discussion with the objective of thinking about the complex situation in which the radio finds itself, and how it will confront the different transformations that will come with the alteration of technology that is already on the horizon. The message given by the radio broadcasters is clear: there is no more time to lose, and the process of debate, tests, and definition of the technical system to be adopted in the digitalization of the

media, must occur as soon as possible, without interruptions, and with the appropriate support and development from the responsible government sectors.

The complexity of the future scenario of changes, to be put into operation in radio, also strengthens the need to establish strategies to be implemented, not only at the moment of choosing the new transmission system, but mainly in the later period of its adoption, the moment in which new production, commercialization and use of the medium will be being newly designed. These actions should be satisfactorily efficient to overcome the threats of sustainability of the medium as a business emerging from the deepening of the current economic crisis faced by the Brazilian stations. The manifestations collected demonstrate that the radio broadcasters have strong expectations about the future actions of furtherance for the sector. They should be of a wide spectrum, reaching from the technical capacitation of the professionals to the establishment of financial and fiscal measures, which will stimulate the capitalization of the stations, to attend to the investments required by technological migration, and at a second moment, to continue to exist in a sustainable way within the new digital system.

At present, the government spheres and, up until now, some of the sectors that represent parts of the radio broadcasters have manifested preoccupation in a predominant way, with the characteristics of each one of the technologies that are in the public debate. Nevertheless, from the point of view of the stations heard in the survey, these same actors forget and barely speak about the existing infrastructural conditions in the stations, spread around the interior of the country, and which barely show actions for the creation of real investment conditions and for government support required by the sector at the moment. According to the same stations, as from the choice of a new technological standard, there will actually be a possibility of a profound renewal of equipment, leading, in extreme cases, many stations to put their own transmission parks, literally in the "trash", faced with the impossibilities of providing technical adaptations.

Moreover, in the perspective of many of those surveyed, the process of technological incorporation and lack of investment, planning, and productive and commercial strategies, associated to the scarcity of adaptation to the conditions of the Brazilian market in technological standards, topography, geographic dimension, and demographic density could condemn the stations of Modulated Amplitude to isolation from a digitalized radio broadcasting system, if urgent measures are not thought up and put into practice.

Faced with a wide group of technical, political, and social interests, which are involved in the process of the digital radio debate, in an extent that can be perceived by the existing divergence among the different segments of sound radio broadcasting – commercial, educational, public, and communitarian –, it is imperious that the Ministry of Communications effectively take over its government role and carry out the public debate on digitalization. Like this establishing permanent forums for the discussion of parameters – technical, political, economic, and regulatory – that will provide the new system with social legitimacy. This value will allow the government to fulfill the difficult task of solving a complicated equation: carrying out the process so that we have a digital radio system, technically viable, efficient in reach and quality of audio, economically sustainable, representative of the social interests, and with parameters of democratic access. Even if the government must take measures – technical and political – that go against the interests of historically powerful segments of the national radio broadcasting. The path is uncertain, the needs are real, and the challenge has been launched...

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From Radio to R@dio: broadcasting in the 21st century

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Abstract:

Online broadcasting, online music services, portable music players, digital receivers, mobile phones and podcasts are different ways to access music and entertainment. All these platforms represent a whole new scenario for media and forces radio to change the business and communication model, transforming the radio concept we used to know. MP3 players for instance, or devices such as mobile phones are shifting the balance of power away from radio as tastemaker toward consumers' ability to select, hoard and arrange their music. Multimedia is changing radio discourse. Radio listening gave way to online navigation and interaction. To where does all this lead us? The proposed abstract will focus on the transfiguration of audio contents, both in terms of journalism, entertainment and advertising, as well as the mutation of the listener in direction of a relation between the one who listens to radio and is also a web user of radio websites, presenting the concept of R@dio, as a definition for the new broadcasting context in the 21st century.

Keywords: Online broadcasting, online music services, music, media, radio, business, listener, Internet

Introduction

This paper focuses on changes occurring in audio consumption, considering web-based content, radio forms of broadcasting and narrowcasting, to characterize the transfiguration of audio contents, in terms of production, assembly and consumption. This will produce proper categories of web-based audio content, as online music services colonize the web and radio has become r@dio, competing for people's attention among all available audio contents. Our approach to online music services as potential competitors for radio aims to understand characteristics that differentiate them from radio and find common features between them. In both cases, structure of media files distribution uses streaming software, that is, on demand or live webcast. Online music services correspond to a very broad category, including all sorts of online services that allow us to listen to online music, whether is music uploaded from our computer, streamed songs on YouTube video aggregators, licensed songs in websites, or community build playlist available online. Baring this in mind, we develop an analysis of radio in relation to music websites, to find common features and categorize the variety of web-based audio content and services. As Herring (2010), we question established methods of content analysis adequacy to analyse convergent interactive web content using HTML. Therefore, we use a descriptive website analysis combined with systematization of structural features (text components) to identify and describe patterns in website content, while applying traditional content analysis techniques that will help us to interpret these websites characteristics. Using websites self-definition on "about" page, we hope to fit established categories of web-based

audio content. Part of this paper explores some definitions of web-based audio categories and categorization of online features. Considering changes in communicative processes in media (Cordeiro, 2010), new media ecology (Deuze, 2007) and peer production (Benkler, 2006), further analysis will be enriched by examples of a defined sample of web-based audio content, to find common features in content, interactivity and accessibility of these sites, in relation to radio. To follow our objectives, in June 2011, 14 websites were analysed, selected from three different sources:

- General Google search for 'music streaming';
- Music website heat map;
- Responses from a sample of Portuguese music experts (ranging from radio professionals, including program directors and radio hosts; music marketers, podcasters and record industry professionals), who shared with us their preferred websites for online music listening; news search and music download.

- Music websites with streaming or download with more than 100.000 monthly visits include Youtube Music, Pandora, Playlist, Grooveshark, Last FM, AOL Music, Rhapsody, eMusic, Vevo, Reverbnation, and Soundcloud. From these, we looked at Youtube Music, Pandora, Playlist, Grooveshark, Last FM that were also mentioned in our experts sample. Google search included We7, The Hype Machine, Songza iMesh, Noisetrade, rcrdlbl, Weenradio, iMeem, Seeqpod, Mog, Fairtilizer, Soundflavour, Liveplasma, Spinjay, MysongCast, Magnatune, Music anywhere, Mysongcast; Ourstage; Purevolume; Jamwave; Opsound; Itbreaks, Jelly, My Way, Cotonete and Deezer. From responses of experts we added to this last group of analysis others like: Jango, Finetune, Mixcloud, Stereomood and Musicoverly, to find common features between sites with different popularity. We also developed a short questionnaire to find most popular websites in Portugal and then, to decide which to analyse with further detail. Therefore, from a sample of 1796 Facebook users we had 115 answers in three days of online inquiry, corresponding to a 15% response rate, with an age rank between 18 to 54 years old. Average educational capital of the sample, knowledge of radio industry and desire for music is high – respondents are part of a special interest group in Radio (practitioners, fans and listeners). From these, 88% uses the web to listen to music, mainly for the availability (72%), accessibility of online music, while at work (79%) and variety (51%). Although our respondents claim to listen to music online, they are not regular users of most of our website sample. Referred websites commonly used include Last FM (9%), My Way (9%), Cotonete (7%), Grooveshark (5%), Musicoverly and Mixcloud with 4% (being those used at least once a month). Baring this in mind, our sample of websites include: YouTube, Pandora, Playlist and Last FM, since these are music websites with larger traffic data (music website heat map); Finetune, Stereomood, Jango, My way, Cotonete, Musicoverly, Grooveshark and Mixcloud (those referred my Portuguese music experts and Facebook users) and a categorization of Google "music streaming" search results, to properly fit other websites in previously defined categories. We added to the analysis best representatives of r@dio in Portugal, to find differences between concepts of radio and r@dio, as well as web-based audio content: TSF and RFM.

Mass Media in interconnected world: media consumption becoming something new

Media networks provide transnational flows of content with influence in our everyday life, representing a macro-level of cross-border interconnectedness and interchange with impact in lifestyles, social attitudes and individual experience. Convergence in telecommunications, electronics and computer science came to unfold networks to broadcast and narrowcast media and creative contents. Consumer is today in control "of what and when she watches, of what and when she reads, of whether to pay any attention to you" (Garfield, 2009: 14). Mass structures that defined interconnectedness are collapsing, facing audience fragmentation between self-media. Media are distributing both in analogical and digital platforms, connecting with audiences in as many channels as possible, while computers and smart phones are replacing every form of non-interactive media. Digital communications dynamics ceases older communications practices associated to technology and media. However,

where are in a transition period in which people both incorporate Internet in their lives, according to their individual needs, beliefs, attitudes and daily routines, and use radio, television and newspapers, maintaining also traditional communication and social interaction practices. From this combination of online and offline contexts results an hybridization of practices, building an interactive dynamic communications system that provides the primary basis for technology diffusion including media and Internet, concerning mainly new channels of communication used by media, that transform them into self media. Internet is becoming main infrastructure of communications, competing as a media gateway with traditional media not only for audience's attention and time, but also as the mediator for most communicative processes challenging media efficiency (Cordeiro, 2010). Internet portrays different levels of adoption in contemporary society. Nevertheless, as contributed to change individual behaviours, media practices and professional routines, related to different dynamics of technology adoption, as Rogers (1964) approached and related to innovation.

The process of diffusion of innovations is highly dependable on the social context. Perceptions of its importance and advantages influence this process, as well as communicative channels used. Rogers (1964) defined profiles of reaction facing innovation that we relate with levels of experience with technology: innovators have high levels of experience with technology and are heavy users of Internet, defining online trends by developing open source software and online applications to mostly used websites. The degree of experience with technology decreases from this profile ahead, since early adopters are less intense Internet users and are less experienced with technology, using software and applications that innovators create. The early majority are those who start using technology by professional determinations, integrating this utilization in their lives, using technology and online tools by time or their expansion. The late majority rarely uses Internet and adopt technology to their daily lives by social determinations, through the substitution of analogue with digital practices, routines or devices. Laggards, as Rogers (1964) defines, can be those who avoid technology, who we see as those that try to keep their social life away from digital environment, not using cell phones, Internet or any other digital devices. Ortega Santamaria (2007) defines Internet users evolution according to their knowledge structure and experience in different usage contexts, from an initiate user to an expert user, depending on their learning and experience traces, to approach a definition of the user 2.0 profile, those using tools and applications in ways that allow to differently organize and use their knowledge. This will be someone who produces, distributes, shares and cooperates with a socializing behaviour in social networks (Ortega Santamaria, 2007).

In digital age, the way fragmented audiences relate with media and each medium is approached in a technological basis, to identify social effects of the implementation and usage of technologies. Bruns (2008) approaches web 2.0 environments as a collaborative and participatory structure that enables the produsers and produsage model. Different from Tofler's (1980) prosumer or Benkler's (2006) peer producer, produsers are hybrid producers and consumers; produsage corresponds to a shift from industrial production towards a collaborative engagement of communities of participants (Bruns, 2008). These are contributing to improve traditional production value chain, by implementing the produsage value chain, including content development space and contributions from public domain or commercial sources. This allows the creation of valuable content, as well as commercial or non-profit harvesting of user-generated content and services to support content development in an environment that also has commercial activities by users themselves (Bruns, 2008). The social web, with social networks and social media represent contemporary Internet usage as a virtual space for worldwide publication of all kinds of contents. The way people communicate and companies relate with consumers have had boundless changes for the last years. Consolidation of social web, due to Internet access, mobile web, downsize of access charges, lower storage prices with larger capacity that has led to new practices and routines, representing the end of technological limitations that for decades restraint communication channels and forced them to be unidirectional.

Internet penetration around the world, growth in intensity of use, as for frequency and time of connection has consequently been involving people in communication processes. Media research follows these trends, observing changes from closed media to open media in relation to consumption and production, to define the emerging new media ecology (Deuze, 2007). In this scope, Lüders (2008) approaches personal media as opposed to media, pointing out some social implications of digitalization: personal media will be a combination of accessible communication with possibilities for mediated interaction, approaching media as institutional or professional asymmetrical structures. Online social networks and social media are wrapping individuals contributing to consolidate the user generated content stage, by associating individual creativity to online tools, consolidating the horizontal flow of communication in which communication is established between a community of many-to-many, allowing self communication, without the mediation of institutionalized media. Taking Easley and Kleinberg (2009) behaviour and dynamics in networks in account, one should understand behavioural and structural connectedness, that interplay different aspects, on linkages between people and actions consequences for every connection in the system. Media organizations, companies and brands are reasoning strategic actions in networks attempting to draw attention of individuals whose interactions take part in larger aggregates, as "people are influenced by the behaviours their neighbours in the networks, the adoption of a new product or innovation can cascade through the network structure" (Easley and Kleinberg, 2009: 24) Web has strongly contributed to dilute media power, that for a very long time has been questioned and is now democratized, as Cover (2006) states, while approaching relation established between technology and audience participation.

Although people have always had the ability to produce content, contemporary approaches of consumer as a co-creator have popularized user generated content, those broad activities engaged in by media users that make their most creative production available to others. At the same time, content creation tools get popular and easy to use and distribution platforms allow a wider circulation of user generated content, as result of media convergence and blurring boundaries between media organizations and audiences (Jenkins, 2006; Benkler, 2006; Croteau, 2006; Couldry, 2006; Gauntlet, 2000; Cordeiro, 2010). Interaction established between media, sources of media and consumers have established a different context in media marketplace. Media have expanded their current portfolio of services and revenue streams: instead of owning content, media must own the platform of interaction, becoming a sort of content retailer where people, content owners, content producers, service providers and networks get together, as result of convergence empowering consumers by dissolving some old barriers to content creation. This has transformed radio concept, business and communication model, by seeking to control consumption trends around customized, interactive, searchable, scheduling and social tools. Studies around media production (Jenkins, 2004) still do not relate producers and consumers of media content while these have become one. In this sense, there are different approaches to media studies, analysing media as practice instead of production or media effects, with media becoming "the open set of practices relating to, or oriented toward, media" (Couldry, 2006: 34), focusing on context and media consumption practices, as well as consequences of specific content in daily life (Couldry, 2006: 43).

Current two-way symmetrical consumption model is represented by a multidimensional audience willing to have time shifted, place shifted and device shifted content, provided by dynamic web services that allow to have real-time on demand content combining different possibilities, in relation to consumption desires. This audience is using social networks and social media as a tool to comment, create, transform, co-create and share a community level of experience managed by engaging hyperlinked media. People and content are in the centre of conversation, using media as part of the process, since web 2.0 tools have allowed them to improve their media experience. We approach contemporary media ecology (Deuze, 2007) as a circular model of sharing that emergence of converged devices also boosted to surpass old linear and vertical distribution model. Slot and Frissen (2007) explored five categories of web user roles, based on observational data, that were sub-divided into more diversified roles: 'consume' category includes reading, viewing, listening, downloading, buying, playing and

searching sub-roles. 'Create' category include customization and personalization; creation and production of content; as well as contributions. 'Sharing' category includes publishing, uploading and sending to others; in facilitate tagging, recommending, filtering, subscribing and channels are included; finally, for 'communicate' category, sub-roles included are message sending, commenting, rating and chatting.

New economy and radio

Flichy (2007) talks about the evolution of Internet towards a definition of new economy, from an emerging model outside the market economy to a new economic discourse based on a different approach, with cooperation and free exchange in online business. Follows by explaining how Internet is consolidating as a new global marketplace: from the virtual mall in early 90's to push media system and interactive media allowing on-to-one advertising, under a collaboration system and collective intelligence that favours the participation of all Internet users with value associated people's contribution. A very good example is Anderson's (2006) approach of the long tail, while forgetting mega hits and going for millions of niche markets, using recommendations systems and letting people review and suggest your work. Nevertheless, the available infrastructure is supported by a commercial structure with shared forms of advertising and targeted advertising based on patterns of consumption or published content (Andrejevic, 2009). It will be a new conceptualization of intellectual value, based on usage and attention, highly dependable on people's time and interest in relation to trusted sources of content and service providers of selection, interpretation and content customization. Attention is a mental engagement on a particular item of information, and as items come into our awareness, we attend to a particular one, and then we decide whether to act (Davenport & Beck 2001: 20). Today's economy results from technology shaping business models in a framework about people and content, relating experience and content socialization. Media, companies and brands relate online with consumers, internet and users with profitability in relation to earned reputation and trust, by shared links and conversations, as well as information on interactive applications and free web services, like email. Andrejevic (2009) remembers that click-stream activity, patterns of social networking and Internet search behaviour represents increasingly detailed forms of monitoring producing valuable information for customization of consumption-oriented strategies. Not only Internet is about sharing, but also about trust, an emerging approach that comes from disbelief in advertising and re-emergence of one of the oldest promotion techniques: word of mouth, as an alternative for advertising supported media and services. Interconnection between interactivity and attempts to "more effectively influence consumers (...) on the shared business model of swapping convenience, access and information for willing or unknowing submission of increasingly detailed forms of monitoring" (Andrejevic, 2009: 43).

Knowledge of consumer activity is fundamental for media activity as well as knowledge of media brand appeal for those experiencing interactive services, social networking, blogging, viral marketing and emergent lifestyle media. For radio, choices made concerning search and selection of audio. Content, exchange and sharing behaviours are key issues to understand today's needs, most valuable assets and different niches. Within radio listeners, we can find different consumption approaches to radio and interactive media, since radio stations enabled audiences to choose their level of interactivity with content and sharing experience in social context: from total passivity (for instance, those solely listening to FM broadcasting in analogue devices such as auto-radio) to full immersion. Both create new challenges for radio broadcasters, most particularly concerning development of converged content for converged devices. These relate in a sharing environment that let's radio stations as part of this, coping with audiences. Instead of having exclusive ownership and re-packaging content for multiple platforms, broadcasters have to create specific forms of content in result of more sophisticated consumption behaviour, which values content over media. As Fuentes et al (2011), we understand that in content economy, content structures the social capital of media, companies and brands, as content without links has no value. From the relation between content and links arise conversations that connect people and media. The end of supply

chain, if we consider content, distribution channels and devices can now be the beginning, since consumers organize their time in cross media consumption (Cordeiro, forthcoming), in relation to a converged media experience, facing the evolution of the marketplace, from media to a personalized media experience in a social context of participation. Social media isn't about technology, but about people, those no longer seen as consumers, clients or users, but people in full relation, sharing ideas and content, giving opinions and generation conversations in which media also take part (Fuentes et al, 2011).

Today, media marketplace is a conversation, an interconnection from people to people in a new economy, designed to be a trust and sharing economy (Fuentes et al, 2011), with multi platform strategies to be in all available platforms and to take part in all possible conversations. In the beginning of XXI century, we now have different contexts, concerning radio: although from national to local broadcasters in Portugal all of them are streaming their broadcast content, we do have different velocities of change, since even within larger radio companies, radio stations are relating to this new paradigm differently, depending on consumer activity and listener profile. Nevertheless, radio today equals a combination of broadcasting and streaming with web-only music channels. Some are also provided by terrestrial FM broadcasters, combining online player to listen to streamed broadcasts and multimedia content available in web-only radios (web radio) and web-only music channels, for a listener that combines broadcasting reception with online streams, a social network profile and a social media usage. As the number of Internet users grows, user generated content gets more popular, professional and amateur content producers interact among media generated content and branded generated content. This enrichment of radio produces new narrative strategies that contribute to the development of radio as something much more than playing music listeners want to. By giving them additional features, radio will be relevant to them. By talking with them about things that matters and finding ways for them to include radio in their conversations, radio will surpass the "generic hit machine". These are a dozen online and part of the business model equation, enlarging radio business opportunities and audience growth online, competing and thriving content alternatives, while most important changes are occurring in platforms, content, listeners, competitors and branding, if we think of brands in radio and radio as a brand.

Web-based audio content. Is there a place for radio?

Deuze (2007) talks about the convergence of cultures of media production and consumption, exploring the increasing participatory media culture. Slot and Frissen (2007), state that users are crucial for developing information society. Doubtless, media are, and will be, part of people's lives. Radio is still important for people: music, company and news are key programming features that people relate with, regarding radio (Cordeiro, 2009). On the other hand, music is something that people cannot live without; with some stating, to be the most missed entertainment in a desert island (Collopy and Bahanovitch, 2009). As music is also one of most important features in radio, we found that people are heavily consuming music in streaming services, while frequently listening to online radio (Cordeiro, 2009). Therefore, while media, as for radio consumption, is in a process of change, music consumption has already changed. In just over five years, digital business has grown to account for 40% of total music sales (units), as Nielsen (2008) reports. Changes are in format and place of music buying: some are still interested in 'owning' music (Collopy and Bahanovitch, 2009) although buying songs instead of albums in online music stores (like iTunes music store, Amazon MP3; Napster or Rhapsody). Those still buying albums, like those buying songs, prefer to do it in online music stores rather than cultural retail chains, listening to music (in this decreasing order) in devices such as computers, MP3 players, radio, mobile phones, television and still, CD players (Collopy and Bahanovitch, 2009). Youtube became the number one place for music, since one out of every three videos on Youtube is related to music or a music video (Sysomos, 2010). By allowing people to create their video playlists and relating to other websites, like Musictonic that enable to watch music videos and discover new artists,

in automatic continuous playback, combining related artists from Last FM and music videos from YouTube, the community website became highly popular.

Radio stations broadcast over the Internet, distributing a single content source to simultaneous listeners. Streaming is used to ease the download and play content, allowing people to listen to the files while downloading them (without storing downloaded content in computers). Some examples of streaming software include PeerCast; Flash Media Server; Wowza Media Server; Flumotion Streaming Server; Firefly; Windows Media Services; Broadwave; Shoutcast. This happens for web radios and FM terrestrial radio stations known as Internet radio or online radio, an audio transmitting service using Internet and streaming technology to generate real time audio, reason why most FM radio stations use it to broadcast their FM programming in real time. Nevertheless, we do prefer to call web radio those audio projects that are only using streaming technology to generate real time audio; online radio or Internet radio to the FM radio stations that use the Internet and streaming technology to broadcast their FM programming in real time. However, what kind of radio are we talking about, while approaching FM broadcasters that are also streaming FM content and producing web-only audio content, as well as all sorts of multimedia content? Formerly known as radio, we have proposed to call these broadcasters r@dio broadcasters (Cordeiro, 2010a; forthcoming), for the combination of linear with non-linear distribution model. Although defined by digitalized processes, practices and routines, these have different sorts of content: from speech based content combined with music, to multimedia content combining audio with video, pictures and text, to music only channels. If radio is a sound media, with an audio message that combines voice with other sounds (like music, sound effects and silence) in a broadcast model (Cordeiro, 2010b: 255), then r@dio will be a sound-based multimedia with narrowcast and on-demand model and, as Herreros (2001) would say, with a totally different message. Therefore, if losing its original features – speech and live broadcast – radio will be something else (Cordeiro, 2010). If we think of all the characteristics that were introduced in radio distribution structure and message, we do have something different from before. However, while people are creating valuable messages based in speech, we do have radio.

Today the concept needs to be updated to refer to every interactive, hyper textual, multimedia and convergent features, including non-linear narrowcast model that enables people to share, listen on-demand, to repeat, remix and mash up, search and customize, innovative features that constitute what we have already proposed of r@dio (Cordeiro, 2010a; 2011). There is so many available online content that, for instance, a webpage that aims to have diversified music content and actual or factual information, as well as multiple applications can be a music portal. It unifies different sources, presenting a broad list of artists, events and news with FM radio streams, web radios and music channels. It can also have a customizing section, to personalize radio stations and music channels, as well as applications to listen to music, create and manage playlists. It is different from a radio portal, which is a webpage that aims to have diversified radio content and actual or factual information as well as multiple applications radio related. Once again is an aggregator of different sources, presenting a broad list of FM radio streams and web radios. Examples of radio portals (listening) include deezer; slacker; live 365; skyfm; di; weenradio and examples of music portals (listening) will be pandora; songerize; songza; ourstage; finetune; purevolume; hypem; musicoverly; blastro; thesixtyone. Since it became possible to find and store any kind of files, web based audio content became popular.

Advances in servers and digital storage technology led to the development of digital music and/or audio online libraries, web based platforms that allow managing and sharing music and audio content. Examples include failizer; maestro; musiplayer.fm; deezer; mp3tunes; music.anywhere.fm; mysongcast, grooveshark. Web based audio content refers to this kind of services, with large collections of music and audio, as consumers are increasingly customizing music platforms to better suit their individual needs. Music listeners are downloading individual tracks and assembling their own sequence of songs in web-based music services, which allow replication with the creation of playlists through platforms such as iTunes, Spotify and Last FM. There are also

multi-portals, websites that have the most diversity in formats and contents, aggregating music, radio stations sharing applications and files managing applications, like cotonete, seeqpod; deezer; jango. Most common is to find music platforms or Communities, an online community that gathers users through music and offers the possibility to create personal playlists, using a peer-to-peer network to generate music playlists from each user personal library, like last fm; imem; etree; mog; soundflavor; ilike; opsound; liveplasma; spinjay. There are also online services that help artists to connect to music fans, exchanging music, which is legally and freely distributed online, enabling viral promotions. Examples would be noisetrade or rcrdbl, for instance. As for the kind of relation established with users, we have found three categories: streaming, as for listening model download, for the possession model, and upload, representing the sharing - on the cloud conceptualization. Music portals and other sorts of 'streaming' websites are in most cases listening only websites, combining free access (no registration and site-managed playlists only); free access with registration (in most cases for costumer relationship management purposes); free access with registration, including the possibility to manage playlists, interact and share with other users; paid registration with unlimited features. 'To have' category, includes downloads, with legal paid download with or without subscription; legal free download with or without registration/advertising; and illegal download in peer-to-peer networks, those computing or networking distribution application architecture that allows peers to participate, and share a portion of resources, being both suppliers and consumers of resources. Concerning on the cloud content, regarding upload and storage websites, these are highly dependable on user's internet access framework, rivalling with iTunes and Spotify popularity, being music streaming services similar to online music services or web based music services but enabling users to access their entire music collection from almost any internet-enabled device, like music anywhere does. Another popular feature and competitor for radio listener's attention is podcasting, that became quite common after the success of iPod and refers to media files (audio or video) available online and downloaded using web syndication. It is non-streamed webcast and available on-demand. Online music services, as well as content aggregators, including podcasts aggregators are media and user generated content engaging sources that empower audiences and erase former forms of media. Podcasting promotes on demand niche media, balancing linear, horizontal and on demand flux, in a media marketplace in which most important is to be the platform owner, defining terms of access, practices and usage, rather than being just content owner, as convergence makes consumption more sophisticated, enabling a new relation between valuable content and value created.

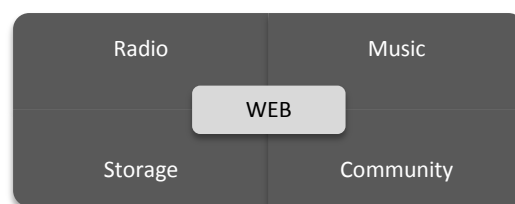


Figure 1. Relations between web, music and radio

Web-based audio content common features

YouTube Music is a video-sharing website, to discover, watch, upload and share videos, inspired and inspiring social media development and community, reaching a wider diversity of audiences, engaging them by the rational and emotional side of videos. For artists, it's a great tool to reach out at lower costs, with viral potential and feedback from audiences, about what they think on music video aesthetics. These videos are engaging audiences and giving people a voice, allowing others (rather than only content creators) to share original, remixed and mashed up content, something that has taken the idea of viral videos to a whole new level. Pandora's success results from their approach to arrange and cater people's musical tastes, by organizing broad music genres and styles to fit in listeners own personal taste. Pandora Internet Radio is an ultra-personalized-radio

project that provides maximum customization of music to their users and a personalized radio service from the DNA of each song. For this, uses a program that searches musical tastes of each individual and same time, the so called DNA of songs, discovering characteristics of each to establish best possible relation, generation a stream of songs that people like based on how previous tracks were rated. Playlist is the most on the cloud project available now. Assumed to be a music community, Playlist allows users to create playlists according to mood genre, activity and occasion, available to share, recommend, and follow and to embed in users websites or blogs. With same community approach, online music service search engine and music recommendation application, Grooveshark uses similar recommendation system like Pandora and a following system, similar to Twitter that allows users to share songs. Another good representative of web 2.0 is Last FM, more socially slanted since it was created in 2002. It began as an Internet radio station and music community site becoming, later, as many others, a music recommendation service, focusing on the music each user plays to recommend more music. Using the audio scrobber plug-in Last FM finds songs each user likes or plays the most, building a detailed profile of each user's musical taste by recording details of songs the user listens to in each device or platform (Internet, computer or MP3 players).

MUSIC PORTALS Songza Finetune Musicoverly Deezer We7 Mixcloud Stereomood Pandora Last FM My Way	MUSIC PLATFORMS/COMMUNITY iMesh Last FM Mixcloud Hype Machine iMeem Grooveshark Seeqpod Mog Fairtilizer Soundflavour Liveplasma Spinjay MysongCast Magnatune Youtube Mysongcast (indieland)
RADIO PORTALS Cotonete Weenradio Deezer Slaker Live364 Sky FM Di Jango Last FM	AUDIO LIBRARIES Faitilizer Maestro Musicplayer Deezer Mp3tunes Mysongcast (indieland) Grooveshark
WEB-BASED MUSIC SERVICES iTunes Spotify	MULTIPORTALS Cotonete Seeqpod Deezer Jango
ON THE CLOUD Music anywhere Mysongcast (indieland) Playlist	ARTISTS PLATFORMS Ourstage Purevolume Jamwave Opsound Itbreaks

Figu

re 2. Online music categories

Further analysis of website sample allows us to say that music drives their activity, with available songs and tracks to listen to, as well as news content, biography and artists information, like discography being common features. Music content, therefore, is available on streaming, with storage facilities and attempts to develop e-commerce. Business models in use are based on generated traffic and advertising revenue, combined with paid subscriptions. Radio stations add FM live stream and an archive of programs, podcasts, pictures or videos. In these two cases, pictures and videos reinforce radio's communitarian sense; strengthen also by providing some of this content in social networks. Nevertheless, communitarian sense in radio, or even in r@dio, structured through radio speech communication, contests, call-in shows and currently, by events organized or sponsored by each radio station. Most commonly web-based audio content websites fit in different categories, combining different approaches, like online music service with community and online music services with on the cloud content. As radio websites are the only ones that have speech, they belong to one single category. Combining our definitions of music and radio portals; music platforms/communities; audio libraries; web-based music services; multiportals; on the cloud and artists platforms, we managed to organize websites in these categories, baring in mind their self-definition ('about' menu) and available features in websites, as for: content; interactivity; registration or subscription, for most referred websites available in Portugal and for unregistered users. This ever-growing variety of online music services is forcing radio to adapt and change communication, relation and business model, as radio consumption changes, mostly in relation to platform of listening, rather than concerning time spent listening to radio, engagement with radio brands or replacing radio with online music services.

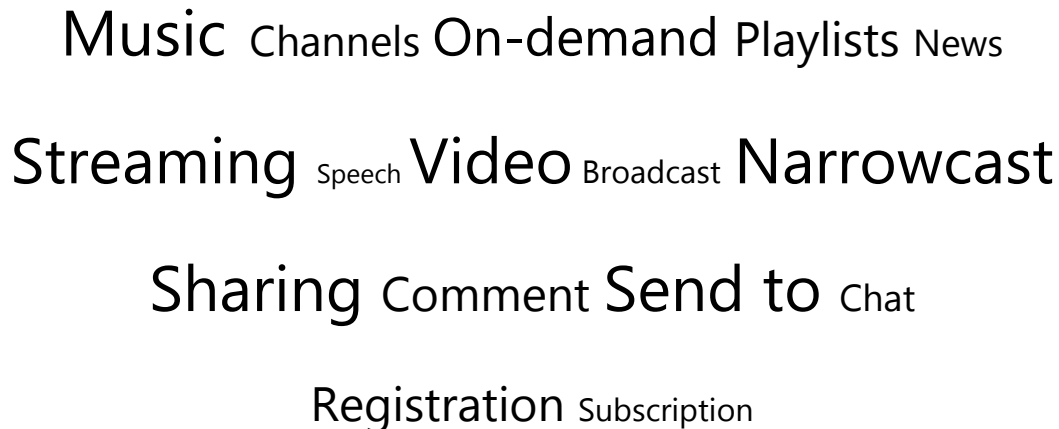


Figure 3. Cloud of features in websites: content; interactivity; registration

Conclusions

The way people communicate and companies relate with consumers have had boundless changes for the last years, as result of consolidation of social web, due to Internet access, mobile web, downsize of access charges, lower storage prices with larger capacity. That has led to new practices and routines, representing the end of technological limitations that for decades restraint communication channels and forced them to be unidirectional. Deuze argues that "continuous blurring of the real or perceived boundaries between making and using media by

professionals as well as amateurs ('pro-ams') has been supercharged in recent years – particularly in terms of its omnipresence and visibility online" (Deuze, 2007: 245). This is a challenging social phenomenon, represented by the blurring of producer/consumer profiles through digitally enabled relations. Creative work is becoming a commodity, although for most people with no recognition for its intrinsic value, if we consider high levels of piracy in different business areas and cultural goods. Most particularly in music even if, as we analysed, is becoming an available commodity in many different platforms and approaching concepts. Music itself is consolidating as a radio competitor, since online music services ubiquity, variety; availability and sense of community can replace radio as a music source provider. We have found enormous differences between radio and web-based audio content. When we look at differences between r@dio and these websites, we found that r@dio can be richer, by adding the human touch, feelings and intuition that perfect algorithm – although human produced – still lacks. Even if FM radio broadcasters in analysis may represent interesting r@dio propositions, combining traditional features of radio with items that transform them, availability, variety and accessibility are strong items that move people from these brands into others, more customizable and appealing, consolidating, by the day, their online prerogative, like YouTube or Last FM are doing. Radio stations, even if r@dios, like TSF and RFM are strengthening the sense of community around their brand, producing relevant content and engaging people in social networks. However, will it be enough?

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Live and local no more? Listening communities and globalising trends in the ownership and production of local radio

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Abstract:

This paper considers the trend in the United Kingdom and elsewhere in the world for locally-owned, locally-originated and locally-accountable commercial radio stations to fall into the hands of national and even international media groups that disadvantage the communities from which they seek to profit, by removing from them a means of cultural expression. In essence, localness in local radio is an endangered species, even though it is a relatively recent phenomenon. Lighter-touch regulation also means increasing automation, so live presentation is under threat, too.

By tracing the early development of local radio through ideologically-charged debates around public-service broadcasting and the fitness of the private sector to exploit scarce resources, to present-day digital environments in which traditional rationales for regulation on ownership and content have become increasingly challenged, the paper also speculates on future developments in local radio. The paper situates developments in the radio industry within wider contexts in the rapidly-evolving, post-McLuhan mediated world of the twenty-first century.

It draws on research carried out between July 2009 and January 2011 for the new book, *Local Radio, Going Global*, published in December 2011 by Palgrave Macmillan.

Keywords: radio, local, public service broadcasting, community radio

Introduction: distinctiveness and homogenisation

This paper is mainly concerned with the rise and fall of localness in local radio in a single country, the United Kingdom. However this is a phenomenon which can be traced through the histories of the radio industries of many countries in Europe and elsewhere. It has its origins in the 1920s, yet the greatest *declines* in localness have occurred since the mid 1990s, following progressive relaxation of state regulation. Because regulation is often relied upon to provide a bulwark against the excesses of capitalism, without it radio – and in particular *commercial* radio – has often fallen victim to globalising tendencies in the wider political economy. Another of the most decisive catalysts for declining localness in recent years has been technological advance, but evolving societies and trends in popular culture have also played a part. Technological advance, especially the digitisation of media production and distribution, has brought new opportunities and challenges to a range of mass media. Whatever may have created the conditions which encourage globalisation, some commentators suggest it has the potential to erode what distinctiveness remains between communities, regions and even whole countries, to diminish cultural identity, heritage and development, and ultimately to threaten the economic and political

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autonomy of minorities, large and small. In 1964 the Canadian scholar Marshall McLuhan suggested that the shrinking 'global village' of an increasingly mediatised world, was not a homogenising influence on societies (2001: 334). However, since 1964, that world has become increasingly mediatised and with the recent exponential quickening of the pace of change which we have already identified, the threat of globalisation has grown. The rise and fall of localness in local radio may not be solely responsible for the realisation of such apocalyptic predictions, but it may contribute to such a scenario because one of the great strengths of local media content is that it can – and often still does - express and support cultural, socio-political and economic distinctiveness.

Many of those who claim local ownership of media institutions to be virtuous argue the following to be significant: the organisation is owned and controlled by stakeholders in the community who are more sympathetic to the concerns of the community, (even though in practice these owners may just be a privileged few); they are more likely to be inclined to resist external influences on local distinctiveness; they may also tend to resist the exclusion of local distinctiveness from the output and they might be better equipped to resist homogenising, perhaps globalising influences emanating from other cultures and centres of economic influence. Locally-produced content, it is argued, can enable local citizens to access producers directly, so that content can better reflect local distinctiveness and cultural diversity, promote audience involvement in local discourse and thereby stimulate local participation and democracy. Conversely, there are a range of pejorative claims that can be made about localness: that local ownership may bestow upon a privileged minority excessive influence over the community and the opportunity to promote perspectives and assumptions that run so absurdly counter to those of the wider contexts within which the community is situated that they reflect only values and attitudes that are extremely parochial in nature. A prevalence of parochial content and contributors, they might argue, can lead to the exclusion of more mainstream (that is, international, national or regional) content and contributors, while lower production values might be the result of smaller budgets and the lack of economies of scale. Low standards of 'professionalism' might anyway lead to low audience penetration because there are many more attractively produced national and regional alternatives on offer in the increasingly crowded media marketplace.

Before we consider some specifics around localness in radio, let us first consider some similarities between radio and other media upon which audiences have grown to rely in order to access local content, produced locally. Table 1 shows through Newspaper Society data from July 2011 that in the UK, local and regional press ownership, in many cases of titles which developed as independent, locally-owned newspapers in local communities which they reflected in their content, resides mainly with the four largest companies. Between them, Trinity Mirror, Johnston Press, Newsquest Media Group, and Northcliffe Media own 719 out of the 1,167 titles published in the UK and enjoy a combined weekly circulation of 29,660,908. Including a further sixteen publishers in a 'top twenty' excludes only 153 titles owned by a small number of relatively small 'independents'. This decline in local ownership of newspaper titles has resulted in increasingly homogenised approaches to producing the content within each group, to the imposition of standard practices across titles within groups and the loss of distinctiveness in style and content in many titles. Meanwhile the economics of television, with the high cost of original programming, have hampered the growth of any thriving local television sector while most recently threatening to curtail what regional production of news and programming remains in the commercial sector, where ITV has been allowed to progressively dilute its public-service commitments in the face of increased competition from purely national channels.

Rank by weekly circulation		Number of titles	Weekly circulation
1	Trinity Mirror plc	168	10,889,071
2	Johnston Press	253	7,046,685
3	Newsquest Media Group	183	6,399,077
4	Northcliffe Media Ltd	115	5,326,075
5	Associated Newspapers Ltd	1	3,628,870
6	Evening Standard Ltd	1	3,009,800
7	Archant	69	1,812,760
8	D.C. Thomson & Co Ltd	6	1,612,089
9	The Midland News Association Ltd	17	1,608,258
10	Tindle Newspapers Ltd	74	1,133,678
11	Iliffe News & Media	40	1,018,954
12	Independent News & Media	6	507,559
13	NWN Media Ltd	14	446,843
14	CN Group Ltd	10	371,229
15	Bullivant Media Ltd	9	369,717
16	Kent Messenger Ltd	18	355,937
17	Irish News Ltd	1	265,332
18	Dunfermline Press Group	14	224,214
19	Clyde & Forth Press Ltd	14	214,671
20	Topper Newspapers Ltd	1	212,793
	Total Top 20 publishers	1,014	46,453,612
	Total other publishers	153	1,529,774
	Total all publishers (87)	1,167	47,983,386

Table 1: UK local and regional press ownership, July 2011. Source: Newspaper Society

The rise of local radio

In the UK commercial radio sector, a trend for locally-owned, locally-originated and locally-accountable commercial radio stations to be acquired by national and even international media groups gathered pace from the mid-1990s. The prospects for local radio in the public sector are suddenly deteriorating as the BBC searches through an initiative called Delivering Quality first, for ways to reduce its costs in order to accommodate a 16 per cent cut in its funding, imposed by a coalition government anxious to reduce state borrowing (Plunkett 2010). It will probably achieve some of the savings required by imposing on its local radio network large-scale programme sharing by groups of stations or all of them in a part-time quasi-national network. However, the outlook for local radio has not always looked so gloomy. At the point of its incorporation, in 1927 the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) was a state-owned body benefiting from a compulsory licence fee imposed on every household which used a broadcast receiver to listen to its broadcasts. In return, the BBC was required to provide for its public broadcasting of a quality which private companies were considered unlikely to offer. Thus was born the notion of

public service broadcasting, one that was quite different to the American model, which mainly left broadcasting to a growing private sector. There would be neither a licence fee nor a monopoly for any single broadcaster in the US, because radio was to be the preserve of multiple private companies or individuals intending to make a profit out of advertising. This relative anarchy, as it may have appeared to the British, was both organised and regulated, (by a number of different bodies, and from 1934 this has been the remit of the Federal Communications Commission or FCC).

This established much more than two dissimilar radio industries: an ideological divide between bullish free-marketeters in the US and the advocates in the UK of a form of public service broadcasting that would be able to provide not only what listeners wanted, but also what was considered good for them. The British PSB model was adopted in various permutations in a number of European countries who were also clearly ideologically opposed to the notion that unfettered capitalism should be relied upon to run radio (Starkey 2007: 23). In the United Kingdom early radio developed on a local, or at least regional, basis. In 1920 the Marconi Company had begun intermittent broadcasts using the call-sign 2MT to small numbers of early radio listeners, using a low-powered transmitter in the county of Essex. A formal licence followed, to regularly broadcast a service to London with the call-sign 2LO. The next locations to benefit from regional radio stations were Birmingham, Manchester, Newcastle, Cardiff, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Bournemouth, Sheffield, Plymouth and Belfast, each station using its own call-sign with which to identify itself on air. Additional relays of neighbouring services were rolled out in Edinburgh, Liverpool, Leeds and Bradford, Hull, Nottingham, Dundee, Stoke-on-Trent and Swansea (McCarthy 2007: 1-9), each one demonstrating how a community, even if rather large by today's standards, might appear to benefit from a radio service of its own or simply through the extension of another station beyond its original editorial area.

In considering how, forty years later, the offshore pirates which began broadcasting from international waters off the coast successfully challenged the BBC's monopoly of daytime radio, most commentators concentrate on the introduction of Radio 1 in 1967 as a national service of pop music aimed at young people, to complement three other national radio services which were rebranded at the same time as Radios 2, 3 and 4 (Fleming 2002: 32; Wilby & Conroy 1994: 19). However, a cause-and-effect relationship also exists between the arrival of the pirates and the birth of local radio in the UK (Crisell 1994: 33). The first 'experimental' BBC local radio station, Radio Leicester, was launched on 8th November 1967. Initially there would be only a trial involving eight stations, but by the end of 1973 there were twenty on air and the number rose to forty during the 1990s. With the offshore pirates now outlawed, most had disappeared, so it was to be the state provider that would enjoy a monopoly of local radio provision. Choice was to be between services, but not between providers, with the minor exception of Radio Luxembourg, originally one of a wave of continental radio stations deliberately challenging the BBC's monopoly in the 1930s by broadcasting from the European continent. Luxembourg, though, due to the characteristics of the ionosphere upon which long-distance radio transmissions depend in order to reach audiences over the horizon, was only audible in most of the UK in an evening 'ghetto' after darkness had fallen. However, the 1970 general election campaign was a clash of broadcasting ideologies: the victorious Conservative Party promised to establish a sixty-station network of 'local private enterprise radio', extending local broadcasting to many more what their manifesto described as 'local communities' (1970). Earlier, it had been fears of anarchy on the airwaves and a cacophonous overcrowding of the scarce resource of electro-magnetic spectrum allocated by international agreement to broadcasting that had favoured the granting of a monopoly to the BBC. Such chaos on the newly-liberated broadcasting landscape was to be avoided however through strict – some would say, heavy handed – content and ownership regulation. This would be assured by a regulator for the new commercial radio sector and the already well-established commercial television service, ITV: the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA). Fixed-term franchises were awarded through what was soon dubbed a 'beauty contest' selection

process, through which the IBA determined which of those private companies which applied to run commercial radio in an area would provide the best service for the local community.

Firstly, the IBA would identify an area with the potential to sustain through advertising income an Independent Local Radio (ILR) service. Then it would publicly advertise the franchise with a deadline for applications to be submitted, and choose which applicant deserved to be successful. Several criteria were applied by the IBA in making the selection, but alongside credibility of governance and financial robustness – in order to ensure that incomes covered outgoings and generated at least a modest profit – were most certainly local ownership and local content production. Unlike BBC local radio, which relied from its inception upon regular relays of programming from the BBC's national networks in order to stretch meagre budgets to cover the entire broadcast day, the content broadcast by ILR was all to be locally originated in order to best serve the local interests of the communities which they were intended to cover. The journalist Mike Baron, commenting on the delicate balance victorious applicants for ILR franchises had to strike between meeting the programming commitments they had made in their applications and breaking even financially, warned that if some smaller stations were to be overwhelmed by losses, such failures 'would have serious repercussions for the entire network' (1975: 163). The public service obligations imposed on the stations by their own initial promises and the heavy hand of regulation by the IBA made more precarious that balance between advertising income and necessary expenditure – not least because locally producing 'quality' speech is measurably more resource-intensive than simply playing music off records.

Choosing the first of the ILR franchisees and getting the first nineteen of them on air presented many challenges, partly because radio had for so long been widely considered to be the preserve of the BBC. There was no ready-made radio advertising market and some successful franchisees found raising the capital they needed to begin broadcasting unexpectedly problematic. The first two to launch were in London in 1973. LBC was to be an all-speech station and Capital for 'general entertainment'. The network's growth was unexpectedly stalled at nineteen stations because ILR almost immediately suffered from another change of government in 1974 and an ideological repositioning of official attitudes to radio, as Labour returned to power and forbade any further expansion of the network (Baron 1975: 160-6). As the growth of the network stalled, it failed to gain a critical mass which might have made it more robust financially. Consequently, there was less national advertising than at first envisaged and so few stations made a profit in their first years of trading. This was because – in the midst of a difficult economic climate – unlike in the United States, France and many other countries where commercial radio had emerged and begun to thrive earlier in the century, radio was simply not on the agenda of the media buyers with the largest advertising budgets at their disposal. As far as these mainly London-based marketing executives were concerned, radio was a medium they did not readily associate with advertising, and diverting their budgets to the medium was contrary to established practice – despite the brief appearance of the offshore pirate stations of the 1960s and the continuing presence of Radio Luxembourg, now firmly pitched at an evening teenage demographic. They found it challenging to include in their plans a handful of small stations that could provide only patchy coverage of the provinces, most of which could not be heard in London and which operated using unfamiliar branding. By restricting the network to the first nineteen stations – fewer than one third of the number originally envisaged – ILR was prevented from being able to deliver to national advertisers a national audience. One of the consequences of all this was that, until the 1990s the share of the total UK advertising market that found its way to radio barely reached even a meagre two per cent. In its first year of trading, 1974-5, the fourth station on air, Greater Manchester Independent Radio (branded as Piccadilly Radio 261), made a modest first-year profit. Unfortunately, many other stations could not break even. LBC was obliged to bear the additional expense of running a national and international news service for an incomplete network that was unable to pay its way. This was a network which – even without the moratorium on expansion – would have taken years to grow large enough to provide the service, Independent Radio News (IRN), with sufficient income to cover its costs. Each

subscribing station in the network was obliged to pay LBC £20 per thousand listeners for the IRN service, which - in order to be both credible and practical - was operating on the twenty-four hour, seven day per week basis that some stations needed, and which was, after all, one of the essential elements of a network with clear public-service obligations.

Naturally, it was the public-service obligations that would most concern both applicants for ILR franchises and the officers of the IBA who had to choose between them. In particular, speech, including news and current affairs, had the highest profile even on the vast majority of stations which - inevitably - relied upon mixing it with large amounts of music programming so that audiences would tune in in large enough numbers for the service to be viable. Most stations winning franchises also promised to complement their more mainstream daytime schedules with a range of specialist music programmes in the evening. Some even offered programmes featuring the arts in general or some aspect of the arts, such as books or theatre. Several stations had committed themselves to weekly news or current affairs round-ups, drawing on the output of their newsroom over the past seven days. Similarly, some programmed a sports review of the week on a Friday or at the weekend. The public service commitment which evolved in an unsystematic way through the beauty contest system, together with the diverse ownership base of the first stations in the ILR network, produced distinctiveness in approach and style that reflected at least in part the diversity of the different local areas being served. The first station to open in Wales, Swansea Sound, had committed itself to broadcasting for at least part of the day in Welsh, so eight minutes of Welsh were broadcast at 06:00 from Monday to Saturday, in addition to thirty minutes on Sundays and ninety minutes every evening. Daily Welsh lessons were broadcast for non-Welsh speakers. Among some of the most original programming on the network, Liverpool's Radio City produced original comedy written by Alan Bleasdale and John Gorman. Each week a feedback programme featured listeners' letters, presented by the Programme Controller, Gillian Reynolds. Some stations broadcast what was then becoming known as 'access' programming, giving a voice to individuals or groups with common interests who were enabled to create their own original programming, with suitable levels of support and supervision from the professional broadcasters. Children also featured in the programme schedules of many stations, not just because they had been considered to be a beauty-contest winner, but also because the BBC national and local stations already included children's programming alongside more adult material. Unlike the narrow targeting of today, early ILR seemed to promise at least something for everyone in the local area. Systematic analysis of the programme schedules of the era reveals a range of programming elements that were common across many stations, and many other instances in which individual stations would innovate, bringing their own local identities to bear on their output (Starkey 2011: 49-54, 63-76).

Relaxation of regulation – and hello to homogenisation

When in the 1979 general election the Conservatives regained power, work began on completing the network. The consensus politics of the post-war era was over, and the country became more polarised. With the rise of the political right as the Thatcher era dawned came a decade of rapid expansion and de-regulation in commercial radio. In total, fifty ILR broadcast licences had been awarded by 1984 and the stations were either already on-air or about to launch. Otherwise, for commercial radio the mid-1980s was a period of 'relative stability', a number of stations being financially successful, despite their obligation to meet previous promises to provide public service broadcasting for their local communities (Stoller 2010: 124-5). Stoller's detailed history of Independent Radio, *Sounds of your Life*, pinpoints one regular meeting of the Association of Independent Radio Contractors (AIRC) on 23 June 1984, held at the Heathrow Sheraton Skyline Hotel, as crucial in the way the sector began to take advantage of the changed political environment and metamorphose from its beginnings as ILR to a quite different model: the commercial radio industry we know today (2010: 144-53). At this conference of chairmen and managing directors of the existing ILR companies, a new militancy developed out of expressions of

unease and this single event proved to be an important catalyst for change. Key concerns included renewed talk in government of proposed legislation to free the commercial radio sector of the constraints of local broadcasting and establish a service of Independent National Radio (INR). This showed how different from those of the 1970s the expectations of the establishment had now become, as the old left-right consensus around restricting the potential excesses of privately-owned and operated commercial radio in the UK evaporated. Many of the ILR stations were fearful that any credible 'INR' might bring increased competition for what little national radio advertising existed and damage what was for them a modest but still important income stream. There had also been talk suggesting that now revenues and profitability in ILR were finally improving, a levy on the ILR stations' hard-earned income might be used to finance the launch of any new competitors in the form of INR. The richest ILR stations were already subject to a levy – or 'secondary rental' – which was used to support the less successful local stations in the network in meeting their PSB commitments, and the levy was paid to the IBA once they had reached certain levels of profitability. The IBA was required to redistribute this money 'in the interests of the system as a whole' (Stoller 2010: 38). Another cause for disgruntlement among some ILR station owners was a renewed challenge to the duopoly from a number of offshore pirates which had either continued to broadcast in contravention of the Marine Offences Act 1967, such as Radio Caroline, or recently appeared, such as Laser 558, Radio Northsea International and Radio Atlantis - the former proving particularly successful at attracting audiences in the south-east of England.

Following, but not entirely because of the Heathrow Conference, in 1990 the IBA was replaced by a new regulator for UK commercial radio: the Radio Authority. With this change of regulator came an increasingly 'lighter touch' regulation of content and ownership. An increasingly permissive attitude in government, combined with an empathy for private enterprise struggling under what was now being depicted by the political right as burdensome 'red tape', was reinforced by the first actual closure of an ILR station, Centre Radio in Leicester. Ironically, this had been the birthplace of BBC Local Radio, but it was the failure of Centre Radio that first heralded the death of localness in its commercial counterpart, because sacrificing localness in favour of financial stability seemed to the Conservative government like an appropriate response. While other stations had struggled to remain financially solvent, such as CBC in Cardiff and Radio Aire in Leeds, and while others were rescued from closure by new investors, Centre Radio was allowed to fail in 1983, after broadcasting for only two years. A new contractor, Leicester Sound, soon took over the franchise, but an actual failure did little to enhance the reputation of the IBA or promote ILR as a business model. The Conservatives wanted to expand the network, but many more business failures in the sector would inevitably have dismayed potential investors and threatened that future expansion. The rescue of Centre Radio happened relatively quickly because the neighbouring station in Nottingham, Radio Trent, became the majority shareholder of a new company, Leicester Sound, and the two stations were allowed by the IBA to share twelve hours per day of programming outside daytimes. They also achieved joint savings by sharing resources for accounting, administration and commercial production. According to Stoller, 'such almost covert takeovers began to be routine as the eighties progressed' (2010: 124). A clear precedent had been set and, because continued expansion of the network meant stations were opening in much less financially viable markets than the large metropolitan cities where much of the original network had begun, a gold rush by some cash-rich stations for mergers and acquisitions became unstoppable. Most significantly perhaps, early in 1985 Wiltshire Radio in Swindon took control of Radio West in the neighbouring city of Bristol. At Wiltshire Radio the journalist-turned-managing director, Ralph Bernard, developed a keen appetite for empire building, and this new strategy was stimulated by the passing of a new Broadcasting Act in 1996, which effected a comprehensive overhaul of the law on cross-media ownership (Kuhn 2007: 96). Wiltshire Radio became GWR and by March 2001 the company owned or controlled a total of forty seven stations, both nearby and even great distances away. GWR were not the only opportunists to use savings in operation and management costs to bring economies of scale to ever-growing radio 'groups' - exploiting to the full the relaxation of rules on cross-media

ownership in the 1996 Act, which was, after all, intended to strengthen media companies financially and develop their ability to weather economic storms.

GWR may have had the highest profile, not least because a GWR takeover of a station resulted in an almost immediate 'makeover' of its on- and off-air branding, management and programming, which resulted in an abrupt loss of whatever distinctiveness had previously existed in a station. A number of other groups developed, though, with each one taking over whatever stations around the country became either willing or financially vulnerable to them. If the dominance of the sector by a company which began life as a small station based in rural Wiltshire was surprising, the growth of London's Capital Radio into an entirely separate group was less so. A multitude of acquisitions and mergers, takeovers and boardroom manoeuvres gathered pace over the 1990s and 2000s and Stoller (2010) records these in detail. We should note here that the frenzy into which this developed was deeply detrimental to the sense of localness in ownership and in content generation which had been a *sine qua non* of the introduction of ILR. Different groups had different attitudes to distinctiveness among stations in their portfolios, and not all stations losing their independence were developed into clones of a perceived successful template, applied without sensitivity to local interests or heritage factors, but in many instances stations became mere cogs in much larger operations which perceived progress to be the homogenisation of processes and output. What had once been locally-owned and managed radio stations, making locally all decisions about local content, became subject to decision making and management from far beyond the boundaries of their editorial areas. The Communications Act 2003 replaced the Radio Authority with a new regulator, Ofcom, and promised an even lighter approach to the regulation of content and ownership. This homogenisation of the output of local commercial radio in the UK has quickened in pace ever since. Of great significance to this trend has been the development of digital technology used in radio for content storage and playout. In turn, this technology has brought greater ease of automating programming so no human needs to be present in the studio, and syndicating programmes across several stations in a group at a time. Often the only concessions to localness are the incorporation of short bursts of bespoke local news and advertising within more generic programming that is being relayed to audiences in many different editorial areas. Another innovation in using technological advances to increase the profitability of individual stations, and so the groups which own them, is co-location, meaning two or more stations actually broadcasting from the same studio building, even if that building is outside the area to which one or more of those stations is licensed to broadcast.

Local radio, going global

A major problem with reporting on the ownership of individual stations by different groups lies in the ability for boardroom control to change overnight, as assets are not only traded because of the few remaining requirements of cross-media and competition regulation, but they can be sold or merely exchanged between current and emerging groups simply because the time seems right for such a move. This might be, for example, in order to cluster a portfolio of stations around a tighter-knit geographical area and thereby rationalise operations to cut group management costs. The data shown in table 2 cannot therefore be considered particularly durable, but do represent a snapshot of ownership in 2011. The table also serves to demonstrate the relationship between the major groups in the UK commercial radio sector and those with much less significant portfolios at the time of researching the book *Local Radio, Going Global* (Starkey 2011). Even the smallest groups are significant players in the local media landscape where they own or operate stations. As with many institutional studies, other factors can complicate matters. One apparently modest group, UKRD, either owned or controlled Eagle Radio and County Sound (Guildford), KL.FM (King's Lynn), Star Cambridge, and Pirate FM (Redruth), but also owned one third of Heart (South Hampshire) and a third of Nova (Weston-super-Mare). UKRD also owned sufficient shares in The Local Radio Company group (TLRC), and so it also effectively controlled Mix 96 (Aylesbury), Spire FM (Salisbury), Wessex FM (Dorchester), Spirit FM (Chichester), 2BR (Burnley), Minster FM (York), Stray FM (Harrogate), the two

Yorkshire Coast Radio licences in Scarborough and Bridlington, Sun FM (Sunderland), and a cluster of three stations in Darlington, Durham and Northallerton which all but merged in 2010 and now broadcast under one of the group's favourite brands: Star. Through TLRC, UKRD also controlled one third of The Bee (Blackburn).

Group	Number of commercial analogue radio licences held	National <i>broadcast</i> radio brands operated, analogue and digital
Global	47 FM (including Classic FM), 23 AM	The Arrow, Choice, Classic FM, Galaxy, Gold, Heart, LBC, XFM
Bauer	24 FM, 13 AM	Heat, The Hits, Kerrang, Kiss, Magic, Q Radio, Smash Hits
GMG	13 FM	Real, Smooth
UTV	11 FM, 4 AM (including TalkSport)	TalkSport
Absolute Radio	1 AM (Absolute Radio)	Absolute Radio, Absolute 80s, Absolute Radio 90s, Absolute Radio Classic Rock, Absolute Radio Extra
The Local Radio Company Group (UKRD controlled)	13 FM	
Lincs FM	9 FM	
UKRD	4 FM, 1 AM	
Sunrise Group	4 FM, 3 AM	Sunrise Radio, Kismet Radio, Punjabi Radio
Tindle Radio	9 FM	
Town & Country Broadcasting	7 FM	
Quidem	6 FM	
KMFM	7 FM	
Orion	5 FM, 3AM	
CN Group	3 FM	

Table 2: Station ownership and control by the principal UK commercial radio groups* in January 2011, shown by analogue licences held and national *broadcast* brands operated, (whether available through analogue or digital-only means). Source: Starkey (2011). * Excludes digital-only groups/stations, such as Planet Rock and UCB.

The central proposition in the new book *Local Radio, Going Global* (Starkey 2011) is that this concentration of ownership and control, together with the loss of distinctiveness in the nature of broadcast and, now, on-line content in what were once locally-owned and locally produced commercial radio services in the UK is symptomatic of the globalisation that is evident in many sociological, political, economic and cultural developments of our age and the past few decades. The diminution of localness on one 'local' radio station does not in itself bring about a centralised, 'globalised' world. It does, however, contribute to a process of globalisation that is manifestly observable around us. However, it is important to recognise that many of those stations which have lost their distinctiveness are located in such small or sparsely-populated areas that, as the original sixty-station ILR network was originally conceived at the time of the Conservative manifesto *A Better Tomorrow* (1970), would not even have been contemplated as areas that were potentially viable for local commercial radio. The difficulties in the 1970s in raising launch capital or remaining solvent through difficult economic periods, clearly precursored those that far smaller stations would experience even with the financial benefits brought by the digital technology of today. Similarly, UKRD and TLRC are both groups which won licences and launched stations in some of the smallest of areas to be advertised by the Radio Authority and, later, Ofcom. Sustaining those businesses under the terms of the original licence awards has often proven very difficult. Of course it is difficult to say whether this is due to their own failings or the economic hand dealt them, or simply a combination of the two, but they and some of the other groups have certainly faced financial hardship. Significantly, in 2006 UKRD handed back the licence for Stroud in Gloucestershire, which it had been attempting to operate as Star 107.9, to Ofcom, rather than sell it on, largely to force the regulator to respond (Day 2006). This moment in the history of UK commercial radio was just as important as the Heathrow Conference, because in handing back the licence, for the

first time the licensing process and the role of the regulator as the final arbiter of who should be broadcast in an area had been decisively subverted by a commercial radio company. This was a pivotal moment in that since then Ofcom has attempted to accommodate proposed changes to licence agreements that represent wide-ranging, even swingeing U-turns in the interests of maintaining stations on air. Not all such concessions have been innovative; in the 1980s the co-location of entire services or parts of services had been allowed sparingly by the IBA, and already the practice of groups gathering together their local news operations into regional centres known as 'news hubs' had been considered by the Radio Authority shortly before it was subsumed within Ofcom in 2003. Pioneered by GWR, who had received the Authority's consent to open a hub experimentally in South-West England in 2002, the very first such initiative began servicing the separate GWR stations in Plymouth, Exeter/Torbay, Yeovil and Taunton, Kingsbridge and Barnstaple. At the hub, each of the different stations' own local news bulletins were pre-recorded by a single newsreader using copy and audio produced remotely at the hub itself or by reporters working across the combined coverage area who then fed the content they created to the centre. This 'pooling of resources', as it was rationalised, was allowed on the understanding that 'a local journalistic presence' would be maintained in each editorial area (Crisell & Starkey 1998: 20-21). In a document it published in 2004, *Radio – Preparing for the Future*, Ofcom soon proposed taking the 'hub' concept even further, by focusing regulation on 'content' rather than 'operational' issues. Effectively recognising that successive technological developments and parallel relaxations in the regulation of ownership should be reflected in regulatory practice regarding content regulation, Ofcom began to test the reasonableness of whatever efficiency was being proposed by a group before deciding to approve or reject any request. Key to its deliberations would be any possible implications for other, competing contractors in overlapping areas, and the effect of change on the range of choice available to the listener in any given area.

The areas in which this new approach has been tested most controversially include format changes, where the very nature of the programming - including its music policy - might be amended, as well as co-location, news hubs, syndication and automation. Syndication was another legacy from the 1980s, particularly where the IBA had been reluctant to let new, smaller stations produce their own programming on a twenty-four hour basis, believing their resources would be overstretched. Overnight programming, when much smaller audiences would be listening, had often come from programming 'hubs' (although the term was not yet in common usage), and in 1986 Beacon (Wolverhampton) was supplying a five-hour long programme to its neighbours, Mercia (Coventry), Signal (Stoke-on-Trent) and Wyvern (Hereford and Worcestershire), in which only separate advertisement breaks provided a distinction between the four versions of the same programme. Other initiatives had followed, such as a part-networked service from 1987-92 called *The Superstation*. GWR had syndicated *Late Night Love* with Graham Torrington since 1996 on a number of stations they sub-branded as 'The One Network'. The TLRC group - even before being acquired by UKRD - began simulcasting their evening programmes across all their own stations, and several other such initiatives followed. Co-location has also gathered pace: at the time of writing, the three stations in North-East England in Darlington, Durham and Northallerton, which were originally branded as A1FM, Durham FM and Minster Northallerton, were all rebranded as Star and co-located in Darlington. By simulcasting the same programming in daytime but retaining the ability to broadcast separate commercials in each area, the group retained the potential to earn income from small local advertisers while saving as much money as possible and remaining on air. The two Scarborough and Bridlington services of Yorkshire Coast Radio are licensed separately but also simulcast everything apart from local commercials, and while *The Bee* (Blackburn) and 2BR (Burnley) remain separate services, neither actually broadcasts from its own editorial area, because they share co-located premises in the town of Accrington which lies between them.

However, the most significant and most noticeable push at the boundaries of regulatory tolerance has been by Global Radio, a super group formed from the 2007 acquisition of Chrysalis Radio and the purchase in 2008 of GCap Media - itself a product of the merger in 2005 of Capital and GWR. In September 2008 Global

began rebranding as many of its stations as possible as Heart and then set about reducing the operating costs of what became a new quasi-national FM brand by removing as much distinctiveness in content among them as Ofcom would allow. Extending syndication in daytime meant little local content remained. The rebranding meant that many long-established heritage brands were lost: 2CR (Bournemouth), 2-TEN FM (Reading), Champion (West Wales), Chiltern (Luton and Bedford), GWR (Swindon and Bristol), Marcher Sound (Wrexham and Deeside), Gemini (Exeter/ Torbay), Q103 (Cambridge), Essex FM, Severn Sound (Gloucester and Cheltenham), Ocean (Portsmouth and Southampton), Invicta (Kent), Lantern (Devon), Coast (North Wales), Fox (Oxford), Plymouth Sound, Orchard FM (Yeovil and Taunton), Southern FM (Brighton), The Buzz (Wirral), SGR (which had absorbed the two Suffolk stations Orwell and Saxon in 1992), Horizon (Milton Keynes), Broadland (Norfolk), Northants 96 (Northamptonshire), and Hereward (Peterborough). Later, in June 2010, the thirty-three separate stations now operating under the Heart brand were merged into fifteen Heart 'super stations', meaning what local output remained was moved to regional news and programming hubs. In January 2011 a second dramatic consolidation of Global's portfolio of radio stations was achieved through the merging of the six regional Galaxy stations in Scotland, the South Coast, Birmingham, Manchester, Yorkshire and North-East England with its remaining heritage ILR stations Red Dragon (Cardiff), Trent (Nottingham), Ram (Derby) and Leicester Sound under the Capital brand into another quasi-national FM network. Only the breakfast and drive programmes are now produced separately in the regions, while for the rest of the broadcast day London output is relayed and disguised through the pre-recording and voicetracking of regional variations of some of the London-based presenters' links. Regionally compiled news bulletins, traffic and travel and of course commercials, add to some apparent localness that meets Ofcom's new regulatory focus on output, as opposed to process. According to Global, this is 'local radio, delivered nationally'.

What future for local radio – live and local no more?

Global Radio's clever consolidation of its portfolio of local and regional stations into two more easily recognisable quasi-national brands that require a fraction of the production effort needed when they were launched, was a resounding triumph of the commercial over the local. Whereas the extent to which commercial radio was able to finally break the BBC's monopoly of radio broadcasting in 1973 was deliberately limited to relatively small, local audiences, the commercial sector is now better equipped to compete with the BBC's national analogue music services, Radios 1 and 2. Although this might make good commercial sense for entrepreneurs investing in the radio sector it does depend to a certain extent, on listeners not caring about the diminution of localness it has produced. Because some requirements remain to produce a minimum amount of local content, groups who would prefer to homogenise as much as possible the individual stations within their portfolios must still produce some bespoke material targeted at listening communities within each individual station footprint - but are listeners fooled? Radio is a very clever medium, and many of the people who run it or work in it are ingenious in adapting its inherent characteristics in order to exploit them to the full. However, the recreation of local radio that digital production and distribution technology allows us in the twenty-first century is not without its critics. The network of forty BBC local radio stations is not immune to challenge or change, either. At the time of writing, afternoon programme syndication in order to cut costs was being trialled at three Yorkshire stations, (BBC Radio Leeds, BBC Radio York and BBC Radio Sheffield) and two in South-East England (BBC Radio Kent and BBC Radio Sussex & Surrey) (Plunkett 2010). The BBC's Delivering Quality First initiative threatens to recommend extending syndication, to the further detriment of localness in BBC local radio.

However, the final chapter of *Local Radio, Going Global* (Starkey 2011) begins a discussion as to whether it actually matters whether a significant amount of radio is locally owned and operated. Perhaps the greatest test of localness in local radio may be the market – commercial and public service. In the case of the commercial sector, sometimes niche markets abandoned by big players can be exploited by new entrants into the business, and as

different big radio groups abandon some key elements of local radio in favour of greater consolidation and homogenisation, community, internet or even newer forms of radio we have not yet imagined may appear, in order to fill the void. Community radio is being documented elsewhere, but typically stations depend heavily on volunteers and few have many salaried staff, if any at all. Yet, if high levels of professionalism in community radio can be achieved and sustained, they may yet keep localness alive in the medium of radio. Once, many local communities only had recourse to a local newspaper and – if they were very lucky - a local radio station or two, if they wanted to access local information or participate even passively in local discourse and controversy. These were the only media in which local and regional cultural diversity could be reflected. The arrival of the internet, with local and hyper-local websites, blogs, social networking and ‘tweeting’ has changed all that. Much of this content is, though, not only controvertible but highly problematic in ways that public service broadcasting sets standards and follows codes of practice to avoid. If localness in radio is still and is to remain important, preserving and stimulating it may ultimately depend entirely on the will of legislators and regulators to sustain it. Distinctiveness may be expensive compared to the relative cheapness of generic imaging and content, but the preservation of heritage – both cultural and radiophonic - may yet be worth considerable effort and expenditure as well as political will. For some local listening communities, being live and local may prove to be a cultural lifeline as well as a guarantor of local debate and democracy – and one they should not have to be without.

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Local broadcasters in the convergent media house – the case of Norway

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Abstract:

Present-day picture of Norwegian media market shows that the transformation from mono to mixed media newsrooms increases its rate from year to year and affects every communication platform. Additionally, media houses put pressure on broadcasting. Many editors say that mixed media is difficult to “grasp”. Therefore, many questions and doubts about the future shape of the Norwegian media arise: *How to manage mixed media newsroom? What should be required from collaborators in mixed media present time? How does functioning in the structures of media houses affect quality of journalism? Are the media houses the direction where we should be heading? Do local broadcasters have a chance to survive in the market of uniting media? What form a local broadcast will adopt?* The answers to these and many other questions related to the transformation of the media will have to be sought in the coming years, when both market and technological developments force a change in the media shape. In this paper, there are only suggested some trends evident in the emergence of the structure of the Norwegian media houses, especially the changes in the local broadcasters (the change in the shape of newsroom/ editor office; a change in the journalistic skills; preferences of receivers). The material underlying the empirical results of this study is based on surveys and interviews conducted among owners of media houses, editors, journalists etc.

Keywords: media house; local media; market; convergence

Introduction

Contemporary Norwegian media market shows that the rate of transformation of ‘mono media’ to ‘multi media’ editorial offices increases every year. However, many editors admit that ‘multimediality’ is not easy to manage. Therefore, there are questions and doubts about future shape of the Norwegian media: *How to manage the ‘multimedia’ editor staff? What should be required from editorial co-workers in ‘multimedia’ present time? How functioning in the structures of a media house affects the quality of journalism? Should we head for media houses?* Responses to these and many other questions related to the transformation taking place in the media market will need to be sought in the coming years. This outline will only show some trends. More comprehensive study devoted to this issue should be the subject of a separate publication.

Analysing Norwegian media from the perspective of functioning of media houses we should mention the phenomenon of media convergence. The term ‘convergence’ is very ambiguous and present in many scientific branches. Recently, this term has been also well known in the media theory. In the late seventies, the term ‘convergence’ was used according to changes in media. One of those who helped to popularize the ‘theory of convergence’ was Ithiel de Sola Pool, who in 1983 described the technological convergence in the form of a

forward-looking fusion of communication channels, which then acted independently. Pool predicted that new technology would connect all channels of communication into one large system. According to Pool, in the future, any content posted by the media will be stored in a digital recording as well as their distribution will be done electronically (Sola de Pool, 1984).

Convergence of Editors – Gordon, Dailey and Lawson-Borders Theories

Gordon (2003) considers the problem of horizontal integration in the media market. He describes among others media houses, which are based on the parallel production of messages for two or more channels. This type of editorial workflow gives rise to management of integrated production of all communication platforms. Gordon in addition to discussing the 'convergence at the level of ownership structure' and 'technological convergence product level', also writes about the convergence of three complementary types of editorial, which include:

- structural convergence - refers to changes in the organization and structure of the editorial work, which is the result of a joint editing of content;
- convergence in collecting information - it says that journalists are expected to gain information that will be able to be freely shared among all media channels;
- tactical convergence - refers to the principles of cross-promotion¹ and content sharing between different channels (Gordon, 2003).

Assumptions of Gordon's (2003) theory allow to organize various forms of integration between the channels and editorial offices. However, using the theory it is difficult to assess the degree of internal integration of individual editors. If we present the 'convergence' as a process, which is aiming from two divergent points towards one common, we are dealing with a classic image of the modern media market, created on the basis of evaluation of editorial offices in the direction: from low to high degree of integration. Such understanding of convergence is described by Dailey (2005) in convergence continuum theory. Dailey's model refers to five levels of 'convergence', which are based on the degree of cooperation between cross-media partners. Dailey has identified five structural levels of the media:

- cross-promotion;
- cloning;
- cooperative competition;
- distribution of content
- convergence

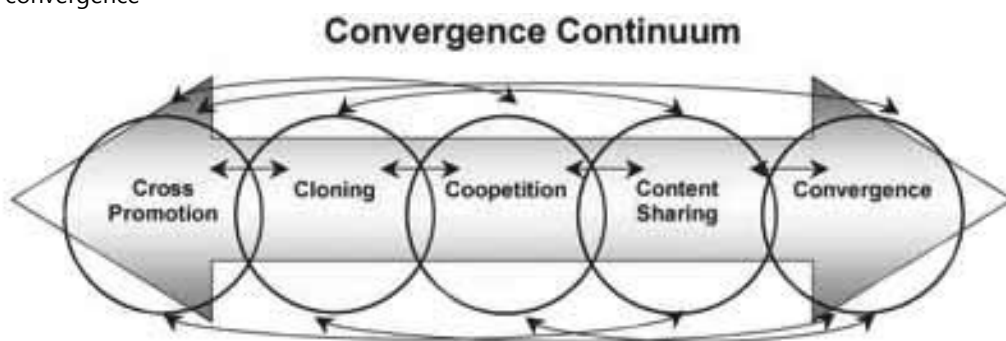


Figure 1. Dailey's model of convergence (Dailey, 2005)

The model shows the movement of media between different levels of convergence (from seeming one to complete). The first stage (the left end of scale) is characterized in that that at least two (or more) types of media /

¹ Cross promotion is understood as 'content marketing of one channel in the second channel' (Gordon 2003).

channels cooperate in marketing sale of common journalistic products (both visually and verbally). This phenomenon was called by Dailey 'cross promotion' and is the lowest degree of convergence reflected in his theory. Collaboration on this level is limited to five types of activities, such as:

- regular presentation of logo or partner's name;
- marketing promotion of specific content that are broadcasted on channels partners;
- encouraging customers to take advantage of offers that are available in the channel partner;
- allowing reporters and commentator of one channel to come to another channel in order to promote new content and special projects;
- using editorial meetings to discuss the possibility of applying the principles of cross-promotion.

The next level is distinguished by the fact that beside the editorial policy of 'cross promotion', particular content prepared by the partners is published in an unchanged form or slightly modified. Such action is referred to as cloning.

Level three is characterized by the fact that cooperation between the channels focuses only on selected issues that are at the same time competition for material placed on the other platforms. This is called coopticon i.e. cooperative competition. Moreover, the agreement that stands between the channels in this case is characterized by mutual distrust and dislike.

In cases where the channels remain in constant cooperation we can see many examples of joint activities, such as:

- distribution of information in selected cases;
- appearance of guests in the partner's program as experts or commentators;
- allocation of resources between different channels;
- sharing of visual materials.
- However, when they are passed to competition, completely different behaviours is seen:
- blocking access to content – channel partners have access only to selected cases and not to all the material gathered in a given editorial office;
- reluctance, in relation to material provided by the staff of channel partners (underestimating the quality of the texts/recordings and doubts about the competence of the authors);
- a common opinion that the channel partners treat the material from other channels worse for the benefit of the material produced by them;
- disseminating the belief that close cooperation with channel partners can contribute to the decline in the number of recipients - receiving cooperation in the category of "cannibalism" (Gordon, 2003).

Fourth level on the Dailey's convergence scale assumes that all of the conditions for the smooth functioning of convergent media house (assigned to the three previous levels) are fulfilled and the element of competition (see the third level) has been eliminated. This level is called content-sharing. At this level channels regularly share information and develop their own versions of common materials, i.e., published, adapted to each channel, versions of the same reports. Furthermore, cooperation at this level is distinguished by specific forms of action, such as:

- regular meetings to exchange ideas;
- exchanging of opinions on how the material should be presented;
- independent work of reporters in each of the channels in most cases;
- joint planning of special projects or research;
- allocation of costs in connection with the implementation of special projects (e.g. market analysis);
- common strategy of publication for those projects.

The most integrated form of cooperation can be found at the fifth level (right end in the model), which is precisely defined as convergence. In this case, channels are characterized by cooperation, both in terms of

collecting and sending material. Usually, everyone works in a joint editorial office, and the whole team is led by one common editorial director. It is the manager, in Norway often called the 'conductor of the media', who decides on the place where the material will be published, how the topic will be piloted and continued. Everything is done in accordance with the applicable rules of the various media platforms so that customers receive the best possible "end product". The material is developed by a team with the participation of representatives of different channels. Dailey does not specify a common location and template organization of editorial environments, as a part of a characteristic of full convergence, but in the context of the Norwegian media it is a natural and necessary complement to other characteristics of this level of convergence.

Overlapping circles (Dailey's model, pict. 1) illustrate the transition between the various stages of convergence. In other words, the particular features characteristic for cooperation on one level, may also appear on the other. When we move in the right side of the scale, we will be closer to full convergence, and it must be emphasized that cooperation at this level is only a supplement to the changes taking place at the previous levels. In practice this means that a fully converged collaboration also refers to cross-promotion, cloning, sharing of resources/associates, joint planning and publishing.

Of course, the location on the scale is not static. Individual channels can work closely together in selected cases (e.g. election), while in the daily delivery of news they have a lower degree of co-coordinated and integrated production. This flexibility corresponds to the diversity of news production in the so-called 'omnibus media', which are addressed to a heterogeneous audience (Gordon, 2003).

The flexibility of the model may constitute a limitation for its use in practice. It will be difficult to locate the channels having common management and coordinate their production. They work only in certain areas, but a significant part of relevant material (perhaps even most) is produced taking the individual needs of each platform under the consideration. Can we therefore, identify them as convergent or are they on the lower level of convergence scale (e.g. at the level of sharing content or even at the level of cooperative competition)? If the model is to be applied in practice, it is worthwhile to examine more precisely dependencies between different levels. Dailey said that the cooperation between the channels must have at least one of the features characteristic for a given level, so you can refer it to a specific convergence level. The more we can assign the characteristic elements of cooperation, the more typical it is for a given convergence level and its location on an axis becomes more pronounced.

Model of 'convergence continuum' can be accused of that from the standpoint of normativity is quite insecure. Dailey points out that the convergence levels located on the right of the center of axis are more desirable than those at the center and left of it. The level of cooperative competition is considered the least desirable. It is difficult to imagine a media organization, whose primary objective is to achieve convergence at the level of cooperative competition. Whereas, we can easily see that both the level of sharing content and convergence can function as strategic targets for the media houses, which base their activities on the integration of the channels. As for the cross-promotion and cloning levels, they may be a target for those who want their channels to be more isolated.

While the idea of integration has many supporters, joining channels does not seem to be the best solution. To keep channels specificity, it seems more effective to sustain their growth and competitive ability, isolation or limited integration (Bressers, 2006). It is certainly important to see that separation, as well as integration are possible alternatives for channel development strategy of media houses. Negative aspects of competition, unwillingness to change, underestimating other communication platforms will certainly constitute a clear obstacle in the integration of particular channels. Recognizing this element as characteristic, also for cross-promotion, and cloning, we will create some kind of cover for Dailey's normative model.

There are reasons for modifying the model in a way the negative competitive approach would not be described as 'own level of convergence' but rather 'an obstacle to convergence', which can occur at all levels.

However, for proper assessment of the convergence level between the different channels, it is necessary to examine, first, to what extent problems of cooperation appear in the editorial office, and second, what strategies and projects are undertaken to solve these problems. Lawson-Borders (2006) takes an attempt to present different ways of dealing with the management in the editorial office. She describes the organizational strategy of the three leading American media houses. Lawson-Borders focuses on the analysis of seven important aspects of convergence, which according to her, are inherent in the integration of old and new media. Many of them seem to be important also in relation to Dailey's model, since they do not correspond with its "negative spirit of competition". This is particularly associated with such aspects of convergence as:

1. **the acceptance of cultural change** - involves a combination of different cultures within the various channels in the convergent editor office, where all the channels and their employees are treated equally;
2. **awareness of the convergence problem** - convergence is included in the overarching philosophy and identity of the media house;
3. **promoting the principles of cooperation** - workers share ideas, information, and constantly exchange views on how the given issues can be presented in a multimedia way; working in the so-called multimedia groups, providing material for various communication platforms, in particular the extension of multimedia content of the message, "new media" are not treated in a competition aspect but rather in the aspect of complementarity;
4. **mutual communication** - all collaborators involved in the collection and distribution of particular contents, are also participants in the discussion about convergence.

Other aspects necessary for the proper management of editorial work, slightly less important from the viewpoint of convergence, presented by Lawson-Borders, are:

1. compensation;
2. competition;
3. customer orientation.

Norwegian Media House – Individual or Convergent?

It seems reasonable to look at the editorial convergence, both through the prism of Dailey's model, as well as from the perspective of study developed by the Lawson-Borders (2005). It is worth noting, how in the relation to above-mentioned theories editorial offices of Norwegian media houses are presented. This study was written because of the research conducted by the Institute of Journalism in Fredrikstad and those conducted by the author of this paper in 2008-2009. The basic methods used in the study were interview method (quantitative and qualitative analysis) and observation method. The work of Dailey and Lawson-Borders form the theoretical basis for research, and research tools used to gather the material has been prepared using the seven areas essential to assess the degree of convergence, i.e.:

1. **strategy and commitment** - the concept of convergence of the media house, the motivation for multimedia investing;
2. **organization** - the integration and organization of the media house;
3. **communication** - the flow of information in the media house;
4. **status** – the balance of power between the channels and its effect on cooperation;
5. **collaboration and innovation** - the type of cooperation;
6. **competence** – knowing how particular channels interact, quality of management, actions taken to achieve convergence;

² A research tool used in the study is a questionnaire, which consisted of open and closed questions. The addressees were: publishers, editors in chief and journalists working at Norwegian local and regional media. Number of participants interviewed: 126; year of research: 2008-2009.

7. **customers and the market** – marketing management including the problem of convergence.

The study included experienced editors-in-chief, managers of individual platforms, journalists and owners of media houses³. Moreover, the study used both, editorial sources where there is a clear division among the channels and those where this division is almost unnoticeable. During the project, interviews with editors-in-chief were conducted during which the strategy and vision for the development of various media houses were discussed. Media houses involved in the study are as well local as regional and national, for example: Adresseavisen, Agderposten, Bergens Tidende, Dagbladet, Drammens Tidende, Romerikes Blad, Stavanger Aftenblad, VG.

The choice of particular editors was dictated by: size range, geographical location and a comparable number of distribution channels. Additionally, editors participating in the study are distinguished by extensive experience and have been firmly rooted in experienced editorial offices. Furthermore, these are media houses, which, apart from newspapers and the Internet also have radio and/or TV stations. In all cases, in each media house, we have at least two communication platforms.

The analysis shows that the concept of 'media house' is interpreted differently by each of the editors (especially when it comes to its internal organization). For some, this is just joint building and independent work of each platform, for others, common editing of the material for all platforms. Therefore, the degree of integration or the degree of alignment among the channels in the various media houses is highly diversified. There are media houses: completely non-integrated, moderately integrated, and tightly integrated.

The choice of the appropriate integration strategy is the most important issue for the development of the internal structure of each of the Norwegian media houses – for many of them the most important is consistency among different platforms. Visible in virtually every media house, the increasingly deepening co-operation of "old" and "new" media platforms provokes many questions and controversies. The most frequently raised issue is whether the editors union by a combination of channels increases or reduces competitive ability of media house on the market, where the fight for the message and audience is becoming increasingly fierce.

The idea of maintaining separate communication channels in the Norwegian media houses is based on the opinion that the media house is not able to win the competition, eliminating the boundaries among the channels. The specificity of the channel and specific competitive challenges require full attention, substantial financial resources and strategic thinking focused on the specifics of the channel. Enough to look at the traditional TV stations or the paper editions of newspapers (especially national and regional e.g. Dagbladet), enough to look decline in their popularity. The task of all media houses is therefore, conducting a thorough analysis of market needs and adjusting its development its development strategy to the expectations of the consumer. It is certainly a big challenge for most editors, especially since modern media often develop very unpredictably. Therefore it is extremely important to constantly monitor competitors, conduct market analysis and product development. Each of the channels is a big challenge if they are managed independently since winning clear marketing impact on many levels requires a strong and internally coherent organization. In the case of Norwegian media houses, we frequently see that for a single channel it is important to maintain cooperation with partners working outside than inside the media house. According to Arne Krumsvik such a phenomenon may be due to the fact that Internet journalists derive greater benefits from dialogue with the users rather than journalists working in traditional media. Editors of media houses like: Dagbladet Multimedia, Drammens Tidende Nye Aftenbladet Multimedia were at the beginning skeptical concerning any innovations. Many journalists had the view that booking material for newspaper or developing it according to its logic is necessary and should be done at the expense of new media (radio, television) and especially "network." Therefore, it can be concluded that the

³ Experience in managing a team of multimedial newsroom was taken into account.

development of local journalism characteristic of new media, and especially for the communication in the Internet in Norway is slowed down by the newspaper, which also results in slowdown of the media house, as well as the weakening of information broadcasting.

The solution involving the functioning of separate channels has many drawbacks, especially when you consider the lack of use of the similarities in the editorial work. According to media theorists (e.g.: Gordon, 2003; Dailey, 2005) such organization triggers the so-called "channel cannibalism" manifested by the fact that channels "hunt" for the same audience and the same editorial content with a relatively similar profile.

In Drammens Tidende journalists at the beginning, perceived the competition at the level of "news production" as unjust. Whereas, in their opinion, lack of coordination of activities carried out in a separate editorial offices was frequently the source of conflict referring to who, what, where and when to publish.

Looking at the phenomenon of "cannibalism" from a wider perspective, it can be assumed that the separation of different platforms may result in that that channel will develop its own characteristics in a way that manages to stop question "cannibalism". The Internet and its capability of multimedia broadcasting will adopt a form absolutely different from traditional media, and thus becoming complementary and not competitive offer (Dagens Næringsliv, 12 October 2006).

Analysing the factors influencing the development of the Norwegian media, we see that the idea of integration is dominated mainly in larger newsrooms. Especially when it comes to common resources and content. Integration is also present at the level of the organizational structure of the media house, as a company. Empowering the already existing 'brand product' is the justification for the integration of particular channels. An example of such action may be Aftenposten media house, where there was a fusion of Aftenposten Multimedia and Aftenposten its parent company (so far focused on publishing of the leading, influential journal in Norway) in one fully integrated media house.

Frequently cited reasons for introducing the editorial integration is the pragmatics of such a solution. It is a common organization of the production of news, which supports many platforms (e.g. preparation of items that can be replicated on different platforms). Integration is also designed to increase effectiveness of work of newsrooms. This seems to be particularly important, especially today, when most of the leading titles in connection with the shrinking market, is forced to take up radical changes in organization of work of editorial offices (Klassekampen, 10 May, 2007).

Another argument for the acceptance of integration in the media are the possibilities that open up through the transfer of unnecessary resources from "old" to "new" media. The transformation of fossilized, for many years, work pattern of mono into multimedia arouses feelings of insecurity and even dislike of the team however, it can still stop and minimize the negative effects of dismissals in newsrooms (Dagens Næringsliv, 12 October 2006). However, ongoing research show that many editors-in-chief are skeptical to 'let' their team members, working in traditional newspapers, form other channels; the Internet is particularly unkindly treated. Majority believes that such solution is rather unlikely to bring Internet editing the title of the desired audience. Integration supporters justify the need of its introduction by the fact, that in order to face a large and powerful competitors, it is necessary to use all the resources of media house, and not just journalistic "unity" and the attachment to tradition.

In assessing the integration of editorial work we can see its more practical justification, especially when it comes to organizing daily work of the team. Thanks to cooperation among the platforms we avoid duplication of work, stress, surprises causing unnecessary chaos such as: sending several teams to the same meeting, calling for the same source many times from different channels, planning the same titles for "network" and "traditional" newspapers etc. For many editors such everyday conditions are very important and almost as strongly argue for the introduction of integration.

Aspect of competition is used as an argument for both integration and separation of channels in the media house. Lack of competition, or rather the perception of competition only at the level of information provided to

recipients has a small impact on integration. If the Norwegian newspaper will not feel that the other media threaten their hegemony in the sphere of news, it is rather difficult to convince the media industry to invest in "fast" communication channels. In such situation it appears that the coordination between channels, "fast" and "free is still" weak.

The current situation in the Norwegian media market shows that many local media houses are based on a similar pattern - with no particular competition and the relatively limited integration. However there are some exceptions, such as the media house in Arendal. Therefore, the question arises whether the local media houses will cope with a possible sudden and strong competition from a network journalism, like the ubiquitous information services (eg, VG Nett, Dagbladet), or network social networking (such as local versions: Nettby, Facebook, Underskog).

Typology of Norwegian Media Houses

The division of Norwegian media houses, presented below, has been developed by analysts from the Institute of Journalism in Fredrikstad⁴. Classification was carried out taking into account the results of the questionnaire developed to assess the degree of editorial convergence of various media houses in Norway. The survey was based on Dailey's theory of convergence and Lawson-Borders study. Typology presented below focuses on the main elements of evaluating the level of integration and thus functions as a 'bench marking' tool.

On the one hand, the results of the interview seem to be obvious, on the other, surprising. The more features of the cooperation are in the media house, the greater integration and higher degree of convergence. We can of course wonder to what extent these studies represent a true picture, and subjective perspective of individual employees of media houses. Of course, as with most sociological research we must take into account a certain amount of subjectivity in evaluating the results, which do not diminish the relevance of the study as far as the assessment of the level of convergence of Norwegian media houses are concerned. The following four types of media houses were identified on the basis of convergence rates in Norway⁵.

1. separate media house;
2. slightly integrated media house;
3. integrated media house;
4. convergent media house.

1. Separate media house

In 2008 this category was represented by the Drammens Tidende media house (DT Nye Medier and Drammens Tidende newspaper). DT Mediehus was distinguished by the minimal interaction among the staff and professional groups across all channels. Employees were unlikely to be moved amongst channels and cooperation in particular cases was quite limited. By introducing a joint meeting of editors Drammens Tidende has taken a step towards a more co-coordinated production of news, but in 2008, DT media house did not yet have: common editorial and news management, cross-group structure and common rules for publishing.

Media house also did not have a multimedia strategy. Although, multimedia meetings of editors were proved that DT was moving in the direction of integration, it did not seem then that this would happen soon, since there were too many differences between a traditional newspaper and Nye Medier. Then the DT media house had the image of too segregated or separate. In 2009, due to changes in the newsroom and the rapid development of networks, DT joined a group of converging media houses.

⁴ Analysts from the Institute of Journalism in Fredrikstad has been conducting a systematic assessment of changes in the structure of the Norwegian media houses since 2006. The data presented in this article refer to the situation from the years 2008-2009.

⁵ Thy typology is taken from CFJE (Center for Professional Development in Journalism) divided into four classifications of multimedial competence in the newsroom – from the channel specialist to slightly convergent, strongly convergent and multimedial reporter. See Jacobsen P., Rasmussen SK (2002), *Fra bladhus til mediehus*, CFJE

2. Slightly integrated media house

In 2008, at this level of integration were media houses such as: national VG, Dagbladet and local Agderposten. A common feature of these media houses was that the editorial team had worked for many channels. This was the most important distinctive feature in comparison with media houses of the previous level. Employees of all the above mentioned media houses supplied material, or formed a ready-made texts for many channels. Slightly integrated media houses are trying to maintain evaluation of coherent policy, starting from the exchange of ideas, information and sources ending with conducting joint market research. The scope of these activities is obviously different in each media house. The most advanced operations were conducted in Agderposten and VG. However, in Dagbladet media house there was introduced the so-called trial system i.e. group structures, whose goal was to achieve full integration of all channels. VG and Agderposten did not apply at the beginning 'matrix organization' in their branches. VG editors launched the first vertical organization dedicated to tourism investment. Moreover, the first 'light integrated media houses' had at the beginning its own editorial staff for special channels and a separate news management. They did not have, however, a common "super newsroom" or "conductor of news."

3. Integrated media house

This category, in 2008, included such media houses as: Avis Nordland, Romerikes Blad and Stavanger Aftenblad. Of these three, the first two are distinguished by a high degree of integration, while the Stavanger Aftenblad gained slightly closer to the slightly integrated level. This was mainly due to the fact that the comparatively new structure of Aftenblad media house was not rather based on multimedia production rules. Editorial organization and management of the news section was clearly integrated with a common "super newsroom" and "conductor channel" for all platforms.

Dividing line between the integrated and convergent media houses has been fixed after taking into account the degree of convergence in each of them. Avis Nordland, for example, and Romerikes Blad had multimedial editors (partially integrated), which functioned during the day covering the greater part (but not all) of channels included in the media house. Also, interpretation of the news director's work is quite different in the various media houses. In Romerikes Blad news director was rather a "coordinator" rather than "conductor". The news director's attention is focused on reviewing information produced in various channels, however they do not manage Romerike TV.

4. Convergent media house

Although Adresseavisen, Bergens Tidende and NRK Østfold presented in 2008 the most complex form of organization in the newsrooms, they remained within the category of 'convergent media house'. In the editorial offices mentioned above, we can find most of the indicators of 'convergence'. Adresseavisen is slightly different since, there were fully applied only the principles of 'matrix organization', while the group structure has been introduced only partially. A similar organization of editors and news directors represents NRK Østfold. The regional office does not function as a 'conductor' of media. Instead, there was introduced: the system of duties and the position of 'news director on duty' who provides multimedial coordination around the clock. Editorial Board is divided into small groups responsible for individual channels, but they work in the same multimedia room with minimal physical distance from each other.

It should be noted that also in the media houses (apparently fully integrated) still much has to be done to achieve full integration and the maximum of convergence. It can be mentioned that: more employees could work multimedially, more cases can be solved in a multimedial way and more opinions could be issued.

Local Media House Structure – Case study

1. ADRESSEAVISEN - TRONDHEIM

- leading regional media house in central Norway - the oldest newspaper
- publication in four channels: paper (Adresseavisen), network (www.adresseavisen.no), radio (Radio-Adressa) and TV (TV Adressa)
- TV and radio organized in one company (formerly TV-Trondelag)

The most important thing for those who were managing Aderssa Media House was to integrate almost all areas of the editorial activities. Kirsti Husby (news editor) admits that other media houses show tendency to separation, in contrast to Adressa, where all editorial activities tried to get close to each other as much as possible. Journalists and editors were aware that if they want to compete with other houses, they are forced to use its resources, regardless of the communication channel. One, even the best-developed distribution channel will not allow the comfortable operation of a medium in contemporary communication reality, therefore Adressa puts emphasis on the integration of all platforms.

The editorial staff is constantly introducing new organizational solutions to strengthen even more cooperation between the channels. Additionally, it is extremely important to give collaborators a sense of ownership of all channels in the media house.

The heart of Adressa organization is the head office of the newsroom or the main office of news where the managers of the channels have their permanent place of work. This is also the place where the news editor and news director on duty supervise the work of the whole media house. Director on duty is called 'the conductor of channels' and is responsible for coordinating and controlling the multimedia production of information. The head of duty has three employees who work in shifts (one week day work, one week nights and one week free). Previously, the news editor was also the "director of channels", but according to most workers of Adressa it was not a perfect system, since the news editor was not able to take care of each channel properly. Media analyst Sigurd Host admits that:

The role of the channel conductor in such a large media house should be fully focused on the given problem. This multimedia work requires decision making virtually 24 hours a day. After a while it appeared that it was difficult to reconcile this with the other tasks that the news editor had at Adressa (Host, 2009).

Directors on duty have much more ease to concentrate on content production, control and care for the fast channels - web, television and radio, so they are not in the clear shadow of traditional newspaper. Adressa invests in improving the competence of team members supervising the work of individual channels, with the focus on the proper selection of the heads on duty. Due to this fact, directors on duty of the report manager were required on radio and television. Such action was taken to show the desirability of channels integration. It can be assumed that the strengthened multimedial competence in this team will enhance the concentration on multimedial information production.

Also, co-location of the channels around a "conductor" and the remaining team in the news center is to show the merits of integration in the whole media house. Location of all channels (press, radio, television, network) on one open level, aims to strengthen cooperation and improve information flow. In Adressa, news office of 'paper' newspaper is next to network office; behind it there are radio and television units and all the platforms are concentrated around the news center. This arrangement of individual editors is related to the reorganization of the editors board, which means that the news editor is solely responsible for the content published in all channels. Integration is also continued at the level of reportage manager and departments such as sport, culture e.g.: section of culture and sport, in Adressa, has been completely integrated with the multimedia branch. Although the multimedial organization of news center is already a standard in Adressa, previously some adjustment had to be made to meet the specific requirements of individual departments, such as: report manager in the network, in order to better control and care for their employees, instead of moving to the news center

remained in their section. In such cases, the idea of integration is shifted to the background, because practical considerations prevail. This does not impinge in any way, on already highly integrated structure of Adressa media house, which shows the structure of the daily editorial meetings:

- 8:00 - meeting of report manager led by news editor. All channels and branches are presented; a brief assessment of the printed newspaper is presented; planning activities for the day on all channels;
- 8:30 - joint editorial meeting three times a week (Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday);
- 8:45 - each section (press, web, radio, television) has its own meeting;
- 10:15 - meeting of report managers conducted by the chief of a day shift (starts at 10.00 and receives messages from the news editor.) During the meeting, attended by representatives of all channels and branches forming a DM Adressa, any current matter is discussed. They also give appropriate status for strategic and multimedia matters published in the following day's newspaper;
- 14:45: meeting conducted by the head of a day shift, during which information is communicated to a night shift. Head of a night shift starts his/her work at 14:00. The meeting was attended by representatives of all channels.

Little disputes regarding the Publication Channel

Close cooperation between the channels is a superior aim in *Adresseavisen*. *Adressa Media* House had functioned for long time basing on conventional rules of cooperation between individual platforms. There were no written directives regarding publication and everyday cooperation between the channels. However, journalists were motivated to publish where they had the largest number of recipients. Because of this the journalists working for different platforms had worked out a kind of "day order" that was universal for all channels. It was settled which events should appear in the fast channels (the Internet and radio) and which of them can and have to be retained for a newspaper.

The experiences in *Adressa* show that an increasing competition and the growth of the number of recipients have clearly raised the status of the Internet among the employees of the *Adressa MH*, and more and more often it is the Internet where they publish the so called "hot news" regardless of what channel they work for. It is worth emphasizing here that we rather will not find among the journalists any conflict regarding the choice of the publication channel of a particular information. The division on account of the speed of the transfer and importance of the thorough analysis seems to be very natural and universally accepted. In the so called "fast media" (the Internet, radio, television) appear mainly the news that do not require the detailed coverage, whereas the problems that can be a base for a more comprehensive article are usually left for the newspaper. It should be added that although we find there is an assignment of journalistic roles to the determined communication platforms among the journalists of the *Adressa MH* (radio, press, television, the Network), there is a place like Internet where everybody meets and, however the journalists of various channels are not on their duty in the "Net" any longer, they prepare materials which are published on the Internet. One can think that all employees of *Adressa MH* treat the Network as their channel.

According to Kristi Husby (2009), the most multimedia reporters in a media house are those who work for the newspaper. Basically they provide the material for all channels, except for television because they refuse to do it due to technological reasons. TV production is considered to be technologically complicated, demanding a lot of time, marked with fixed production programme (cheaper and less technologically demanding web-TV becomes here more often an alternative for traditional television.) Fear of technology is not a huge problem in *Adressa* editorial staff (it was a problem earlier especially among older employers.) Today everybody knows that when an accident happens, they immediately go to the scene of event, irrespective of which channel they work in. Using mobile phone technology they take pictures, record video films, interview. Reporters that are in the field call and give reports directly from the scene of event for radio or the Internet, while those reporters who are on duty in the

studio comment them for the radio and television. Yet, according to the assumptions of the development strategy of Adressa MH, standardization in journalist's profession is not what should determine journalist's future. Husby states that:

Despite of the integrated model for all employees, it is important to take care of uniqueness and specificity of each channel, and for this reason journalists specializing in publication in a particular channel are needed. Obviously we are aware that the knowledge of digital technology is indispensable for the correct functioning of each channel, and this is why there has been created in Adressa MH a special media laboratory which influences the development of the offer and increase of the digital quality of the contents published in all channels. The aim that motivates the reporters working in Adressa MH is to adhere to diligent journalism, journalism staying close to a recipient and his or her problems. The journalist's role is still to take care of conveying the news, as it used to be, which depend on a fixed day order and, moreover, are transmitted quickly and on a few channels at the same time (Husby, 2009).

2. AGDERPOSTEN MEDIA HOUSE (ARENDALE)

Media House in Agderposten:

- Local Media House in Arendal
- It publishes on four channels: newspaper (Agderposten), the Internet (agderposten.no), radio (radioP5) and television (TV AGDER, previously TV Aust Agder)

The editorial section of *Agderposten* has made a huge step towards the close cooperation and common identity but one cannot speak about full coincidence in its case. Nevertheless, the disposition of forces between the channels indicates favouritism of the newspaper which has the biggest number of recipients and the biggest number of co-workers, and it publishes the best news. Yet it should be noticed that this situation undergoes rapid change as a result of growing competition, this means especially the broad offer of new communication platforms and that is why integration and greater coordination of the channels in the common multimedia environment is a must also in case of the local media house which Agderposten is.

In relation to this, the *Agderposten* media house, as most of the Norwegian media houses still transforms its organisational structure. The offices situated in the centre of Arendal are reorganised in such a way so that the channels working within the media house could be gathered in one place, making easy at the same time the cooperation and the flow of information between the individual platforms. Not so long time ago the editorial offices of particular channels were quite spread in a building similar to a labyrinth where the television and the radio were almost "hidden" and very distant from the editorial news office of the paper magazine and Internet workers. Peer L. Andreassen (news editor) says that⁶:

This "structure of a labyrinth" significantly made difficult the integration between the channels because the journalists, to be true, were only "sitting" in the same building and were doing nothing else. It was hard to work together over material or to have the common day order for all platforms. The location of all editorial offices on the same level changes decidedly the functioning of the media house and helps to enhance its position towards the competition. The communication in Arendal still evolves from a labyrinth difficult to fight one's way through to an open space where one could easily find and exchange some information (Andreassen, 2009).

Obviously, it is multimedia editorial news office that is the heart of the *Arendal Media House*. Preparing the plans of a new editorial structure *Agderposten* took advantage from scouts' help whose task was to examine other media houses and to find the best solution, both architectural and organisational, for this newly establishing editorial house. Taking into account the effective management of the editorial staff in *Arendal MH*, the focus was directed towards the joint management of the editorial team. The news editor, the culture editor, the main duty network and television editor, and the editor-in-chief share one office which helps them to monitor everything and to properly distribute the information that the editorial office receives. Moreover, it was especially important for the media house to keep the strong position of the radio, therefore it has been decided that the network and

⁶ Interview with Peer L. Andreassen, 2009.

the radio have been joined together on the plain of the local and regional news. The task of the network platform is to give efficient support for the radio news, and this is the reason why the editorial radio office has been situated near the office where the network duty is held so that the news broadcaster in the radio could just turn around and read the news directly from the Internet.

Besides the changes in the spatial organisation of the editorial offices, a new shape of the structure in managing the editorial staff was introduced. The present chiefs of individual channels emphasize the fact that the focus should be on the need of the implementation of day order, which should be defined with the commitment of the main duty editor, news director and the "conductors" of all channels. The management of the media house in Arendal wants to relieve the main editor who, in their opinion, should focus on the whole process of production in the media house, while the news director should be occupied with supervising the news in publication. In *Agderposten* one will not find one multimedia news director or media's "conductor". The person that is the nearest to this function is a news editor, yet, according to Andreassen (2009), there are too many duties imposed on the news editor and because of this the news editor cannot manage properly the multimedia structure of the media house. In his opinion the main duty editors start to think in a multimedia way noticing also other platforms such as radio or the network besides the leading newspaper, and this helps us to suppose that the organisational structure of the local media house will not differentiate so much from managing a multimedia news production in a national tabloid (for example VG).

Meeting with three out of four channels

In a media house, where the channels are diffused and it is hard to have direct exchange of the opinions and information, the appropriate planning of the editorial meetings and coordination of the flow of information seems to be particularly important. A fixed structure of morning meetings, in which participate the workers of three (out of four) platforms: newspapers, the Internet, television, has been established in *Agderposten*. The agenda of these meetings looks as follows:

- **8:15** – the meeting during which the day order for the whole media house is arranged. In this meeting that starts the work of the editorial staff participate the editors and main duty editors from various platforms, for example main duty editor, the news editor, network director, TV chief, culture editor and editor-in-chief. After morning brainstorming of the representatives of all channels, the discussion goes to a group level (news, culture, television).
- **8:30** – three meetings end: first in the group of news, in which the editorial team of the network takes part too; second in a cultural and feature section; third in a TV department.
- **11:20** – next meeting, still with the participation of the representatives of the newspaper, network and TV, the aim of which is to present the current situation in the editorial offices (for example which questions are in progress, and which has been "struck off" or delayed.)
- **14:30** – informative meeting – this time the meeting is only for the directors of the departments of the paper magazine and the Internet reporters. Meanwhile, the part of the TV workers deal with the production of the broadcast that will be soon transmitted, and the rest of the team spends their time on further planning.

The radio reporters join this system of meetings to a small degree. It happens that the reporter working in the radio takes part in the meeting at 11:20, but the radio channel besides this one exception is not presented during other meetings. According to Andreassen, the radio in Arendal lives its own life – the radio editorial staff receives currently all news which have appeared in the media house and the representatives of other platforms do not mind it. The absence of the radio reporters during the meetings is easy to be justified due to clearly practical reasons – one reporter on the duty produces 24 hours of the programme during his or her workday. In connection

with this there is not much time for meetings although the main focus in the daily radio programme is put on the music programmes.

However, the radio staff has full access to the SaxoPlan (equally with the co-workers from other channels), the tool that helps to organise work in the whole *Agderposten Media House*, which means that all members of the editorial staff irrespective of the channel they represent can have a look at the matters that are currently presented and at their status. *Agderposten* was a pilot editorial office in the examination of the electronic tool that organised the work of all platforms. Multimedia presentations of the news created thanks to the Saxo programme are used as a starting point to the morning meetings in the editorial office, due to which the representatives of individual platforms can familiarize themselves with the matters over which the whole team works. According to Andreassen, this integrated system of planning functions very well when it is used correctly, yet there is still too few people that come to like it, which may pretend that thanks to Saxo we know everything about the matters and the resources of the media house in Arendal (Andreassen, 2009).

Newspaper is still the most important

Despite the fact that the multimedia has been the part of the *Agderposten* strategy since 1999, when the paper magazine celebrated the 125th anniversary, yet many years had had to pass before there appeared clear development of new media: radio, network and television. It should be indicated that the radio still has the position of an "outsider" in the media house in Arendal. Stein Gauslaa (former editor-in-chief) admits that the development of the fast channels has been seen only since year 2004 when the TV studio in Arendal was established in a place which previously had been the head office of the local newspaper. Discovery of the potential of the Internet came even later. *Agderposten* received its own network editorial office with four editorial co-workers just in September, 2006. Earlier the duty editor of the newspaper took care about the network.⁷ The above situation shows that the fast media are relatively new initiative of the *Agderposten* media house. It should be added here that they are significantly smaller than the traditional paper magazine, both when it comes to the number of recipients, editorial workers, and the disposition of forces in the media house; it is beyond doubt that it is still the local title that is the most important:

Newspaper is still the most significant medium because it has undoubtedly the biggest clout, however the Internet can pride itself on the fastest growth. Television has more recipients than the Internet, also on the fields where the newspaper has weak position, that is in the buffer zones where we meet competition (Andreassen, 2009).

The local newspaper in Norway is perceived as a brand product of each of the media houses, both when it comes to the scale and tradition as well – which can be also applied to the *Arendal MH*.

When we talk about *Agderposten Media House*, the readers, listeners or viewers do not always know what this name means. Many of them think that when you work in *Agderposten* you work in a paper magazine. Although among the directors and the journalists gathered around particular platforms more distinctly intensifies the feeling of the identity of the media house, not of the editorial office: press, radio, television or network, it seems very crucial to make the recipients aware of this phenomenon. (Andreassen, 2009)

Next argument that confirms the unity in the *Agderposten* can be the fact that all reporters employed in the *Arendal MH* earn the same salary, irrespective of the channel in which they work. This system was introduced not so long time ago, but Andreassen says that its positive effects can be already seen. He states that equalizing the salaries was very important step both for the status of a channel and for their use in various channels and on various work positions.

When it comes to the journalistic craft and its standard in particular channels, there are obviously some differences in the bonuses given depending on the experience and time spent at work. Taking into account age

⁷ Interview with the former editor-in-chief Stein Gauslaa, February, 2009.

and job seniority of the journalists, nobody should be astonished that the average age among the network and television reporters is much lower than in the paper magazine. In the radio editorial staff the average age of the reporters is rather quite similar to this of the journalists working in the local newspaper. This status quo has also its consequences in relation to experience and routine (Andreassen, 2009).

Besides the journalistic craft itself, the degree of the comprehension in the journalistic work is pretty differentiated especially in the Internet when compared to a paper magazine. Though the reporters also create their own material in the Net, to a huge degree it is based on copying and processing the material released in newspaper columns. The editors from www.agderposten.no admit that there is still too few of them and they do not have enough time to become absorbed in particular affairs (Andreassen, 2009). Paulsen maintains that it leads to lowering of the status of the Internet inside the media house. There exists this kind of danger that the reporters of the Net may have impression that they play in a "B team" (Andreassen, 2009).

Which channel?

The news editor does not want to describe the relations between the channels as a relation marked with rivalry, but he emphasizes that in case of such organisational structure one cannot avoid emotions, particularly around the question of the day order for the whole media house and discussing which of the matters will go to the Internet and which will be kept for a paper magazine. Usually this division is apparent – the news relating the affairs exposed to the competition are transmitted in the fastest channel, while the news so called "of one's own" which we know that are only "ours" are published in the newspaper. However, on the market of the local Norwegian media, where the newspaper has still small competition, the notion of the fastest channel is still vast. Andreassen notices that the duty chiefs in his media house favour paper magazine and decidedly place it above the Internet. The duty chiefs would like that every matter would appear first in the newspaper and later it could be taken to the other channels. The reporters from the other platforms also postulate that in their channels there should appear new information, which arises of course numerous disputes:

When an idea is good, you want to be first... Sometimes we suggested them, that the journalists should present their own case in their medium. We don't want people think that one medium stands higher in a rating and that any of the channels is better than the other, but it happens that we have to speak to a journalist from the Internet or television that this affair will be released in the newspaper. And the other way round (Andreassen, 2009).

Gauslaa stresses that conducting the publication and the choice of the target publication channel in the media house has changed dramatically – for the advantage of the fast media. He asserts that it would be more and more visible, because new competitors of the traditional forms of communication can endanger it very rapidly, nevertheless convincing everybody to such change is a huge challenge for the management of the media house. The biggest problem could be to persuade the editorial staff that the news have to be released in a given medium here and now and it has no greater importance whether the channel is called network, radio, television or newspaper. The most important question for us is to be the first who broadcast local and regional information, and not to stay in the background of the *VG.net*, when this type of communication is at stake. Unfortunately *VG.net* is such a strong organization that very often the local and regional media houses lose when competing with it concerning the speed of reports. This is why we had to fight (Gauslaa, 2009).

Multimedia Reporteres

In the *Agderposten* Media House most of the journalists work in a multimedia way. Reporters who serve in the Internet prepare simultaneously the material for the newspaper, two of them are also on duty in the television. The journalists employed in the press editorial office search for information for TV programme, and the photographers enrich it with video material. These are the reporters that are said to be the most multimedia

workers in the whole media house. They simply “think in a multimedia way” all the time irrespectively of what they do. It happens that the journalists of the newspaper prepare the recording for the radio or, being in the centre of affairs, play the role of a TV reporter and convey “live report.” It takes place usually when the matter is particularly crucial from the point of view of the whole local society. The decisions about multimedia/monomedia attitude towards a given question are made during the morning meetings of the representatives of all platforms. The main editors together with the reporters and the editor-in-chief arrange, for example, press conferences, issues of registration, opening an exhibition or other similar affairs. The network reporter goes there with a video camera and dictaphone and records films and material for the radio, which is later published on the Internet and broadcasted in the radio and television. The journalists who work in a multimedia way usually do it willingly, they do not act under pressure and additionally they are characterized with peculiarly personal interest. The news editors agreeably admit that not all of them should work in a multimedia way because there is also a need for editors specializing in a particular field of communication which certainly guarantees the higher quality, especially in more complex journalistic forms. Having in a team both experts in a given channel/genre and the employees who are able to work in different channels is a warranty of the correct functioning of the whole media house (Andreassen, 2009). One has to remember that some journalists (especially those experienced and used to work in one medium) simply do not cope with work in many channels at the same time, yet they are experts at their field. In *Agderposten* many trainings are carried on practically all the time and their aim is to improve multimedia competences of all employees, for example the course of preparing radio material as a part of commitment of the media house in the Channel 24; the course of writing for the Internet for the whole staff. Nevertheless, not everybody wants to take part in those trainings.

Summary

In conclusion, it should be added that the tendency of the integration of the local broadcasting radio stations with other channels, such as press, television or the Internet, is typical for the development of the local radio broadcasting in present-day Norway. Such concentration of all communication platforms within “media houses” may, on the one hand, contribute to the narrowing of the variety of information material on the local level, and, on the other hand, gives opportunities to strengthen the local radio in relation to the nationwide media offer and national and regional NRK programmes. Moreover, depending on the circumstances that accompany the broadcast of a programme/programmes, the concentration of power may to some extent influence the strengthening of the editorial content transmitted in the local radio stations.

It should be, after all, emphasized that the local radio has developed in a quite different direction than it was initially assumed and today it oscillates in a much smaller degree around the profile of an “advocate of the local contents” (in the traditional sense of this word.) There comes this intensely flourishing commercial radio to the foreground that bases itself on music and entertainment where so called “local material” is adjusted to its main format (entertainment) and to some fields of interests of the younger group of recipients. Furthermore, the strengthening of the position of the local commercial radio stations has occurred simultaneously with the development of the Internet and with the establishment of some larger subjects (with numerous concessions) in various areas, which has not been left without any impact on its current shape and form. Contemporary Norwegian local radio consists to a huge extent of the entertainment and partially of the news, which we can obtain both from the radio transmission and from the Internet, because the part of the local broadcasting radio stations (especially those included in the media houses) is already present in the Internet.

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The Ways of Participation The Volunteers in the Community Radio Stations of Grenoble (France)

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Abstract:

The French community radio stations have for main mission to create and to maintain social links as well as to serve as means of expression for various sensibilities (cultural, community) which are not still represented by the leading broadcasting media.

These non-profit radio stations, having limited resources, work thanks to the contribution of numerous volunteers. This contribution turns out precious also, and maybe especially, beyond the economic interest which it presents for the concerned structures.

Indeed, the first results of our study led within the community radio stations from Grenoble show that if the promise of the broadcasting communication' democratization, at the root of the creation of this type of radios, was not really kept, the voluntary commitment, which can be grasped from the point of view of the anthropological problem of gift, contributes to the creation and/or the preservation of the social links and makes sense with regard to civic participation.

Finally, the examination of the volunteers career paths and of the "*manières de faire*" allowed to notice that it does not exist a clear dichotomy between these *pro-ams* and professionals, the only real difference were their status, the volunteers not being paid for their contribution.

Keywords: community radio stations, volunteers, Grenoble, France

" So, throughout the human evolution, there are two wisdoms. That we thus adopt as principle of our life what was always a principle and will always be it: go out of one, give, freely and necessarily; we do not risk making a mistake. A beautiful Maori proverb says it:

Ko Maru kai atu

Ko Maru kai mai

Ka ngohe ngohe.

« Give as well as take and all will be well. »

Marcel Mauss, Essai sur le don

Introduction

At the time of the internet, the researchers in information and communication sciences focus their attention only on "new" media, those carried by global electronic networks. Media called participatory, social networks, are supposed to create social links, to contribute to the individuals' emancipation of the various guardianships, to contribute to the democratization of society, etc.

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However, fascinated by new technological devices with their real or imaginary potentialities, they neglect, even they often forget, that certain existing media have, since a certain time already, the same role of facilitators of links and commitment. It is in particular the function of community radio stations. Real synergies' aggregators at the hyperlocal level, they do not seem to interest a lot different analysts and academics today.

Indeed, contrary to the media on the Internet, these radio stations, representing no significant economic stakes, not disrupting any economic model, living with limited resources, hamper nobody and, at the same time, they do not arouse enough interest in scientific laboratories. Made by enthusiasts often volunteers, they are hardly taken seriously as the media landscape's agents, even if, thanks to the internet, the practices called amateur are put back with current tastes (Flichy, 2010).

It is advisable to remind the French community radio stations' specificities because, seen their number² and their variety, they form a unique system in Europe. French community radios are the direct heirs of the independent radio stations' movement of the end of the 70s fighting for freedom and variety of expression within broadcast media. This movement largely contributed to end the French State's monopoly on-broadcasting when the socialists came to power in 1981.

This type of radios belongs to the category A defined by the CSA (Conseil Supérieur de l'Audiovisuel - French broadcasting authority).³ If their commercial resources do not exceed 20% of their turnover, they are eligible for the FSER (Fonds de soutien à l'expression radiophonique), a special public fund that goes to non-profit community radios (for installation, functioning, equipment).

The main function of these non-profit radio stations consists in creating and maintaining social links and providing a mean of expression for various communities who are still not represented by the big audiovisual commercial media or even by the public sector media. The social communication mission of these radio stations to be close to the population (communication sociale de proximité) is defined by law⁴. They have to broadcast at least four hours of locally produced programmes between 6 am and 10 pm. (Holubowicz, 2011)

The community radio stations, "[thanks to which] groups of people silent or deprived can re-appropriate the space of the public expression, a small part of this space" to resume the words of the French philosopher and historian Michel de Certeau (de Certeau, Giard, 1983: 16) constitute a space of expression par excellence to the people representing various sensibilities and border situations, because "situated between two ages, between different styles of behaviour, between two cultures" (Ibidem).

But contrary to the commercial media, the community radio stations put in contribution the non-professionals not only to make them testify, because the participation of these non-professionals is at the root of the functioning of these radio stations. Indeed, having limited resources, they could not survive without the contribution of numerous volunteers. However, this contribution has a sense beyond the economic interest which it presents for the concerned structures as far as it also embodies civic participation.

Research questions, methodology

Consequently, we wanted to know a little more about those who run French community radio stations. The main questions that we arose on their subject are the following ones:

- Who are they? (Their sociological profile)
- Why did they decide to make a commitment in an associative radio? (Their motivations.)

² At the end of 2010, the sector of the associative radios counted in France 575 operators (that is 66 % of all the radio operators) who shared 1047 available frequencies (that is 22 %). (Source: CSA (French Broadcasting Authority))

³ Four remaining categories are: the category B, including the commercial independent local radio stations that participate in the animation of their economic zone and contribute to the social expression at the local level, the category C which groups together the local or regional stations affiliated or subscribed to thematic networks with national vocation, the category D, that of thematic networks with national vocation and the category E grouping together the non-specialized radios with national vocation.

⁴ Cf. Art N 29 of the Law n°2000-719 of August 1st, 2000 modifying the law N 86-1067 of September 30th, 1986 relative to the freedom of communication.

- What symbolic profits do they make thanks to their voluntary commitment in a radio?

The study led within the community radio stations of the city of Grenoble (France) in July and September-October, 2011 allowed us to formulate the first answers to these questions.

This study was essentially realized via a questionnaire with open-ended questions sent to the concerned radio stations' volunteers and the people in charge of these radios and completed with some individual interviews. Regrettably, in spite of relaunchings, we received few answers and only from 3 among 7 contacted radios: the Christian radio *RCF*, the student radio *Radio Campus* and the *Radio Grésivaudan*, with the anti-globalization sensibility followed up our request.

However, the coherence of the obtained answers allows us to formulate the first hypotheses about the voluntary participation's modalities and objectives within the community radio stations.

The issue of the voluntary work can join wider issues, namely:

1. The issue of audiovisual communication's democratization
2. The anthropological issue of gift
3. The issue of social link
4. The issue of professionalization
5. The issue of civic engagement

Before seeing how these issues articulate with that of the voluntary work, we are going to make a brief presentation of the voluntary workers' sector in France.

Voluntary condition

Voluntary work: definition, inventory of fixtures in France

The volunteers are everywhere: they create and run associations, they work in the interest of various causes, they constitute the majority of political parties' troops, they are present in a whole variety of domains, among which that of the media, and in particular, that of the community radio stations.

By volunteer, we understand a person who agrees to perceive no remuneration for his/her work. While knowing that, in a wider conception of the term, we can include in this category also people who are punctually paid.

"The symbolic content that conveys this vocabulary is often attractive, when the word is associate with the dedication, has the availability, in the concern(marigold) of others, but it can be also repulsive when it evokes the bosses' wives of long ago, the inclination in the paternalism and the moralism or simply the amateurism." (Prouteau and Wolff, 2004: 8)

In our study, we considered as volunteers people who declare themselves as such.

According to the study about the voluntary work' situation in France led by France Bénévolat (2010), 18 300 000 people, that is 36% of population of more than 15 years old, admit a voluntary commitment. The majority of these people (11 300 000 that is to say 22,6% of people) give some of their time within the framework of an association.

One can also make a commitment in another type of organization (4 500 000 people) or directly with other people (7 400 000), these various types of commitments being able to overlap. Among the associative volunteers, 80% declare themselves committed in a regular way all year round, and among them, the most important percentage (37%) is constituted by people who give a few hours every week. Among the committed, almost half (the 41%) are in more than one association.

To make a commitment as a volunteer in a community radio station

The volunteers' profile: intelligentsia overrepresented

So far, we collected the testimonies of 19 people collaborating on three mentioned community radios from Grenoble, among which 14 "low-ranking" volunteers, 2 editors in chief, 1 radio manager, 1 salaried technician and 1 associative structure's president. There are 11 men and 8 women. The youngest of the participants is 21 years old and the oldest - 77.

The average age of the participants (without counting 3 radio managers, to which a specific questionnaire, concerning the specificities of the radio functioning with volunteers, was administered) is situated around 47 years. On average, these volunteers dedicate a few hours a week to the collaboration on their radio, collaboration which amounts mostly to the preparation (only or in team) of a programme on the theme of preference of the participant (cinema, science, art, religion). It can involve a column, but also an interview, a debate.

Eric Labaj's, *Radio Grésivaudan's* editor in chief, confirms these data⁵ saying that for more than 80% of about forty volunteers of its radio, the collaboration amounts to the preparation of a programme, preparation that occupies them from 1 to 4 hours a week.

Rare are therefore the volunteers who are more involved in the radio management (administration board, music commission, technical questions' management, participation to the organization and the management of events of various natures such as concerts, celebrations, exhibitions). And when a volunteer evolves in his functions within the radio, he or she begins generally as simple presenter before participating in one or many projects or in music's commission and finally in the administration board.

On *Radio Grésivaudan*, the voluntary collaboration is also characterized by an important loyalty. Indeed, among the volunteers of this radio, some are present continuously since its creation in 1981. Others sometimes return after long periods of absence. Otherwise, globally, the average duration of a programme presented by a volunteer of this local radio station is between 5 and 10 years. The volunteers who just collaborate for a few months or one year are hardly a few, as tells us Mr Labaj.

The volunteers' profile changes naturally from a radio to another. For example, a typical *Radio Campus*, student radio of Grenoble volunteer is, according to Alexandre Hadade, in charge of the editorial staff, a young person between 20 and 24 years, undergraduate in sciences or politics who more and more often makes a commitment to test the world of the media and/or the music. This profile conditions also the average collaboration's duration that would be of 9 months on average, what corresponds to an academic year.⁶

However, the particulars collected about the volunteers of 3 community radio station of Grenoble who participated in our study show, contrary to what one could expect, that there is no perfect correspondence between the radio format and the people who intervene there. In the *Radio Campus*, there are not only students but also working people, while in the *RCF*, a Christian radio launched and financed partially by the Roman Catholic Church, today member of a national network, it is not necessary to be Christian having a practice to intervene regularly on the radio. The image of a Christian radio's participant a - churchy person thus takes a nasty blow. Indeed, this radio station which proposes, certainly, religious broadcasts, is besides that very open to the world and its problems. People in charge of it tell us to fix its editorial line in all the independence with regard to the Catholic Church and its co-workers underline the editorial staff's open-mindedness and sense of welcome.

As for the volunteers studied' sociocultural profile, it is highly similar from a person to the other one. Indeed, in their overwhelming majority, they are under- or graduated and have intellectual occupations (students, teachers, artists, executives...). This is the case even in the *Radio Grésivaudan*, declared sympathizer of the anti-globalization movement.

Nothing to do thus with the workers' protest radio stations of the period of "*radio libres*", first independent radio stations in France, such *Lorraine cœur d'acier* (Lorraine heart of steel), radio launched in March, 1979 to relieve the popular mobilization against the dismantling of the steel-making sector from the east of France, or

⁵ Interview realized by e-mail on July 18th, 2011.

⁶ Interview realized by e-mail on July 27th, 2011

radios of Latin America which gave the floor to the discriminated populations from the 60s of the last century to serve as relay in social struggles (Cardon and Granjon, 2010).

The over-representation of the participants with a strong cultural capital seems to be the main rule in the community radio station today in France. It can be interpreted as a failure for a media which had to put the means of audiovisual communication within the reach of everybody, as a not held promise. A relative failure, however, in the measure that these radios and associations that are at the root of it, even led by the intelligentsia's representatives, also address culturally deprived populations and make a "ground work" of quality.

In this perspective, these radio stations constitute an excellent tool of intervention in the hands of the members of the intelligentsia committed in a social work to the advantage of less favoured classes, even if the ethos of commitment in favour of lower classes, so meaningful in the cultural history of the Central Europe's countries (Holubowicz, 2004) seems not to have an equivalent articulation in the Western Europe's countries, also in France.

Voluntary commitment: between self-sacrifice and personal interest

As we have just indicated it, the issue of voluntary work can join the anthropological issue of gift, understood as the sum of not trade services (Weber, 2010). Because it is clear that voluntary work works at first as a gift, as underlines it Alain Caillé. This French sociologist, in the trail of the ethnologist Marcel Mauss, recognizes the major role of giving, receiving and reciprocating in the society by lauding the introduction of an antiutilitarian paradigm in social sciences, of a "third paradigm", as he calls it. This paradigm is going to complete both paradigms still dominant: individualist-utilitarian paradigm and holistic paradigm (Caillé, 2007: 123).

Indeed, he says, individuals do not act only by interest nor by obligation, but, "in the social action [] there is also some obligation, some spontaneity, some friendship and the solidarity, in brief some gift" (*Ibidem*: 16).

This gift is at the root of any alliance, any association, in brief, of any social link. It is thus essential to take it into account it in the study of social actions.

From the sociological point of view, the gift, according to this author, would be "any good's and services' service made without guarantee of return in mind to create, to maintain or to regenerate social link. [Thus], in the gift's relationship, link is worth more than property" (*Ibidem*: 124).

At the same time, gift has nothing disinterested, but it is situated outside instrumental interests by aiming at what we can call link's interests, those of alliance, friendship, solidarity ... Gift works according to the principle which mixes strictly freedom and obligation for the realization of public interests (*Ibidem*: 131).

The first results of our study show that the voluntary participants' motivations can be summarized by a certain number of keywords. These keywords return regularly in the testimonies collected.

In several cases, people speak about their *passion*. Passion for the field where they are specialised: painting, cinema, science, but also for radio as a medium.

" I like this medium, I listen to it a lot, I wanted to try and to broadcast the kind of music that was very bad known at the time. " (*Radio Campus 1*)

" A passion for the listening of the radio in my everyday life. " (*RCF 6*)

...a passion that radio allows to share with the others.

" Share my passion for science. " (*RCF 9*)

To participate is another term which often returns in the testimonies collected. (To participate in social life, in broadcasting programmes).

But also the expression *to do a service* (" to the friends " – *RCF 7*, " to a Christian radio " – *RCF 1*)

Some people consider even their engagement as a *mission*.

"To accomplish the mission that my bishop entrusted me as I am a deacon." (RCF 7)

This participation allows *to meet new people* and to form new *relationships*.

And one can do it with an important *freedom* ("*Possibility of initiative*."- RCF 5; "*freedom of expression*" – RCF 3)

Even if this freedom is accompanied by *constraints* due to the imperatives of the structure in which people are inserted.

"Necessity of following news for my programme of Monday morning." (RCF 7)

Finally, all the questioned people announce multiple gratifications obtained thanks to the various elements of collaboration on the radio. The gratification's expressions, expressed by the terms such as *enjoyment, pleasure, pleasant, enriching*, are present in the majority of the collected testimonies.

These results thus confirm the thesis that, in the context of voluntary participation, the gift (of time, of skills, sharing of one's passion), that is made freely but implying the respect for certain number of constraints – even if it does not involves an immediate "return on investment", always ends in symbolic earnings satisfactory enough so that the givers continue to give. What confirms Marcel Mauss's thesis formulated at the beginning of the last century saying that the human dimension exceeds that of "*homo oeconomicus* »" and of "*frosty utilitarian calculation*" (Mauss, 2010: 238).

Community radio generating social links

The associative phenomenon also implies the nearby problem of social link. Indeed, the association's membership allows making bonds of elective participation, created beyond the family socialization and which define themselves by their unforced character (Paugam, 2011). What are the forms and the specificities of the links which we can form by being voluntary within an associative radio?

According to the first results of this study, the search for sociability's place does not seem to be a dominating criterion in the voluntary commitment in a community radio station. Indeed, the most popular objectives of this commitment are to share a passion (for the cinema, the art, the science, a kind of music) with a wider public either to work on the radio. So that often, the volunteers of a radio admit not to know the other contributors, even less that these contributors are many in a given structure and that a turn-over is relatively important, like in a student radio such as *Radio Campus*.

However, as we have already mentioned above, it is the relational bonuses which are generally emphasized by our interlocutors when they speak about symbolic gains that they remove from their voluntary contribution to a community radio. They speak about fascinating relationships (RCF 8), about human and relational wealth (RCF 2), they state a pleasure inherent to the new relationships (*Radio Campus* 1), those within the editorial team, but also the others, with the guests and the public, relationships which are easier and more frequent for a journalist or radio presenter, even if he or she is volunteer.

It would thus seem, finally, that this link's pleasure, which could be summarized in relationships, testimonies, communication and sharing, has the edge, for these volunteers, on the pleasure of the air, even if the satisfaction of hearing oneself on the radio is not the slightest. These results thus confirm the importance of the relational dimension of voluntary work that has been already emphasised by some previous studies (Prouteau and Wolff, 2004: 27).

Volunteers and professionalization

Volunteers' commitment in the local radio structures allows also to raise questions relative to the professionalization.

The common sense usually assimilates a volunteer to an amateur, someone who, according to a basic definition "*exercises an activity in a careless or fanciful way*" (Le Petit Robert, 1993). While a finer observation shows that professionals in various fields, (who can be defined as people possessing skills attested by competent authorities in such or the other field), make a commitment in voluntary activities.

Members of the medical professions: doctors, nurses who exercise their activity for various humanitarian organizations without being paid are certainly the most known example. But also in other professional fields, more and more often volunteers possessing very precise skills are in great demand.

As for amateurs, they are traditionally compared with professionals (Cf. definition quoted above). Thanks to the internet, they won in visibility. The new tools of self-publishing allow them to let know their skills developed outside the professional frame and to use it, especially since these new tools make them autonomous and independent from various sorts of "watchdogs". Patrice Flichy, a French specialist of new technologies of information and communication, calls this phenomenon *democratization of skills*. To name this kind of amateurs, Flichy employs the term *pro-am*, professional-amateur, that he borrows from Charles Leadbeather and Paul Miller.

The volunteer who develops, within the framework of his activity, specific skills to such or the other profession, often presents the same characteristics of such a pro-am.

The internet allowed, certainly, numerous amateurs to become visible, but did not create them, far from that. We can probably advance, without too much risk of making a mistake, that the amateurs, who showed their skills in a such or the other field, without being paid for their activity practiced as a leisure, always existed, even if the distinction between the amateur and the professional begins to wide from the industrialization's and professionalization's movement during the second half of the 19th century (Flichy, 2010: 14).

The rise of amateur practices is, according to Flichy, part of the contemporary individualism's movement as far as it reflects the individual will "to construct his identity, to favour his self-fulfilment, to develop personal activities, to act for his pleasure" (Flichy, 2010: 87).

The competition of the non-professionals, rising in force and sometimes unfair, frightened quite a lot of experts of all kinds, until now only justified to spread their knowledge within the wide public. But Flichy is of those who warn against the radical opposition of these two categories: that of amateurs and that of experts by saying that "*no more than the "new digital economy" killed the old economy, amateurs are going to chase away experts*" (Flichy, 2010 : 7-9).

In the common spirit, community radio stations, mainly led by volunteers, are thus made by non-professionals. In reality, the issue is more complicated. As show the first results of my study, the volunteers who collaborate on the associative radios are far from amateurs in the first meaning of the term, it is to be said, let us remind it, those who "exercise an activity in a careless or fanciful way".

Certainly, they did not acquire their professional knowledge on the school bench; their knowledge is not testified by a specific diploma. However, thanks to an auto learning, to a regular practice more at least supervised by professionals that allows however an accumulation of experience, the amateurs acquired "*arts de faire*", to resume the notion that the French scholar Michel de Certeau proposed to describe practices of everyday life. These "*arts de faire*" allow them to move in the semi-professional space of their community radio station with enough ease.

The position that they occupy there and their personal progress towards the progressive control of the professional *tours de main* place them in the space of the "*entre-deux*", intervening period between the world of the amateurs and that of the professionals. "[They] are held halfway between the common person and the professional, between the layman and the virtuoso, the ignoramus and the scholar, the citizen and the politician", says Patrice Flichy about these *pro-am* to whom the internet lends credibility (Flichy, on 2010; 11).

And with these characteristics, they are less taken away from certain professionals as it appears. It is in particular the case in the field of media and journalism where, as demonstrated Denis Ruellan (1993), the professionalization was never really accomplished.

The results of the present study show also that the border between volunteer's status (thus presumed amateur) and that of professional is very unstable.

Indeed, the study of the volunteers' "careers" within the contacted community radio stations and their relation to the professionalization, allow to establish the existence of three different situations.

Thus, in the first place, and without surprise, there are *pro-ams* in the sense of the term explained above, that are those who, coming from other occupations, always exercised their radio activity in voluntary mode. It is often the matter of retired people who try to stay active, to be fulfilled and to put a lot into the service to the others by means of the associative commitment.

Sometimes, a voluntary radio activity constitutes a kind of continuation of their professional activity. So, a retired scientist participates in the creation of a scientific programme and a retired journalist woman copresents a programme on the local history.

Those who are always in service, the implication in the running of a community radio station allows to recognize their other skills, not necessarily exploited in their paid employment. Such a recognition is all the most considerable as jobs connected to the media are always strongly valued in France.

*"I began because a friend, a professional journalist of this radio said to me that I had an attractive voice, that I was quick at repartee, so he encouraged me to put on my programme", said one of participant to our study.*⁷

But there are also those, probably more numerous than we can imagine, for whom the voluntary radio activity is a way to integrate the field of media professionals. We can call them *am-pros* or future professionals.

Among those, without surprise, we find young people, for whom the voluntary activity within a community radio station allows to test themselves as journalists, technicians or presenters, to start out and to make their first contacts in a professional environment that they wish to integrate, or, why not, to be hired by an associative structure of which they are a member.

We meet these candidates journalists especially within *Radio Campus*, student radio par excellence settled on the university campus of Grenoble, but they are present also in two other studied structures, *RCF* and *Radio Grésivaudan* which also accomplish the mission of media school, the first one for the students of the local school of journalism, the second essentially for the high school students.

Finally, there is also a third kind of situation, certainly rarer, when he or she becomes voluntary in a structure having been salaried there (thus professional). In our study, it is in particular the case of the programme manager who, once retired, joined her community radio after having spent about twenty years there as wage earner.

Due to several aspects, the contribution of these volunteers is comparable to the professionals' contribution. The relation that these two categories maintain with the activity which they exercise is the main thing that differentiates them. Consequently, the absence of compulsory, major constraints that must be undergone seems to be one of the major advantages of the activity exercised voluntarily.

*"I could not work on the "order". Furthermore I make this voluntary work for pleasure, in case of "big frustrating constraints "I think that I shall stop", says one participant and this type of testimony is not isolated in the answers collected.*⁸

This volunteers' freedom in front of possible constraints seems to be moreover one of main difficulties with which are confronted the managers of the radios running above all thanks to the willingness of some enthusiasts.

⁷ RCF 8.

⁸ Ibidem.

Is voluntary participation citizen participation?

The voluntary work is a shape of collective commitment. Can we speak for all that about a civic engagement? Yes, if we follow Peter Dahlgren (2009), for whom the civic engagement is often defined as a shape of voluntary activity which aims at resolving the problems that arise in a community and to help the others. It is also the Alain Caillé's opinion.

"Gift's paradigm is also politics' paradigm. Gift is the shape taken by politics in the small society", says Caillé for whom there is a privileged link between association and democracy. "Because the fate of democracy, he pursues, is decided not only at the level [] of the established politics, at the level of what we could call secondary public spaces. It is also decided, and maybe at first, within these primary public spaces established by associations "(Caillé, 2007:128, 134).

But political disengagement and increasing individualization did not either save associations, these basic spaces where civic engagement can show itself and be applied. Although the number of associations keeps increasing these last years, the link which attaches the members to the associative structures seems to slacken more and more by announcing a time of the "zapper" activist changing his membership according to his present personal interests, according to the consumerist mode, as explains it Jean-Luc Charlot.

"The common good represented by association (as space of solidarity and sociability), does not seem to be any more able to establish prolonged attachments, long-lasting memberships. Because there also, we could say, the trajectories of personal life cross the thickness of multiple associations to remove what from it each considers beneficial for him: the manners that we make associations seem then more and more consumerist, changeable and multiple" (Charlot, 2006, 100-101).

The voluntary commitment in a community radio station constitutes also a shape of commitment in the common interest, so primary it is, and consequently, it takes part of issues expressed above.

Even if in the confessional and student radio stations the civic debate can present a rudimentary shape, it exists well and truly in small societal public spaces (Miège, 2010) incarnated by the radios in question. It is moreover enough to consult the program schedule of these radio stations to realize that they schedule programs concerning questions of collective interest.

Certainly, the volunteers of the local radio stations whom we were able to question until now never evoke the civic function of their commitment. The odds are however that this civic demand, implied in the activity of the volunteers working for associations with cultural objectives as community radio stations are, would appear probably in broad daylight in the testimonies of the more militant radios' co-workers. What remains however to demonstrate.

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Influences of Political Economy on international Radio broadcasting : the case of Radio E.

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Abstract:

The European Commission has both an economic and political influence on international radio broadcasters. In 1993, the European Commission, with directions DG IX and DG X, proposed to European international radio broadcasters to create a European station on a digital platform, with DAB technology¹. The European program Eureka 147 promoted "European Digital Radio" (EDR), which gave birth to "Radio E". The BBC World Service, Deutsche Welle Radio, Radio France Internationale and Radio Netherlands Worldwide decided to join the project. The first setback was the technology itself: Digital Audio Broadcasting did not suit international broadcasting. Secondly, cooperation between broadcasters was difficult. Radio E, which came from an economical and political impulse within the EC, did not completely succeed in promoting communication about Europe.

Keywords: European Union, digitization, international broadcasters, radio E

Introduction

No economic phenomenon exists by itself. The economy conforms to legal norms or eventually, bypasses them. It can even take advantage of a deficit legislation. At the same time, in each country, economic direction is defined by ideology. In a global world, political economy implies many forms of governance: not only by the countries, but also from international trusts and moreover from the financial system. We want here to analyse the case of Radio E, an European broadcasting project which involved the international broadcasters of Europe, RFI, DW Radio, BBC World Service and Radio Vlanderen International in a European Commission project. For the broadcasters, the financial opportunities presented by the project are linked to the acceptance of dealing with Europe and broadcasting with DAB technology (Kleinsteuber, 2002).

Indeed, at the beginning of the 1990's, European Commission tried to promote DAB as a technological and economic challenge, through the program Eureka 147. The second motivation of the EC was to enhance and improve communication about its actions: «The success of European integration depends essentially on the way Europeans perceive Europe. Until now, few serious attempts have been launched to give European citizens suitable information. When events happen in foreign countries they are more often shown from a national point of view».

On one hand, radio is considered as the most efficient mass media. On the other hand, international broadcasters, because they are familiar with multi-national points of view, could be the ideal «European media».

¹« It was related to DAB's launching. » Joachim Lenz, Programming Director. DW, 10/08/04.

Economic and political influences on radio technology

In the first part, I want to present how economy and politics are connected to each other, since they are interdependent, on a national level as well as on an international level. I also propose a description of the way radio broadcasting is involved in political economy.

Why must political and economic context be taken into account ?

Media sciences consider the institutional aspects of media systems, with particular attention to the relationships between industries, consumers, advertisers, and the state. There has always been a strong link between industry and political power. For example, Emperor Meiji opened up Japan to the western technology at the end of the 19th century, and in 1860, Napoleon III signed a free trade treaty with Great Britain.

On one hand, industry plays an important part in national economy. On the other hand, states prefer not to let industry follow its own evolution.

Industry can be defined as an activity which transforms raw materials in factories. But it means also: conception, research, control and organization tasks. From the industrial evolution depends productivity increase, consumption increase and modification of way of life. Industry has the multiple role to create products, offer employment, generate incomes and it is also an interface with the rest of the world.

That is why politics guide firms to particular productions, propose installation of factories in particular places inside or outside of the state, win new markets and influence consumers. Industrial activity clearly serves political objectives.

Radio and political governance

In France, the first experiments of radio happened in 1898, from the Eiffel Tower. But until 1921, radio frequencies were dedicated to navy and army (Chupin, 2009: 50). Patrice Flichy writes about cultural industries: "Radio and television are characterized by short life products, a discontinuous programming, a wide broadcasting and a strong dependence to politics" (1991: 55).

Apart from radio contents, technological aspects of radio broadcasting belong to industrial system. Radio has always been used by the political power. Indeed radio listening does not require specific knowledge, that is why radio has always been viewed as a popular media. Easier to access than press, and even more popular than TV, which is also much less mobile. The authorities care about this technical product, in order to use it for their own communication and, in order to control it in a democratic way.

But there is also an economic reason for the political power to care about such a fantastic media as radio. To help radio to develop in a country, the government has to get involved, in particular about the issue of manufacturing and distribution of radio sets. People can more massively buy radio sets if the government enforces the broadcasting industry and contribute to make radio sets cheaper.

Governments have to make their stances on issues such as regulation and norms, particularly in order to maintain the monopoly on the national radio – if desired -, and in order to avoid interference. In the United States, Federal Radio Commission coordinated the attributions of broadcasting licences since 1927. Political interventions differ from one state to another. For example, since 1920's the United States use medium waves – which are suitable for big American cities. On the contrary, France chose at the same time long waves and short waves, because they allow to broadcast in all the national territory and outside the national territory.

In France, centralization chose together political and economic: "As SFR (Société Française Electrique) launched the first private radio station in France in 1922, it used long waves in order to sell French radio sets in the local market, which were necessarily different than the American ones. It aimed naturally at competing American firms". Moreover, the Allies would have voluntarily maintained the medium wave in German broadcasting after World War II, so as to prevent Germany from becoming centralized and strong (Flichy, 1991: 67).

Actually Patrice Flichy suggests that broadcasting must be seen as a real branch of the government, apart from the market economy, and through an ideological and political focus. Indeed, economic and political decisions about radio industry aim at creating a communication space, with specific norms.

We can remind that political power acts not only on public service stations, but influences also all type of broadcaster. One of the most important way to influence broadcasting consists in awarding funds (Toussaint-Desmoulins, 2004).

Some stations develop production and broadcast of programmes which have been ordered by administrations but grants programs can also concern radio technology and not only radio contents.

The era of globalization and digitization

The influence of political economy on broadcasting has to take account two parameters: first of all, the so-called globalization and then, in this global context, the digitalisation.

At European level many directives and regulation measures concern radio, such as Radio and Telecommunications Terminal Equipment Directive (1999/5/EC) and Radio Spectrum Decision 676/2002/EC, which both concern equipment. Some others concerns Networks and Services and other specific services.²

As we wrote above, public radio stations are often part of international structures. In Europe, the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) gather them since 1950. It is an outcome of International Broadcasting Union (IBU), founded in 1925, which aimed at distributing and controlling broadcasting zones. Indeed, short waves were then commonly used and they have the characteristic to broadcast beyond the borders.

Priorities of EBU evolved from its first task of technical standards' harmonization to live and simultaneous broadcasting of popular events, such as the crowning of Elizabeth II³, which was broadcasted at the same time in Belgian, Germany, France, Netherlands and United States. In 1959, sport programs are still the most numerous of these cooperating programs. Swaps are not strictly European, because EBU gathers not only the twenty-seven states of European Union but also Turkey, Libya, Syria, Israel, Jordanian, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. Moreover there are exchanges with others international broadcasting unions, such as Asia Pacific Broadcasting Union, North American Broadcaster's Association, Arab States Broadcasting Union. Of course, all states do not participate equally, even in the European circle strictly (Marchetti, 2004).

But the EBU still cares about technical issues, and today digitization is the main worry. Since the early 1990's, Digital Audio Broadcasting, then Digital Radio Mondiale and internet broadcasting are debated. "New technologies also causes confusion between paper, waves and screen" (Toussaing-Desmoulins, 2004: 119).

The case of Radio E

Description of the project

What? In 1993, the European Commission, via directions DG IX and DG X, offers to international radio broadcasters a project of European station on a digital support, with the DAB technology. At that time, the project was called "European Digital Radio". It consisted in creating an European radio station, whose programmes would be produced by several international radio broadcasters of Europe. A document of 1993 mentions the resulting project, "Radio E" and specifies: "Radio E should in the long term become a public European station. European by its programs and European by its broadcasting zone".⁴

How? It would have been possible thanks to "DAB development. (...) The system "Eureka 147" allows not only digital broadcasting, but it also offers to ear several programs from an single frequency".

² European Communication Office (ECO), Denmark and European Telecommunications Standards Institut (ETSI), France (April 2011). *The European regulatory environment for radio equipment and spectrum*. With support of the European Commission.

³ On February 6th of 1952, in London.

⁴ This document of four pages is entitled "R:E RADIO. E Programm für Europa. Program for Europe. Programme pour l'Europe", is prior to October 1994, cited as the beginning of the pilot.

The principle would have been an unique European broadcaster, with simultaneous programs in German, English, French and Italian. The project was really exciting and universalist in a way. It represented a real revolution, because language barriers were no longer an obstacle.

Why? In the nineties, radio technology, as far as the entire cultural production, was focused on digitalisation. Different norms appeared, and the governments wondered which one should be chosen. As frequencies are still controlled at a political level, the European Union also tried to introduce the expected norm. DAB for Europe, would be chosen to avoid the DAB for United States, probably to avoid an American hegemony in this field. The project of an European broadcaster, born from the cooperation of the main European international broadcasters serves European Union expectation about DAB European norm.

Who? Obviously, the broadcasters had to show interest and experience in broadcasting in many languages, in addition to their own national language. They should be public broadcasters, to facilitate the contact with European commission. RFI, the DW and the BBC played the main parts in this experience.

A brief experience

When I encountered the project Radio E in 2004, it was already slowly disappearing. The DAB experiment was done. And it did probably not succeed as expected. The Dutch station was not count any more among the partners. And the BBC World Service did not participate actively any more, as a producer.

How did it work at that time? Journalists from each broadcasting partner – BBC, DW and RFI – worked together on common programmes. There were three programmes, one for each language. In 2004, they were *Network Europe*, *Accents d'Europe* and *Europa, das Magazin so as Radio E*. Each broadcaster was responsible for the production of a radio program in its language. It was also no true any more for the BBC program *Network Europe* in 2004. The BBC kept a kind of cooperation with RFI and DWR in the context of Radio E, but did not keep the responsibility for the production of this program, that it stopped broadcasting. On the contrary, DWR and RFI did not only keep respectively the responsibility for *Europa das Magazin* and for *Accents d'Europe*, but also, together for *Network Europe*. Indeed, journalists we interviewed explained that they feared the project would become a French/German project, and not an European one any more.

Why did not the Radio E project succeed? If DAB can broadcast simultaneously many programmes on a same frequency, it did not prove any special benefit for international broadcasting. Another norm, called Digital Radio Mondiale, appeared some years later and seemed to be definitively more suitable to international broadcasting, because it suit to amplitude modulation, thus to short waves, so specific for worldwide radios.

Marie Kindler, journalist at DW Radio, said the renunciation of DAB was the first important halt in the project Radio E. She told us: "There was a first change when the unlucky DAB was given up".⁵ Clearly, the technical dimension of the project – DAB technology – was a setback. Professor Hans Jens Kleinsteuber expressed a severe appreciation of DAB, already in 1997. At first, the name DAB unfortunately reminds German people of the "Dortmunder Actien Brauerei" – "Dortmunder brewery" – which has the same initials, then DAB would be further incitement of the European Commission, "after HDTV, D2Mac, PAL Plus, and it does not correspond to any real need" (Kleinsteuber and Rosenbach, 1997).

In 2004, the programming director of DW underlines that there is still an antenna DAB in Berlin and he adds: «But it has nothing to do with Radio E. We also had one in Munich but we had to pay a lot for it, and we did not assume. The EU left the project in 1998 or 1999 and we had to pay everything, correspondents, technology, programming". So, the DAB project has been abandoned by those who decided it.

Yet, the setback of Radio E project itself is relative, since relationships have been created between international broadcasters of Europe, and cooperation's habits have been taken. Marie Kindler specified in 2004 the nature of the cooperation: "We send reports of about three to four minutes, and we broadcast sixteen minutes

5 2004.

thirty seconds.(...) If we had to make the whole program only by ourselves, without cooperation, there would be less sounds, less colours, and less live reports than we can have thanks to cooperation”.

About the question of setback, the programming director of DW Radio concludes: «There has been a huge expectation, the project at the beginning was a 24 hours programme, an authentic radio station in German, English and French, plus Dutch, but it has been impossible, because it was too expensive. It didn't succeed, but the idea itself worked, obviously”.⁶

Is it right to conclude a setback?

As Dominique Marchetti and Eric Darras researched on European media, they concluded, about the EBU broadcasting exchanges: “(...)EBU moved from an original programming to popular programs essentially based on news and sports, which are profitable and at the same time which is not confrontational” (2004: 61). The two researchers affirmed it had been impossible to analyse the Europeanisation of media, as they initially expected, because they simply didn't find such a kind of media or of information: local or international focuses dominate, and European focus does not seem to exist. The case of TV is also a good example: “The willing to make same trade for the whole European TV in order to protect them from extra-European programs and by the way, to help emerging European programs has been very difficult” (Toussaint-Desmoulins, 2004:74). Patrice Flichy underlines that pan-European TV channel Sky Channel failed because programmes are still very national oriented. He means that linguistic gaps constitute a major obstacle for the creation of an international station, but adds that national differences are wider (Flichy, 1991). Industrial, economical, and sometimes, ideological projects of synergy must confront this dimension.

For sure, the Radio E project, supported by the European Commission and allowed by the DAB technology, did not succeed in becoming a real broadcaster, made by Europeans for Europeans. But it brought some interesting results: DAB – which has probably been tested in another way and through national project for example – has been chosen between others norms, in Germany and in Great Britain. The public broadcaster BBC can be listened thanks to new DAB radio sets. Besides the technological aspects, the sustainability of cooperation between journalists from the DW and from RFI is a very positive result. Nevertheless, the English partners left the project quite soon, and the cooperation went on only between journalists from the DW and RFI.

Digitalisation of radio: What is the role of political governance?

Radio broadcasting belongs to mass media as well as to cultural industry. And as a cultural industry, it is clearly dependent at the same time on the political governance and on the market economy. Nadine Desmoulins-Toussaint writes: “Technology and its know-how need heavy investments which can be only assumed by big private trusts or by public institutions” (2004: 7).

In the case of radio, ambiguity emerges from the mix of merchandising dimension and socio cultural objectives.

Digital radio in Europe : A current panorama

EBU has got a technological section, which naturally deals with digital systems for radio. The technological section also works with the radio section. On the EBU website, the current situation of radio digitalisation is enunciated as follows: “In Europe two main families of digital systems can be identified as primary broadcast distribution platforms for radio: EBU TECHNICAL is currently focussing on DAB/DAB+/T-DMB and DRM/DRM+, but also follows activities related to Internet radio. The EBU contributes to the development, promotion and harmonization of Digital Radio. EBU TECHNICAL is active member of different consortium as the DRM Consortium”.

⁶ Joachim Lenz, Programming Director. DW, 10/08/04.

But also a union of private broadcasters cares with the digitization issue. European Radio Association (ERA), based in Brussels, represents eleven private and commercial stations established in nine states of the European Union and Switzerland. The General Direction "Information society" of the European Commission asked them for a reflection about "switch over" in radio broadcasting.

United Kingdom and Germany follow approximatively the same way, since public services have been very willing of the development of DAB. In United Kingdom, the responsibility moved from the Radio Authority to the Ofcom. It is not the case in Germany, where federal system gives much more influence to the Länder. DAB conforms to the same laws as radio in general. In France, legal system do not seem to be ready for digital radio.

United Kingdom started to attribute digital frequencies in 1994, the BBC highly contributed to develop DAB. In Germany, it happened a bit later, and it seems to be still problematic. At last, one of the French difficulty lies in the fact there are too numerous stations on the national territory. More than DAB can handle.

In conclusion, it has been a long time between the European program Eurêka 147 (Goupil, 2004) of 1986, and the launch of first radio sets on the market. So long, that it is difficult to validate this programme today, in 2011.

State of international broadcasting in Europe

Technological innovations are easily seen as crucial. In 1997, Fritz Groothues, strategy director for the BBC World Service, announced: "Short waves broadcasting is old-fashion" (Cheval, 2008) Jean-Jacques Cheval underlined with Bernard Wuillème that the oldest global media – I mean, international broadcasting –, is particularly innovative in the change from the "poste radiophonique" to the "post radiophonie" (Cheval, 2008). For international broadcasters internet radio corresponds to their main objective of global audience.

Since the advent of digitalisation, BBC and RFI knew drastic changes, as regard to their budget. Lots of journalists had to leave these stations, and the number of languages spoken by these radios decreased. International broadcasters yet suffer from this new globalization of broadcasting, that nowadays concerns all station, equally local, national, international.

Raphaëlle Ruppen Coutaz, specialist for the international broadcasting in Switzerland (SRI), analyses the decline of short waves at the digital era. In March 1999, SRI opened the website swissinfo.ch in around ten foreign languages. The digital platform offered not only radio informations but it also hosted TV productions of the SSR and many multimedia resources. The former director Nicolas Lombard says it is still radio, "but nowadays interactive radio must also offer text and image". Finally Jean-Marc Sandoz underlined in 2000: "Internet saved our radio. When it abandoned satellite to become a multimedia platform, SRI found a new legitimacy".⁷ SRI abandoned short waves in 2004. Maybe satellite technologies (WorldSpace) and digital technologies (Digital Radio Mondiale) are at last efficient, but it is too late, and moreover, too expensive.⁸ The period after the Cold War has been particularly difficult for international broadcasters, especially in Europe. Which legitimacy can be found, in a global world, where Europe is unified and not any more torn in two between capitalism and communism, URSS and United States? (Ruppen Coutaz, 2009).

There is no more legitimacy for this type of broadcast, and accordingly, no money.

Like RFI and the BBC World Service, it is considered than SRI costs too much for the State. Strategy is the same in all countries: to keep a unique staff for information – whereas big international broadcasting has got its proper staff – and to limit the languages spoken. As result, news on international broadcasters can be seen as a recycling of inland information, and the decrease of spoken languages is synonymous of a loss of prestige.

If international broadcasters mainly exist on the web, and barely on the air, it makes them again less legitimate, because all web radios are necessarily international. Nevertheless, radio is still the most important

⁷ *Le Matin*, 08.04.2000.

⁸ Interview of Meili Bernard (08.10.2009).

media in the world in terms of radio sets, and the most mobile media. Internet is now the global place, and contrary to short waves, it gives absolutely no specificity to international broadcasting.

In 2007 in his book dedicated to international broadcasters, Bernard Wuillème listed numerous international broadcasters that abandoned short waves since 1990, like the Netherlands, Denmark, Austria... and many others. And future of international broadcasting seems to get always darker. As if, at an era of globalization and digitization combined, it would become a marginal media, and maybe, it would die.

New framework of European Union to make radio broadcasters deal with Europe: Euranet

The European Union carries on with special funds for radio broadcasting, in order to "get talked about." The "no" in the referendums of 2005 in the Netherlands and France about the European constitution, worried a lot the European Union, which also took in consideration its bad scores in the pool of Eurobarometer⁹. These disturbing results allow to think that the European Union was not very well known and not well accepted by the people of Europe. Early in 2006, the European Commission published a "white paper on a communication policy of the EC". This report encouraged new communication plans.

"Euranet"¹⁰ was presented in February 2008 in Brussels by Margot Wallström, vice-president of the EC and Head of communication direction. Euranet is announced like a "pan-European mediatic consortium", financed by the EC with 5.8 millions Euros and for a five years period. It is not called "project", like Radio E was, but "consortium", which gives a more private and industrial aspect. The term of "pan-European", first used by Comte Kalergi, is barely used, and was absent from Radio E project. The wide integration of countries of the Eastern Europe is probably noticed by this way.¹¹ The term "pan-European" has probably been chosen instead of "European". It maybe proves a strategical change since the 2005 referendum. Moreover, the expression "transnational", chosen by the presentation of Euranet on its website, is used to define the tone of the programmes. It implies that journalists must go through their own borders. Finally, the adjective "pan-European" implies differences between European states and includes an ideological notion, but erases the political dimension.

Sixteen radio broadcasters of Europe, national or local, public or private, from thirteen states of the European Union¹² accepted the agreement of the European Commission on 2007. RFI and Deutsche Welle are among them, and seem to be particularly involved.¹³

Broadcasters are appealed to talk to the "European civil society", and not any more to the "European public space". The Euranet website broadcasts programs of the participating radio stations since April 2008. The thirty to sixty minutes programmes are also broadcast on the airwaves.

Conclusion

Two issues emerge from this case study: First, the dependence of international broadcasters on political governance, particularly in terms of subsidies relating to technical or content questions. As Nadine Toussaint-Desmoulines underlines, funds allocated to radio broadcasters are "short-time programs that exist as long as the donor gets money and that the media serves its interests or ideals" (2004: 32). Then, a potential depreciation in the amount of international broadcasting as they become online stations: "Radio is a specific media with proper characteristics and it is essential that it develops its own platform, without becoming a secondary service", warns the EBU.

9 http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_fr.htm

10 www.euranet.eu

11 Integration wave of 2004.

12 Deutsche Welle Radio, RTBF, Bulgarian National Radio, RFI Sofia, Punto Radio Castilla y León, Radio France Internationale, Skai Radio, Hungarian Radio, Radio Netherlands Wereldomroep, RFI Romania, Polskie Radio Szczecin S.À., Europa Lisboa, Czech Radio, Radio Romania International, Radio Slovenia International.

13 Erlends Calabuig from RFI and Petra Kohnen from the DW hold an important position in the consortium.

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Euranet: a Case Study of Pan-European Radio

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Abstract:

From its early beginnings as a single idea to its current status as an organisation of 27 member states, the European Union has suffered from the lack of a common cultural identity. This debility has greatly hindered the progress of European consolidation and convergence, which to the present day has been manifested mainly through economic and policy agreements. The European Union has achieved many goals during the last 25 years, including the implementation of a common currency that has led to a real economic union between member states and the transfer of various national competences to European institutions. However, the construction of a real European civil society has proved to be a greater challenge; Europeans still cling to their individual national, regional and local identities and have not developed a greater sense of European citizenship.

The Euranet Project—an initiative to create a pan-European radio network—began in December 2007 as a joint proposal put forth by 13 national and regional radio stations operating in 12 European countries. Its stated mission when it went on air on April 1, 2008 was to broadcast European news from a transnational perspective to local communities within the European Union. As an independent radio network comprised of member stations spread out across Europe that generates a steady stream of quality Eurocentric information, Euranet serves the EU as an alternative to an official, centralised institutional radio service managed and broadcast from Brussels.

Euranet makes a particularly interesting object of study from a researcher's point of view, as it offers a cross-sectional view of multidisciplinary issues that are central to both European convergence and communications studies. From the perspective of convergence, Euranet constitutes the first successful pan-European radio project to recognise and address the diversity of European member states. It has been specifically designed to adapt to different radio markets and deliver tailor-made messages to local audiences. From a communication perspective, it's an example of how the technology and inherent synergies of Internet can be exploited to promote listener interaction and improve the dissemination of content online. Euranet has embraced web-based technologies such as streaming and podcasting and uses its connection with university radio stations to focus on youth as a key target audience. Euranet also represents a significant shift in European Commission media policy; radio now functions as a key part of the Commission's communication strategy to forge social cohesion in Europe and foster a sense of pan-European citizenship.

Euranet currently offers radio programming in 15 languages through a network of 18 radio stations located in 16 EU member states. It annually broadcasts 110,000 minutes (approximately 2,000 hours) of contents devoted to topics related to the European Union. Individual stations have complete freedom to determine the content of their programming. Each station daily produces between 30 and 60 minutes of Eurocentric content that is distributed throughout a variety of news and entertainment programs devoted to sport, travel and European culture. At the present time, it serves an audience of nearly 15 million listeners.

This paper presents a critical evaluation of Euranet's first four years of operations and speculates on the future of the network beyond the expiration of the European Commission's current 6 million euro annual funding commitment in 2013. It also offers an evaluation of various aspects of Euranet's operations (programming, web strategy, web 2.0. tools) and the role it has played in the construction of a European identity.

Keywords: Euranet, Pan-European radio, broadcasting, European communication policies

The media and the construction of a European identity

Since its conception in the 1950s, the European Union has made great strides towards consolidating the economic and political affairs of its member nations. As an institution, it has created a common currency and has negotiated the transfer of numerous national competences from its 27 member states to centralised European institutions. Nevertheless, these achievements have not given rise to what could be considered to be a European civil society nor has it managed to consolidate a shared European identity. The numerous initiatives and policies launched by the European Commission and Parliament to create a shared sense of belonging to a pan-European culture have not achieved the same degree of success as its technical initiatives. This dichotomy between a burgeoning technical cooperation and a weak common identity can be attributed in part to the heterogeneity of the member states in terms of population, size and level of economic development. Studies show that Europeans continue to feel an overriding sense of national, regional and local identity. Manuel Castells defines European identity as:

A set of values capable of giving the majority of European citizens a sense of common identity and a feeling of belonging to a heterogeneous European culture represented by a system of government they consider legitimate and valuable (Castells, 2004: 16-18).

The current economic crisis has further hampered the process of forging a common identity, as it has threatened the foundations of Europe's economic and social stability. According to Habermas, the achievement of a true European identity is contingent upon the development of mutual feelings of solidarity, loyalty and confidence among member states (Habermas, 2004: 36).

Various studies carried out in Europe have shown that citizens of member states give the Europe Union high marks for the ease with which community members can now travel, study and work abroad. They also appreciate its defence of cultural diversity, and they like having a unified and more potent voice in world affairs (European Commission, 2010).

European cultural convergence and mutual understanding among its citizens cannot be brought about without a parallel convergence in education, linguistic policy, information technology and communications media (Castells, 2004: 20-22).

Conscious of the essential role that the communications media play in the creation of cultural identity, EU officials have promoted a number of communications policies and strategies designed to improve citizens' perceptions of the European project. These policies have been articulated through communication activities carried out across the board by governing institutions and political and social entities (López Gómez, 2007: 24-31).

The UE's communication policy and radio

The European Union's information and public communication policies have always been influenced by the processes of European consolidation and amplification. In the 1950s, negotiations between European states on matters of convergence were conducted with a lack of transparency that at times bordered on an outright concealment of information, as national leaders were fearful that a well-informed citizenry would resist major moves towards pan-European economic and political integration. The only institutional step taken during this period to provide public information was the founding of the Press and Information Directorate-General in the 1960s. This agency functioned as an European community press office serving accredited journalists covering the activities of the European Union's nascent institutions. There was a greater move towards transparency during the 1970s following the establishment of the European Council; for example, the EC actively sought broad coverage of the first direct elections of representatives to the European Parliament in 1979. At the end of the 1980s, under the presidency of Jacques Delors, a new Directorate of Information, Communication and Culture was created to

inform average European citizens about the European project. This new office issued two documents known as the De Clerq and Oostlander reports, which purported to spell out the EU's institutional strategy for public communication for the final years of the twentieth century. However, the model they proposed was vertical and unidirectional, designed to carry out a top-down, bureaucratic style of communication principally devoted to conveying the achievements of European institutions to the public—an erroneous approach that when implemented only served to dampen citizens' enthusiasm for European convergence and leave them further in the dark about the processes underway.

The 2001 *White Paper on European Governance*, which invoked the principles of proportionality and subsidiarity, brought about a turning point in the communication strategies of European institutions. The white paper clearly called upon leaders of member states to orient the rhetoric of their public communications on the subject of the European Union to the real necessities and interests of their citizens. This initiative to decentralise the flow of information gave communication policy an essential role in social dialogue.

The Commission made a commitment to promote communication at both national and local levels through established communication networks, civil society organisations and local authorities. The Prodi Commission vigorously promoted this strategy in a number of publically released documents. (Pérez, 2008: 87-89).

Despite these improvements in the EC's media and audiovisual strategies, radio had not yet been assigned a definitive role in EU communication policy as Europe entered the twenty-first century, (Lax, 2010: 80) although the EC did undertake two important programs designed to promote an integrated European audiovisual market: TV Without Frontiers and Media, both of which were focused on television, film and audiovisual production. Nevertheless, as recently as 2007, the Media project excluded radio on the basis of its strictly audiovisual mandate.

The European Commission had promoted a European-wide radio project in 1993 under the name of 'European Digital Radio' (also known as 'Radio-E'), which can in many ways be considered the predecessor of today's Euranet radio network. European Digital Radio was conceived as a mid-term public broadcasting scheme intended to catch the wave of the rapidly developing digital audio broadcasting technology referred to as DAB or Eureka 147. The network, which comprised Radio France International, Deutsche Welle, the BBC World Service and Radio Vlandern International, was to broadcast news and information about the European Union in German, English, French and Italian. All the partners of this group were public broadcasting corporations with proven experience in serving an international listener base. Dissatisfied with the shortcomings of DAB technology, the European Union finally cut off funding for this project in the late 1990s, and the initiative subsequently foundered for lack of high-level support. Although the BBC pulled out of the group, RFI and Deutsche Welle briefly continued to maintain a working relationship, an experience that would later prove useful when the two formed the core of the Euranet management team during its first phase of development between 2007 and 2009.

The failure of European Digital Radio left serious voids in both EU communication policy and media coverage of European events and issues. The marginal role that was subsequently given to radio in EC communication policy did not correspond to the levels of radio penetration throughout Europe. It is estimated that the total number of radio listeners in the European Union stands at about 200 million out of a total population base of 500 million. Furthermore, an analysis of data obtained through various Eurobarometer surveys carried out during 2010 shows that 58% of Europeans rank radio as the medium with the highest levels of credibility and user confidence, compared with 49% who cite television, 42% who place their trust mainly in newspapers with a national distribution and 37% who rank Internet as the most reliable source of information. The EU countries in which radio enjoys the highest levels of credibility are Finland, Denmark, Sweden and Estonia. The lowest levels of citizen confidence in radio as an information source are registered in Italy, Hungary and Greece. It should be noted in any case that the credibility of information provided by all traditional media has eroded over the last few years (European Commission, 2010: 126-127).

In terms of radio coverage of European affairs, 51% of European citizens believe that radio shows objectivity towards the EU, 11% judge its coverage to be too positive and 11% consider it too negative. Nevertheless, 46% are of the opinion that radio offers insufficient coverage focused on Europe, compared with 35% who believe it provides sufficient coverage and 4% who think its coverage is excessive. In general terms, 78% of people living in the 27 states that currently make up the European Union feel that they are not very well or not at all informed about the European Union, compared to only 18% who feel they are adequately or well informed on the same topic. European authorities have been rightfully concerned by statistics that show that although two-thirds of European citizens believe that the European Union plays an important role in their lives, the same proportion feel poorly informed about its functions and about Europe in general (European Commission, 2008: 144-161). Member of the European Parliament Luis Herrero-Tejedor brought this preoccupation to the floor of the European Parliament in a 2005 speech in which he noted:

“If people are to exercise an authentic citizenship, access to information about the EU is crucial. As beneficiaries of EU policy and active participants in a European democracy, citizens have the right to complete and impartial information clearly stated in their native languages and made available through easily accessible channels”.

In the same speech, Herrero-Tejedor emphasised the importance of making the best possible use of the communications media to ensure that information about the EU reached every European household through television, radio and Internet (European Parliament, 2005).

Real progress was made in developing an effective EU communication policy when Durao Barroso assumed the presidency of the European Commission in 2005 and Margot Wallström became the first vice-president and commissioner for Institutional Relations and Communication Strategy. As commissioner, Wallström gave this explanation of a new strategy introduced as Plan D:

We have put new emphasis on communication with citizens by listening to them as well as talking to them, honing our communications tools in order to better understand their opinions and facilitating a transparent space for consultation and debate in which the citizens can express themselves directly. We want to bring our message closer to the citizens and adapt it to their interests and preoccupations [...] We have modernised the instruments of communication in order to utilise more television, Internet and other new media eager to connect the wider audiences (Wallström, 2009: 68-69).

The strategy laid out in the European Commission’s groundbreaking Plan D (Democracy, Dialogue and Debate) called for a decentralised, bidirectional model of communication and feedback designed to promote mutual understanding among Europeans by reaching and engaging them at the local level with programming that expressed a transnational perspective (European Commission, 2005). The announcement of plan D was followed up by the Commission’s *White Paper on a European Policy for Communication*, which set out a strategy for transforming its unidirectional style of institutional communication into a stronger, two-way dialogue focused on citizens (European Commission, 2006). The white paper articulated the Commission’s goal of ensuring adequate coverage of European issues in the media and fostering public awareness and debate concerning pan-European issues throughout all member states. Accomplishing this goal would require the development of a stronger and more open relationship with the media, the implementation of new information technologies and the implication of social organisations, political parties and public administrations throughout the EU at all levels (European, national, regional and local).

Although the white paper provided only a broad outline of the Commission’s intent, subsequent publications, such as *Communicating Europe in Partnership* (European Commission, 2007), provided further information about its plans and priorities for communications in Europe, which included a pan-European multimedia network. According to the plan, the institutions within this network would be granted multi-year contracts to develop media content that focused on European issues and concerns. The European Commission and Parliament had intermittently co-financed a number of radio and television programmes, but from this

moment on, it made a clear commitment to back a broadcasting network that would produce Eurocentric programming on a regular basis. The participating broadcasting organisations would implement common strategies and formats but were to have editorial autonomy concerning the content they produced. Resources were allocated to strengthen the production capacity of Euronews and to establish three media networks: Euranet (radio), Paneuropean TV (television) and Presseurop (Internet).

This new policy marked the commission's definitive recognition of radio as an essential tool in the work of creating a European civic identity. The mission of the projected pan-European media consortium was to increase public interest and engagement in European affairs and provide wider coverage of European issues. Policy followed on the heels of strategy. In April 2008, the Commission released *Communicating Europe Through Audiovisual Media* (European Commission, 2008 b). This document opened with a statement that reiterated the determination to transform European communication expressed by the European Council in June 2007. As television and radio were the main sources of news and information for the majority of European citizens, they were given key roles in this landmark initiative. The communication strategy going forward positioned these two media as the pillars of pan-European communication, to be complemented by the emerging medium of Internet. The pan-European radio network was designed to create a multilingual 'European public sphere' in which citizens throughout the continent could access news and information presented from a transnational perspective and express regional viewpoints.

Communicating Europe Through Audiovisual Media laid out the mission and editorial policy for Euranet. It established that although the European Union would underwrite the cost of the initiative, it would respect the independence of all affiliated stations. Point 3.2.1 of this document established a 5.8 million euro annual budget allocation for the project and guaranteed funding for at least 5 years. In return for the Commission's support, the network was to produce and broadcast 4,221 hours of content 'by Europeans for Europeans'. The European Commission estimated that Euranet would reach between 12 and 19 million radio listeners and set its expectations for Euranet website traffic at between 60 and 80 million visits annually.

In reality, plans for Euranet were already underway several months before the project was made public. Although the name 'Euranet' did not appear in the annual work programme on grants and contracts in the field of communications released by the Commission for 2007, the document spoke of a 'EurRadio network' and included a budget item of 5.5 million Euros earmarked for the creation of a pan-European radio network under the category 'audiovisual productions and multimedia projects'. This funding steadily increased over the following years, rising to 5.8 million in 2008, steady at 6 million for the years 2009 and 2010 and shooting up again to 6.3 million in 2011 (annual work programmes for 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010 and 2011).

Euranet began with an idea for a European radio network proposed to the Commission in July 2007 by 16 broadcasters operating in 13 countries through Europe. The project was fast-tracked and the network went on the air in April 2008. The new network furthered the new EU communication strategy in a number of ways. Most importantly, it fulfilled its objective of providing news and information reported from a well-reasoned transnational perspective through national and regional channels. No plan for a centralised European radio broadcast system based in Brussels was ever considered.

On February 26, 2008, Commissioner Wallström presented the project as a medium- to long-term initiative backed by an EC financial commitment of at least 6 million Euros in annual funding guaranteed through 2012. The challenges ahead were to expand the network to include an affiliate station in each of the 27 member states and to broadcast in the EU's 23 official languages by 2013.

The configuration of the Euranet network

During the first phase of Euranet's development, Radio France International (France) and Deutsche Welle (Germany) provided management leadership for the network. The other 14 founding members were Polskie Radio

(Poland), RTBF (Belgium), Radio Nederland Wereldomroep (The Netherlands), Magyar Radio (Hungary), Bulgarian National Radio (Bulgaria), Punto Radio Castilla y León (Spain), Radio Praha (The Czech Republic), Radio Romania International (Rumania), Radio Slovenia International (Slovenia), Skai Radio (Greece), Polskie Radio Szczecin (Poland), RFI Romania (Rumania), RFI Sofia (Bulgaria), and Europa Lisboa (Portugal). The last three entered as affiliates of Radio France International. These 16 affiliates represented 13 EU member states and broadcast in a total of 10 different languages: German, English, French, Bulgarian, Spanish, Greek, Hungarian, Polish, Portuguese and Rumanian.

The network as initially constituted showed promise in spite of the absence of affiliates from key countries such as Italy and Great Britain. The network's founders sought to forge collaborations between different types of radio stations and broadcasting companies; Euranet was comprised of a heterogeneous group of public and private broadcasting enterprises that served a widely dispersed range of local, regional and international audiences. Although these differences enriched and broadened the network's vision of European radio, they also contributed to its organisational weaknesses. The absence of the majority of Europe's largest broadcasting corporations from its roster made it difficult for Euranet to reach a mass audience and its radius of operations was uneven—although the network had two radio stations in Poland, it lacked affiliates in Great Britain and Italy. However, regardless of their size and geographic distribution, the majority of its member organisations brought an essential competence to the groundbreaking enterprise: a proven track record in multilingual international broadcasting. The following is a brief introduction to the affiliates that made up Euranet's starting line-up in 2008.

- - RFI (Radio France International) is an intercontinental broadcasting service funded by the French government. It transmits programs in a range of languages, primarily via short wave and satellite, although it also maintains FM stations in some areas. In 2008, it served approximately 900,000 European listeners and an estimated 35.6 listeners worldwide.
- - Deutsche Welle is the official international broadcasting service of the Federal Republic of Germany. It broadcasts in 29 different languages. Deutsche Welle and RFI provided leadership for Euranet during its initial phase of operations.
- - Radio Nederland Wereldomroep (Netherlands Radio Worldwide) has a long and distinguished tradition of international broadcasting. It offers news, information and cultural content in 10 languages to listeners on almost every continent.
- - RTBF (Radio télévision belge de la communauté française) is a Belgian national broadcasting company serving the French-speaking regions of Wallonia and Brussels. Its general channel, La Première, was chosen out of the group of channels it operates to broadcast the bulk of its Euranet programming.
- - Euranet has two affiliates in Poland. Polskie Radio is the country's largest national broadcasting organisation. It maintains a wide network of stations throughout the country and operates six different channels that offer generalist, news and musical programming. It also operates an international channel, making it yet another Euranet partner with a tradition and experience in this key area. The other Euranet Polish affiliate is Polskie Radio Szczecin, situated in north-western Poland, which broadcasts regionally within Western Pomerania.
- - Magyar Rádió (The Hungarian Radio Corporation) offers a range of public radio programming aimed at a national audience. It ended a decades-long tradition of foreign language broadcasting in July 2007.
- - Radio Praga (Ceski Radio) is the official national radio service of the Czech Republic. With programming in six languages, it ranks among the European stations with the strongest traditions of foreign language broadcasts. Although it terminated its short wave transmission in January 2011, it maintains its former short wave audiences via Internet, satellite transmission and affiliate news services provided to stations in other countries such as Slovakia, Ukraine, Serbia, Croatia and Rumania.

- - Bulgarian National Radio, the public radio broadcast corporation of Bulgaria, maintains programming in 11 languages and administers 2 national channels (Horizonte y Hristo Botev) and 7 regional radio channels throughout the country.
- - Radio Romania International is another national public radio service. It broadcasts in 12 languages.
- - Radio Slovenia International is the state-run radio service of Slovenia. It broadcasts in Slovenian, English and German.
- - Skai Radio is a privately owned Greek radio station operated by the Skai Group, one of the country's largest media consortiums. Before becoming a member of Euranet, it had collaborated with other international programs and services such as BBC World, the Voice of America and Deutsche Welle.
- - Punto Radio Castilla y León is a privately held regional network associated with the Spanish channel Punto Radio.

Euranet's other initial partners included three affiliate stations of the Radio France International network: RFI Romania, RFI Sofia and Radio Lisboa Europa.

The Euranet network underwent various changes over the first five years of its existence, perhaps the most notable being the exit of affiliate members Deutsche Welle and Magyar Radio. We will provide an overview of the situation that led to their decision to leave the group further on, but it is worth noting here that the loss of two key members and the network's only direct link to German radio audiences constituted a great setback to the overall Euranet project. However, the network successfully recruited new members.

Radio Maelkebotten, a local not-for-profit Danish radio station based in Fredericia, joined Euranet in August 2009. It produces content in Danish and English for the network. The next new affiliate to sign on was Radio II Sole Ore, an Italian channel with a wide presence throughout Italy that joined in the spring of 2010. It offers several programs featuring Eurocentric content.

Latvijas Radio, Latvia's national multi-channel public broadcasting corporation, became an affiliate member in 2011. Two other media groups also joined the network in 2011: the Community Media Association, a network of community media organisations in Great Britain, and a German network formed through the sector professional organisation AMS-NET, which at the present moment includes radio Bielefeld, Radio Gütersloh, Radio Herford, Radio Hochstift, Radio Lippe, Radio WAF and Radio Westphalia.

Since September 2011 Euranet has been comprised of a total of 18 broadcast affiliates operating in 16 member states that provide steady programming in 15 languages. It has also strengthened its position in various European countries through collaborations to share its content with non-member associate stations and broadcasting networks such as Radio Aragón in Spain.

One of Euranet's most interesting projects has been the creation of the 'Euranet University Circle', a group of university radio stations that collaborates directly in the production and transmission of the network's programming. According to various studies, university students represent one of the demographic groups with the highest levels of interest in topics related to the European Union. Reaching out to this group has therefore been a key objective since Euranet's earliest beginnings. The University circle currently comprises 9 radio stations¹ on the campus of institutions of higher education in 6 member nations: Germany (Bonn campus 96.8, University of Bonn); Ireland (Trinity FM, Trinity College Dublin); Sweden (Radio Campus Örebro, Örebro University); Poland (Radio Kampus, Warsaw University); Romania (UBB Radio, Babeş-Bolyai University); and Spain (Radio Universidad, University of Salamanca; UNED Radio, the National University of Distance Education of Spain; the Autonomous University of Barcelona and the University of Vigo). The majority of these stations not only transmit Euranet programs, but also actively collaborate in content production. Their websites provide information about Euranet,

¹ Based on data provided by Adam Burakowski (University Circle Coordinator) during an e-mail interview conducted in July 2011. Information updated in September 2011.

and in 2011 the group played an important role in the creation of 'Connect Euranet: Connecting U and the EU', an ongoing online forum conceived to bring young Europeans together to exchange opinions and debate European issues. A new forum that offers European young people a chance to direct questions, ideas and comments to EU decision makers and institutions is launched each month. Past forums have addressed such topics as employment, youth mobility and climate change.

Euranet's Organisational Structure

Euranet was originally constituted as a consortium of independent network affiliates. It operated under this structure with representatives of Deutsche Welle and RFI occupying the highest positions of responsibility within the consortium during the first two years of its existence (from 2007 until May 2009). A change in the organisation's legal status, made public by the Warsaw Declaration of May 27, 2009, marked a radical departure from this initial model.

Eager to enhance the flexibility and viability of the group's decision-making processes, members of the network spent the months leading up to the Warsaw Declaration creating a new legal entity designed to replace the original Euranet consortium structure under the name of EEIG (European Economic Interest Grouping). The group formally announced this change in legal status and issued a 'pan-European declaration of cooperation and communication' at the Warsaw meeting. The decision implied a profound transformation of Euranet's organisational structure. Deutsche Welle and Magyar Radio left the group, citing a conflict between its new legal structure and their status as public entities. With the exit of Deutsche Welle, the group's leadership would no longer be divided between two major partners; going forward, RFI would assume this role alone. Two general directors, one responsible for the business and financial aspects of its operations (Erlands Calabuig), and another responsible for programme content (Petra Kohnen), would now make up the network's management team.

Further changes to Euranet's organisational structure were made at the annual meeting held in Greece in 2009. In order to improve operational efficiency, the group decided to delegate formerly shared management responsibilities to a single chief operating officer responsible for all of Euranet's operations. Erlands Calabuix of RFI, who at that time was serving as the organisation's general financial director, was chosen to fill this new position. According to the new arrangement, the CEO is responsible for the editorial, financial and administrative activities of the organisation. A general editorial director (COO for editorial content) is now responsible for the editorial teams. Current COO for editorial content Dominique D'Olne heads two divisions: web and social networks (headed by Florin Orban) and radio (headed by Jan Simmen). Financial responsibilities are divided among three positions: financial manager (Marlyse Balage), accounting manager (Sonia Marcellin) and internal consultant (Florent Chauviré). Two other positions cover administrative functions and assistance to the general director. The organisational structure also includes three language-based working groups and an editorial committee made up of the heads of the affiliates' own information services.

According to the most recent arrangement, the general directors of all affiliate Euranet stations and representatives of the European Commission charged with oversight of the project attend the annual board of directors meeting, during which they conduct a year-end review of activities and set the group's agenda for the coming year. The chairman of the board is a representative of RFI (currently Alain de Pouzilhac). Other board positions include five vice-chairmanships, three of which are permanent and are assigned to affiliate members: Punto Radio Castilla and Leon (represented by Florencio Carrera), RNW Radio Nederland (represented by Jan Hoek), and Polskie radio (represented by Pawel Majcher) and two which are held through rotation and change on an annual basis. The rotating chairmen for 2011 are Srečko Trglec (for RSI Radio Slovenia International) and Eugen Cojocariu (for RRI Radio Romania International). These six members and the network's CEO form the Euranet board of directors.

Programming and editorial principles

Euranet was conceived in 2005 in the wake of Plan D: Democracy, Dialogue and Debate and the *White Paper on a European Policy for Communication* to fulfil part of an new EU communication strategy that embraced all the major communications media across Europe.

It grew out of the dual needs to create a public sphere in which to construct a sense of pan-European citizenship and provide citizens throughout Europe with a decentralised, bi-directional media network that delivered transnational information about European issues and events. The European Commission sought to promote a model of communication that would incorporate an international network of audiovisual media rather than to establish an institutional media service under its own auspices. The strategy called for more than channelling news and information regarding the operations and activities of EU institutions and its representatives to the public; its overarching goal was to provide media programming that would give citizens a transnational perspective on European events and issues and a sense of the wide-ranging role that the EU framework played in the lives of all Europeans. Creating a transnational consciousness implied building international media networks whose affiliate members would broadcast Eurocentric content in a variety of local languages. These affiliate members had to be willing to follow a global media strategy yet have the capacity to generate their individual content autonomously. Radio was a perfect media for the task at hand and the Euranet project squared perfectly with the aspirations expressed in the new communication strategy.

All Euranet affiliates enjoy complete editorial freedom. The European Commission does not intervene in decisions concerning the contents they broadcast and all Euranet management decisions are made democratically with the participation of the general directors of member media organisations.

An editorial committee and five language-based working groups (English, German, French, Spanish and Polish) coordinate and focus programming. Punto Radio Castilla y León heads the Spanish language group, which collaborates with broadcasters in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Holland and France.

Euranet transmits 110,000 minutes (approximately 2,000 hours) of independently produced, Eurocentric programming each year. Each station devotes between 30 and 60 minutes of air time to European issues distributed throughout a wide variety of news and entertainment programmes, the latter of which cover European sports, travel and culture. According to data provided by the network for 2011, Euranet reaches an audience of nearly 15 million radio listeners.

In order to give the overall programming of participating stations a more Eurocentric tone, Euranet-produced content is distributed throughout their programming schedules rather than presented as a separate feature sponsored by the European Union. Each station adapts these contents to suit their style of broadcasting. The most interesting aspect of Euranet is its capacity to set up and administer international broadcast collaborations while respecting each partner's personal way of doing things and connecting with audiences. Point 1.1 of Euranet's charter clearly states its commitment to the independence and autonomy of its affiliates: 'Euranet is a network (ERP Consortium) of existing professional media organisations whose employees operate under the principles of their own editorial charters. These guarantee high general standards in all respects of quality and editorial integrity'. The network considers its programming to be a public service and asserts that:

The mission of Euranet is to transcend the too often national framework of European news coverage by adopting a genuinely pan-European approach—in all the 23 languages of the EU—covering the diverse political, economic, cultural and social events of the Union.

The power of the Euranet network, which currently has 18 regional, national or international radio stations and reaches nearly 15 million daily listeners in Europe, has brought into being a closer connection between Europe and its citizens.

Point 1.3 of its charter reiterates the autonomy of each partner over the news it broadcasts about Europe:

The partners and their employees will respect the following principle: The partners in the ERP and their employees will operate independently from any instruction, pressure or request from any EU institution (as

defined by the Treaties), any EU member state or any other state or institution in all matters concerning the content of its EU services.

Content production is approached from three complementary perspectives: coordination, cooperation and the articulation of a transnational perspective. Euranet's goal is to produce diverse, informative programming about issues of substance that is suitable for distribution to other partners in its network. To ensure that its programming reflects the diversity of the European scene, it divides its coverage into five broad categories: EU policy, the EU as seen through the political perspectives of its different member states, how EU policy plays out in the lives of European citizens, 'transnational perspectives'—case studies of how solutions to problems formulated by one member state might be helpful in solving the problems of others, and 'EU Miscellany'—that all inform European radio listeners about events and happenings beyond their own national borders and the European continent.

Program content is broken down into news, analysis (that features special reports on subjects of interest to citizens) and live coverage of events and happenings. The editorial work involved in the production and distribution of Euranet's content is complex and must be coordinated from two different angles: on one hand, it entails handling communications between affiliate members, and on the other hand, it includes guaranteeing the continuity of a joint strategy, ensuring that all principles of the charter are respected, establishing a common agenda for following current events and news in Europe and carrying out the routine tasks of the editorial committee. To accomplish this level of coordination and information exchange between the geographically dispersed professionals in its network, Euranet uses an internal communication platform that combines an intranet system and a wiki.

Individual broadcast stations must simultaneously coordinate their own internal operations and the activities they carry out jointly with Euranet's various language-based working groups. These groups are in constant communication and the heads of information services for the stations that form a given group teleconference each Monday to set the news agenda for the upcoming week.

Euranet has designed its audio programming to facilitate content sharing and distribution; time slots for Euranet programming are configured into each station's format. In addition to its FM, satellite and short wave transmissions, Euranet has made optimal use of Internet technology. In July 2008 it launched www.euranet.eu, an interactive multilingual platform offering content in 18 languages that serves as a common interface for all Euranet partner stations and helps to distribute member content to other audiences throughout the network. Listeners can use the site to consult the programming schedules of all partner stations, view podcasts produced by network affiliates and access their programming via hyperlinks provided in its 'radio á la carte' section. Users can access all Euranet published audio files by language and personalise their own playlists. From the beginning, the website was conceived to be more than just an access point to radio programming; it also contains sections devoted to the analysis of EU issues ('Dossier'), surveys, user comments and information concerning the initiative 'Connecting Euranet'.

Euranet also uses its presence in several social networks to foster debate and dialogue about European affairs. It maintains two profiles in Facebook: Euranet European Radio Network created in December 2009 that has attracted 1,500 followers, and Connect Euranet, which has registered 1,800 followers since it was created in February 2011. Although both profiles offer information about the network and publish hyperlinks to radio programming and articles that link to the Euranet website in their walls, the Connect Euranet site has had more success in involving users and is by far the more dynamic and interactive of the two profiles.

The network also maintains two Twitter accounts, only one of which is currently active. The most recent account, @euranet, was created on October 21, 2010, but has only managed to attract 306 followers. Its tweets contain links to Euranet news features in English, French and Spanish as well as various other languages. A prior account, @Euranet European Radio Network, was created in March 2009. Although it officially registers 752

followers, it has been inactive since November 2010. This account published tweets in English, German, Spanish and French.

If one analyses Euranet's exploitation of the potential of social networks, it is clear that the network has no strategy beyond using them to publish links to its news features. The number of followers it has attracted is very low for a media project that purports to provide pan-European coverage. As its second Twitter account has attracted only half as many followers as its first, it is difficult to understand why the initial account was abandoned. As the network has not managed to generate either spin or a following through social networks, it should consider undertaking a serious review of its 2.0 strategy.

Conclusions

Euranet is an interesting initiative that nevertheless needs further development in a number of areas.

Its democratic structure, which fosters a deeper connection with its widely dispersed European audience, is one of its strongest points. The concept on which it is based—producing radio content geared towards forging a common identity and mutual awareness among citizens of different European countries—is both novel and laudable. The project has committed itself to the complicated task of producing multilingual content, an effort that has paid off thanks to its implementation of a well designed website. Its youth-oriented programme 'Connect Euranet: Connecting U and the EU', which joins the forces of seven university radio stations spread out over Europe and provides monthly forums on topics of interest to all European citizens, is particularly noteworthy.

However, Euranet also suffers from a number of problems. It has failed to establish itself as a recognisable brand within the individual identities of the stations it broadcasts through. Although it rates high marks for the content it produces, this content has a very limited distribution and exposure. The heterogeneity of its affiliate partners (that include state-run international radio services, community radio associations and private broadcasting companies) and the lack of broadcast members that could offer both national and local coverage constitute two factors that diminish the networks effectiveness and hamper its efforts to reach local audiences. Although Euranet is a conceptually innovative enterprise that should be well positioned to take advantage of web 2.0 technology and social networks, it appears to have done little or nothing to promote itself creatively via these channels. The limited number of followers registered on its Facebook and Twitter sites are objective proof of its failure to understand and exploit these resources.

It was made known at the annual meeting of the Euranet board held in Portugal in July 2011 that funding for the network has been guaranteed for the next few years. The network's plans for the future include the expansion of broadcast languages to all 23 official languages of the European Union and the incorporation of additional affiliate members from new member states. Countries targeted for inclusion in the network are Estonia, Lithuania, Malta, Finland and Slovakia. Through the expansion of its network and coverage, Euranet hopes it increase its listenership to 45 million by the year 2017.

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Part II :

Content

Chapter 3 | New radio genres and the creative power of the sound



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Changes in Patterns of contemporary China's Radio programs - *Helping each other in Beijing: a case study*

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Abstract:

Great changes have been taken place in the patterns of China's radio programs since 1980s. Its role has changed from the government's "propaganda tool" to meet the multiple needs of the radio listeners; its profit mode somehow has varied from full national funding to making profit independently; with the assistance of digital technology, the traditional broadcasting program patterns, which was all about manuscripts writing and reading, have been also altered into ones that involve audience interaction. This paper is a case study of *Helping Each Other in Beijing*--- a radio program for the elderly by Public Service Frequency in Beijing Radio Station. It analyzes the program from its concept, content, audience interaction, and hosting style. It displays, in the age of new media and globalization, which is full of fierce competition, how the broadcasters in China create new philosophy and concept of radio programs, how they react to the new relationship between audience and them, and how they build up their new media image.

Keywords: Chinese radio, elderly listeners, interaction, community

Like other countries, the radio program in China¹ is facing the pressure brought about by TV, internet, and other new media. However, in the first half of 2011, the profit made by the radio advertisements has reached 5.362billion RNB, 1.047billion RMB higher than last year, with a dramatic increase of 24.26%. ²The development of broadcast and innovation of radio program are closely related. This paper selects a public service program *Helping Each Other in Beijing* as a case to analyze the development of China's radio program patterns. Four aspects will be mentioned: Its listenership increased by 214% in its first year of broadcast; it has new interpretation of "true" program elements; it develops interactive platform for listeners to communicate, such as letters, short messages, discussion forums, etc; it also attaches great importance to organizing interactive activities for listeners to exchange views. This way, the radio program has become an interactive platform for the elderly. In addition, the program creates its own culture helping each other. Contemporary China is facing the pressure brought about by globalization and trust crisis. Such a program helps build up a harmonious society and gives positive influence to listeners' recognition of themselves and their nation.

¹ In 2010, among 1.34billion Chinese people there are 660million radio listeners.

² The statistics from the website of State Administration of Radio Film and Television.
<http://www.sarft.gov.cn/articles/2011/07/22/20110722164507191006.html>

Compared with western developed countries, the history of the broadcast service in China is relatively short. In 1949, there were only 1,000,000 radio sets in China, functioning as the "propaganda tool" for CCP and government. By July 2010, China had had 234 radio stations and 2704 radio frequencies, with the comprehensive coverage rate of 96.31%³. The development of China's contemporary broadcasting begins in 1980s. In only 30 years, it has developed to possess its unique characters.

The myth of listening rate : Helping Each Other in Beijing

The public service program of Beijing radio station, *Helping Each Other in Beijing*, was first broadcast in 2009, frequency FM107.3, from 11.02am to 11.55am. The aim of it is: *People help me, and I help people. We help each other*. Interactive forms like SM, QQ(similar to MSN, much popular in China), and discussion forum were adopted to realize multi-media interactive communication. In only 70 days, among 568 listeners who had called for help by sending messages there were 461 replied. The target audience of this program is the 50s and the older. The oldest listener of this program is 96, while the youngest only 14⁴.

Without any advertisement, the program became popular rapidly, with a dramatic increase of 214% in listenership and market share the first year of its broadcast. The time span of it has been expanded from one hour to two hours as required strongly by the listeners. In September 2011, the listenership and market share is still rising. *Helping Each Other in Beijing* has become popular.

Statistics show that in the first year's broadcast of *Helping Each Other in Beijing*, there were more than 9000 help lines received, about 6000 SM broadcast in the program, altogether 15,650 asking-for-help messages broadcast. It helped more than 8000 listeners to solve their life problems, which occupies 80%-90% of the total. The diagram below compares the listenership of the program broadcast in the same time period in 2008 with that of *Helping Each Other in Beijing* in 2009. (See diagram 1)

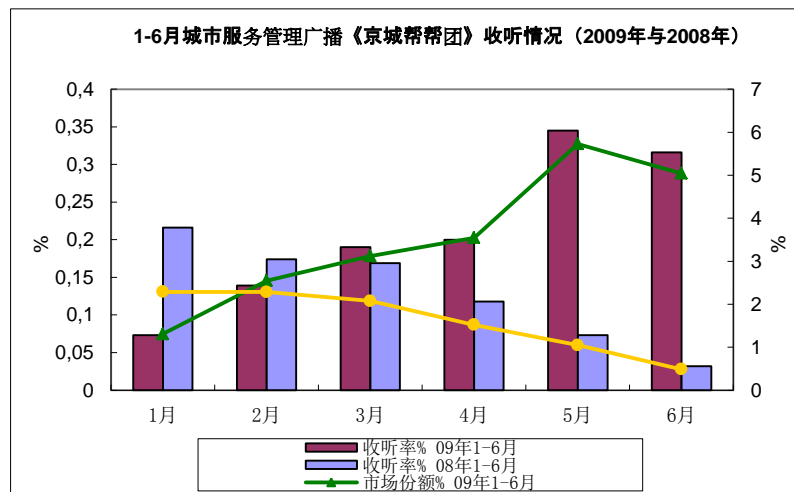


Diagram 1: January-June,2009: listenership of Helping Each Other in Beijing

Helping Each Other in Beijing is not a popular music program whose target audience is young people. Its program group is not large (only 3 people, Cheng Yin is major founder, see the picture 2). Why does it achieve such a success in the age of new media that is full of fierce competition?

³ The website of State Administration of Radio Film and Television <http://www.sarft.gov.cn/>

⁴ The interview of Cheng Yin on 5th, September, 2011



Picture 1

The reason for the success of *Helping Each Other in Beijing* is based on China's broadcasting programs' successful transformation experience in nearly 30 years. This program came from a program called *Life Consultant* (June 1982) and another one called *Barter Station* (1997)⁵.

Life Consultant was started on June 28th, 1982, Cheng Yin is hostess. It was for the first time that people's life had been put first by a radio program. It had only 5 minutes' broadcasting every day, However, it became popular overnight. At the early days of 1980s, China was still in the primary stage of the reform and open. People's material life was not that rich that most did not afford a television. None of the broadcasters had a clear concept about serving people. They kept working as the mouthpiece for publicizing the policies of the Party and government. Being the first life service radio program set by Beijing Radio Station, *Life Consultant* aimed to provide life service information with the audience, and it was also the first radio program with the presence of a talk-radio host, dedicating to introduce some tips about our daily life and how to enjoy ourselves. The natural and kind style of the host brought the audience a refreshing experience.

Traditional Chinese broadcast followed the old routine of Xinhua News Agency's oral broadcast department in 1940s. It had been a long time when the radio program was the phonic version of the draft – a talking book: the broadcaster wrote and read the manuscripts, and broadcast in the program. The first radio advertisement in China⁶ is 'Chunlei medical shampoo' in Shanghai People's Broadcasting Station broadcasted in March 5th, 1979, which marked a new era of Chinese radio industry. Since then, Chinese radio broadcasting began to attach great importance to the audience, and the media concept of propaganda and education was transformed into a new one which focuses on serving audience.

In 1986, a radio program, containing the elements of the long period program, the live broadcast by host and audience's interaction, was first broadcast at the broadcasting station of the Pearl River, which became the first reform on the content of China's broadcasting programs and lay the foundation for the forms of today's radio programs⁷. At that time, the best feature of the program was the appearance of the live broadcast: the host anchored the programs with the outlines and some relevant information through his personal words; at the same

⁵ Cheng Yin's paper: *The triple jump of the program: the strengthening of broadcast service function.* (Unpublished)

⁶ In this paper, just argue the radio industry of the People's Republic of China.

⁷ Cao Lu: *Understanding Broadcast*, Beijing: Communication University of China Press, P38.

time, the audience interacted with the host by phone call. For the first time, the program was open to all the audience. That was why the live broadcast was considered a great progress in the development of the entire Chinese broadcasting. Live broadcast provided an open interactive space in which people could communicate with the hosts and the other audience, nevertheless the most difficult point was how we broadcasters improve our professional skills to preside over the program.

In the 1980s, it was quite painful process to change from reading to a colloquial style. Cheng Yin shared her experience here with us:

*'The conversion from 'Listeners' to 'Friends' in prologue can be considered as a revolution. Rome was not built in a day. How to speak in a soft voice, how to express in a natural way, were far from easy. I found it almost impossible to change my sonorous tone. Some of the senior colleagues advised me to fall the tone by body language, so I hid myself in the empty studio to practice my oral expression time and time again, in order to make it as natural as possible. One night I hurried to home for dinner and then came back to go on with my oral practice. From 18:00 to 22:30, I kept practicing till my face became as stiff as a poker. Finally I could hardly speak as usual.'*⁸

After the *Life Consultant*, Cheng Yin started another radio program called *Radio Barter Station*. It was an expansion of *Life Consultant*, aiming to serving the market and the people and providing a recycling platform for some spare domestic items, which made it much more convenient for people to exchange second-hand goods. One month after the program went on, it became a hit in the broadcasts and made the host the 'queen' in second-hand goods exchange. *Radio Barter Station* expanded its time span from a quarter to half an hour, and then to 40 minutes and at last it took an hour.

In the past, the audience of *Radio Barter Station* accepted information passively; now they began to actively take part in the program. The program used to be a recording program; now the program was totally on live. Hot-lines featured it, and became the most unique advantage of it due to its rapidness and convenience. Host style was established. At that time, people's living standard was improving year by year, many wanted to update of the early household electrical appliances. The presence of such a program just satisfied the people's real demand of second-hand goods exchange.

Helping Each Other in Beijing, first broadcast in 2009, was the updated version of *Life Consultant* and *Barter Station*. It went like this: the audience could ask for help through hotline, SM or Internet messages when met with trouble in daily life. The problems extend from second-hand goods exchange to all kinds of life service. For example, the radio set is not satisfying; or the water heater does not work well; or the press cooker leaks gas; or the handlebar of pan is broken; or the kitchen knife is blunt; or the hair-clippers are dull, etc. Broadcasting the information of the household goods, marriage-seeking and making friends are also included. The host appeals to everyone to help each other, but not to solve the problems only with the help of the program. This program evoked the kindness and love in the deep heart of every person to the greatest extent. *Helping Each Other in Beijing* awakened the inner love and kindness in people's heart, helping people take pleasure in helping others and purify their soul in the process. This was a program where you would be refined.

"Truth" - the Core of Successful Programs

Do broadcasts need to make some stories between twists and turns to attract audience? Does showing life as it really is still have attraction for audience today, who has been nourished by Hollywood blockbusters and the huge amount of news around the world? *Helping Each Other in Beijing* lends some support to the latter.

What is the core reason for the success of *Helping Each Other in Beijing*? The form of this program is relatively simple, with information ranging from basic necessities of life, such kind of stories have been broadcast

⁸ Cheng Yin: *Unforgettable professional training*, Cheng Yin's work summary.

in the past radio service programs. But why does it succeed? A television counterpart⁹ tells the key. It is because this program describes “the true life of ordinary people, the true feelings of the characters and the true side of life”. “This is a picture of common people’s life.”

Either modern radios or television media are keenly tracing, digging and making life wonders, or making novel effect on the technique of expression, so as to get high ratings. The considerable appeal of Reality TV show demonstrates prying about real life has huge market appeal. In this way, “truth” is consumed by audience as “comedy” or “entertainment element”. Though it does have some effect on amusing audience and satiating part of people’s psychological demands, it also provokes debates about medium ethics. However, the success factors of *Helping Each Other in Beijing* are different from the “truth” of Reality TV Show. It reveals that life is lived in a “useful, interesting, affectionate and story-telling” way, which can be seen in the following four aspects:

Firstly, meeting the small but fundamental needs of audiences. There was an old saying in China, “One penny can baffle a man”, which means that the slightest trivial things in life can make us helpless. In a big city like Beijing, with a population of 19,612,000, among which 1,709,000 are over 65¹⁰, people have been increasingly indifferent to each other. People are now keen on weekend entertainments, various shopping malls, and all kinds of costly enjoyable service and how to get a salary raise. While the internet offers answers to almost all questions we may have, nothing and nobody is irreplaceable. Do we still need others to do something for us? However, we would never fail to encounter some trifles that we can not settle in our life once or twice. The old and familiar social approaches would then be useless. At such moments, *Helping Each Other in Beijing* is where you can get help from, as a listener has said:

*As a retiree, why are my eyes always brimming with tears? Because I am moved by the stories in the program of Helping Each Other in Beijing, as a common listener, why am I always grateful? Because the disadvantaged group in the bottom of the society are recognized and helped.*¹¹

Secondly, reflecting the reality through live broadcast. The beauty of radio programs is live broadcast, while a live program makes stories and characters vivid. *Helping Each Other in Beijing* insists on live broadcast for its spot effects. Lots of TV variety shows and service programs in China tend to apply transcription because of the great economic and political pressure, which the massive production cost and the unpredictable transmission impact bring about. Radio show, however, faces little trouble of this kind, which makes it flexible.

Helping Each Other in Beijing is a program for goods exchange in simple form, which is suitable for live broadcast. The colloquial style of the hosts, the hotline phone conversations, the occasional slips of tongue of the hosts and their helping and teasing each other all show the vividness of the program. At the end of the program on August 29, 2011, while they are of two different generations in age, Cheng Yin, the, intentionally asked Xiang Lu, her young partner, to sing a nursery rhyme in Pekingese, “Oh little, little boy, who sits at the door, is tearing and weeping for a wife”. It’s like a senior teasing a little boy, filled with life sense. It makes people laugh naturally as have just heard a joke from a good friend. The success of a broadcast program depends not only on how much information and direct help it offers in a single episode, but rather on the continuous help and happiness it brings to the listeners even after the program.

Thirdly, selecting topics from audience’s real life. From Monday to Friday, *Helping Each Other in Beijing* is a platform for information dissemination, and the main contents of the program are people’s requests for help. For an anchor, the pressure of programming does not come from the process that he painstakingly tries to find the topics but from the process he has to make up some hot issues in order to get high ratings, since usually the making of the program is mainly for solving audience’s problems. To some degree, we can see that media personnel meddle in audience’s real life by abusing the power of their position. Definitely, the anchor and the

⁹ Cheng Yin’s blog 2011-06-26 2011-06-26 <http://blog.rbc.cn/index.php/uid-7986-action-viewspace-itemid-923075>

¹⁰ The statistics from the sixth state population census of Beijing in 2010.

¹¹ <http://club.rbc.cn/thread-724061-1-1.html> 3rd, September, 2011

director have the right to announce the request for help and express their own opinions about the exchange for goods. However, these factors do not help “modifying” the real life.

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
Content	Mutual help in daily life	Mutual help in daily life	Mutual help in daily life	Barter	Barter	Dating and Personal	Happy return visit

Diagram 2: The contents of Helping Each Other in Beijing, from Monday to Sunday¹²

The charm of *Helping Each Other in Beijing* highlights in “the return visit” program broadcast on Sunday. This program reviews all the requests in the past week and carries out the results. Meanwhile, it tries to find out the people who have stories according to those requests and shows the reality behind their lives. It is more convincing, compared with the way some anchors or directors who select topics in the office, determining the subject through the network or news events on other media. This program selects topics which are real and can raise the interest of the listeners. Only the real stories can withstand long-time-test and will win more and more fixed audience.

Fanghua, the editor of *Helping Each Other in Beijing* mentioned such an example: A young listener named Xiaowei called hot line and wanted to seek a prescription for urological problems for his father who had been sick in bed for a long time. It seemed similar to other calls for prescription, but Fanghua thought there should be some stories hidden behind, since she could feel his anxious tone. After broadcasting, Fanghua called Xiaowei again to see whether there was any reply. And later they talked several times and she began to know that when Xiaowei’s father was young, he was once a key technician in the factory. However, about 20 years ago, in one repair, he got paralysis of the lower limb because of work injury, and after that he could just stay in bed. More often, he would sing for Xiaowei’s mother and the whole family, asking them not to worry about him. Xiaowei’s mother was also a very strong person. Though she had the weight of life on her, Xiaowei’s mother never complained to others. Xiaowei and his sister were also quite considerate; they helped to take care of their father, sharing their mother’s sorrow. When they grew up, they were dutiful to their parents. Fanghua realized it was a respectable family, which was full of positive, harmony and unity. For this reason, Xiaowei’s story was broadcast on the Sunday episode “Warm and Happy Stories” of *Helping Each Other in Beijing*.

There are lots of such stories in the Sunday episode of *Helping Each Other in Beijing*. This program not only plays as a platform for information transmission, more importantly, it conveys love and true feelings of people:

*We talk about life and social hot spots with the listeners freely, expressing our thoughts. In this way, you may hear the old people recollecting their life, the consumers commenting on the present health products and the youth talking about their values of marriage and life. Besides, you may also hear the life pursuit of the retired people, the happiness of a united family and the unhappy side of social families, etc.*¹³

To sum up, by interviewing, the program reflects the life of common people through the listeners, which naturally makes the program more pleasant, more interesting and more significant. By the words of listeners, “we see through the interviews”.

Lastly, the power of a simple life. *Helping Each Other in Beijing* mostly selected the warm stories. In the process of rapid development, China has to pay price for the modernization, such as the gap between rich and poor, the loss of morality and values, the clash of traditional Chinese culture in the globalization, etc. Unlike the

¹² <http://fm1073.bjradio.com.cn/servlet/Category?Node=41082&Language=1>

¹³ Fang Hua’s work summary.

intellectuals who have voice with their ability to reflect and the class of vested interests who can escape from all kinds of shocks, most ordinary people are reluctant to receive or suffer these changes. Therefore, the simple stories of people's lives show the inner desire of them.

Although TV is a powerful medium in Chinese society, the radio as a second medium could play a more flexible role in terms of commitment to social welfare. With this rule, the market, the policy and the audience provide the opportunity and time for the *Helping Each Other in Beijing* to explore.

With a positive intention, *Helping Each Other in Beijing* displays the twists and turns positively, and ultimately achieves a happy ending, audience not necessarily experiencing the "waves" brought by the media in the "tough battle" media spectacle. *Helping Each Other in Beijing* will not last long if it only praises for good deeds. However, the host looks into the reason for there being some helpful people from a unique perspective. Besides, the program makes more efforts on things out of the program, which enables the program to have important influence on people's real life, and in turn affect the next subject selection.

For example, Mr. Cui, about 70 years old, has always helped to mend the household Appliances like semiconductors in *Helping Each Other in Beijing* since the end of 2010. He has won the favor of many audiences. In the Spring Festival of 2010, the host visited Mr. Cui, finding that Mr. Cui was not rich with a 40-years-old daughter who was suffering mental retardation and unable to take care of herself. Mr. Cui's largest dream was to have a walk with his daughter in the park and enjoy the sun. After that program, many audiences connected the radio station to help Mr. Cui. Ms. Wang is one of them.

When asked about why to help the stranger Mr. Cui, Ms. Wang said, "I don't know why, but I was moved by Mr. Cui. He was not rich but he was always helping others. I thought it was my duty to help him." The host added, "why is it your duty to help a man who has no relationship with you?" Ms. Wang replied: "Mr. Cui told me he was moved by the program, and I was moved by him." By now, the program told us that in the big cities in China, there is still some sensation simple but powerful—mutual sensation, mutual gratitude, mutual reward, and mutual influence. It is the true affection between people that warms the world. Finding warm-hearted man, discovering warm-hearted man and influencing more people reflect the spirit and soul of *Helping Each Other in Beijing*.¹⁴

Helping Each Other in Beijing started from exchanging articles, to exchanging skills, and then to providing spiritual comfort. The program helped the civilians solved many daily problems and provide convenience for their life. Meanwhile, by the way of substantial help, the program initiates pursuit and establishment of harmonious relationship between people, serving the elderly pragmatically and displaying their real life.

The senior audience has experienced many setbacks and tortuous stories in their lives. They are not as eager for the plot and setbacks themselves as young people. This program grasps the core of programs for the senior. It is practical, positive, relaxing and modern, full of affection.

The extension of interaction

As a program for the elderly, "Helping Each Other in Beijing" represents a significant breakthrough in terms of interactivity. Four main aspects are included:

Firstly, multi-media interactive communication. Initially, the interaction between the radio audience is only through letters and hotlines, however, now many interactive ways have been made full use of, such as SMS, QQ and the discussion forum, providing listeners with diverse means of interaction and actualizing the multi-media interactive communication. After 2 months' establishment of "Aged Forum" (which was set up by Cheng Yin), it gradually becomes popular with more and more topics and clicks. At the meantime, the host builds the information connection with audience through blog and micro-blog, which displays the new frontier of broadcasting program pattern with the help of new technology. By the end of June 2011, Chinese netizens

¹⁴ <http://blog.rbc.cn/index.php/uid-7986-action-view-space-itemid-923075>

reached 485million; the number of netizens above 50 years old had a prominent growth, whose proportion climbed to 7.2% from 5.8% by the end of 2010.¹⁵ More and more senior citizen use new online media, which shows that the orientation of “Helping Each Other in Beijing” is quite forward-looking and full of fashion.(See Diagram3)



Diagram 3

In addition, this program is transmitted mainly through live audio as well as live network video, which is based on audio content, expands the advantage in vision moderately and adds another choice for audience.

Secondly, audience’s participation in the topics selection. Currently, Chinese TV audience is not the real subject. Though there is a large audience on the scene, the directors arrange everything. However, “Helping Each Other in Beijing” is different from others. The audience is absolutely the subject. It is involved directly as one important element in the program. In each episode, both the host and the listeners will get surprise and something unexpected. The host develops the idea “health senior study” into “positive senior study” in support of the deep participation of the listeners. Behind the responses to small household affairs, the society and media show great respect for the wisdom and potential of audiences, especially the elderly and other vulnerable groups.

In 2009, at the early stage of this program, there was only one host Cheng Yin. Since being short of hands, the volunteers were recruited to be involved directly in the work of directing. At the beginning of the planning stage, the senior volunteers began to participate in the program, which guaranteed that the topics were close to daily life. They were so enthusiastic and earnest that sometimes it was hard for them to control the discussion time and the scope of the topics.

Thirdly, the extension of interaction. The time of radio program broadcast is limited, and within the duration, the mode of interaction is limited as well. The director of “Helping Each Other in Beijing” spends a great deal of time and energy organizing listeners to take part in various social activities in hopes of enlarging the limited program space and extending the limited program information in the daily life in order to integrate the program with the lives of audience.

It is worth mentioning that the program team has set up *Computer Class for the Elderly* for the audiences of *Helping Each Other in Beijing* and *Friend of the Elderly* free of charge. At first the elderly do not know how to turn on the computer, but later on they become the computer experts. They can read the forum, send pictures

¹⁵ The 28th survey of the development of China internet network from China Internet Network Information Center

and videos and set up blogs. Some even record their readings and publish them in the *Aged Forum* being as a podcaster, busy with great joy.

Helping Each Other in Beijing and another program, *Friends of the Elderly*, hold social interactive activities for the audience throughout the year, including lectures, performances, visits to enterprises, technology experiments, audience gathering and so forth, all of which not only enrich the lives of the old and broaden their horizons, but also promote the development of the program, making its influence and popularity continue to expand and upgrade. In 2009 there were 11 activities held altogether. Among the activities, *Gathering of Netizens and Audience* (26, October each year) which is continuously held for 3 years and annual "Netizen Gathering" held on the Eve of the Spring Festival are the brands of the social activities.

The culture of Helping Each Other

Nowadays, China is facing the severe social problem of the aging of population which is developing rapidly along with the industrialization, urbanization and modernization. It also comes with urban and rural differences, regional differences and income differences and economic transformation and cultural transformation. Meanwhile, for over 50% of Chinese families, there is only an old member. The percentage is up to 70% in some cities. It's impossible for many old people in low income families to live in nursing home or get social nursing service¹⁶. Therefore, it is an urgent and crucial subject for the society to build a social pension system which is led by the government and operated by market with support and attendance of people. *Helping Each Other in Beijing* creates the culture of helping each other and builds the system of helping each other among the old as well as other social individuals. The culture of *Helping Each Other* mainly reflects in the following aspects:

Firstly, helping each other. When the audience wanted to repay the person who have repaired his radio, the person said, "If you want to repay me, go to help others." This is the culture of *Helping Each Other*, "finding those willing to help, gathering them and influencing more people!"

Secondly, the circulation of kindness. An audience said, "*Helping Each Other in Beijing* is a circulation of kindness which passes the kindness to more people". Some of the questions asked by the audience in the program can be solved immediately but more of them need to be summarized by the host, passing to enthusiastic audience. For example, a taxi driver wanted to order a birthday peach for his grandfather's ninety's birthday but had no idea where to order. Lots of audience offered information. An audience helped to make the order hearing that the driver had no spare time to do it. On the birthday of the grandfather, the program group called and wished him happy birthday. This event moved the driver so much that he said he would help others in the future. Not long after that, an old man called the program for help. Someone gave him the radio tape he needed but it was not convenient for him to fetch it. Because the tape was in Sha He where was far from his home. He hoped that someone could take it to him if convenient. The driver called the program immediately after knowing it. He said, "I'll help him because the program once benefited me." He used his taxi and fetched the tape for the old man voluntarily.

Thirdly, from radio effects to social phenomenon. *Helping Each Other in Beijing* summarizes the audience's words to create the culture of *helping each other*. These short sentences which reflect high moral standard and quality of common people are used to attract more people to join the action of helping others. These "famous words" includes: "If you want to thank me, go and help others." "Do a favor so that you make a friend. ""Little things make the ones."

As a social phenomenon, *Helping Each Other* is highly evaluated by the press, the charity and experts. They think it is a great attempt which is people-oriented and represents the scientific outlook on Development. It is another contribution made by TV and radio to the charity and commonweal. This program is the only

¹⁶ Wang Yiyong: *How to enjoy life in retirement*, 14th edition, Guang Ming Daily, 1st, September, 2011.

"commonweal star program" of "Charities star selection" held by Propaganda Department, Department of Civil Affairs and Beijing Charity Association.

Positive psychology indicates that "Being positive is a value-oriented concept and shows the quality of thinking," "Being positive is a life state that one can make the full use of his power without regrets". *Helping Each Other in Beijing* combine the irreplaceable advantage of broadcast media with audience's social psychological demand to shape the program form which seems to be simple and ordinary but with the creativity and wisdom behind it. *Helping Each Other in Beijing* expands self-cognition of the audience through "helping each other". The program also extends its service from individual service to effective social public service.

From the above analysis we can see the great vitality of radio programs that is represented by *Helping Each Other in Beijing*. Nowadays China has not entered the age of digital broadcast. Digital radio and Internet radio are still under-developed. Nevertheless, the program *Helping Each Other in Beijing* marks the new image of Chinese radio programs in this digital age.

To our gladness, there was a piece of good news of *Helping Each Other in Beijing* while this paper was done. Considering the program's contribution of many ideas and resources to the newly born TV programs, Beijing Television contacted the program group to produce a television program introducing *Helping Each Other in Beijing*.¹⁷ *Helping Each Other in Beijing* is a sample case of China's radio programs. It is not perfect and still developing. However, it displays the innovation of broadcast media concept and the broadcasters' reaction to new relationship between media and audience in the new media age full of fierce competition. It also reflects the future of China's broadcasting programs and the responsibility of Chinese broadcasters in this digital age.

¹⁷ Cheng Yin's blog <http://blog.rbc.cn/index.php/uid-7986-action-viewspace-itemid-924389>



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The French highway radio : a model for tomorrow's digital information and service radio? ¹

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Abstract:

I am going to tell you about a radio which is totally original in France, in Europe and, as far as I know, in the world. This radio is just celebrating its twentieth anniversary and it can still be considered as innovative. It is a unique high-tech and segment-specific radio, the uniqueness of which lies in every aspect of a radio project: legal, technical and program.

Keywords: highway radio; frequency; technology

I.

This paper is on the French drivers' radio, which now covers the whole French toll motorway network, that is to say almost 9000 km.

Its first specific character is the most apparent: it is broadcasting by means of isofrequency that is to say along distances which can be as long as needed on the same frequency. This was possible on AM with short waves (intercontinental), or medium or long waves (which can cover a country like Portugal or half of France), but with a quality of sound that we consider to-day as fairly bad. On the contrary, the classical FM techniques do not allow to broadcast at a distance longer than more or less 100 kilometres, even when using powerful stations. To go on broadcasting you have to change the frequency, or accept an intermediate area which does not receive the program: either there is a hole between the two reception zones, or the two overlap and jumble up one another. The innovation which has been set up in France in the late eighties has allowed to synchronize successive broadcasting stations: this is made possible with stations very close one from another (every 7 to 8 kilometres), each one with a very low power, a strong directivity and synchronized with the following one. This technique does not allow to cover broad areas, but only linear ones: it is consequently perfectly adapted to cover roads and broadcast road information. This innovation played a determinant role in the decision of the French Regulation Authority to attribute and reserve one common frequency to highway radios all over the country. This was a legal innovation since in France, the Authority only allocates frequencies according to two different procedures :

- direct reservation and allocation to state owned radios,
- public regional tenders for the attribution of the rest of the spectrum to privately owned radios, according to different categories : commercial, non-profit, part of a region or nationwide network...).

¹ This presentation is based on Dargent (2011).

In this case, the Authority reserved a dedicated frequency for the whole country : 107.7 MHz, and organized a tender for every motorway or motorway section. At that time, RDS-AF technique was not yet fully developed, so that it was very important for safety reasons that the frequency would be the same all along the journey: drivers would not have to manipulate their receiver while driving.

A complementary innovation consists in localizing relevant information, by way of local decoupling, what was a world premiere. This is very convenient for drivers, who are not overwhelmed by useless information, which would surely discourage them from keeping listening.

These two innovations totally distinguish French highway radios from American highway advisory radios, which are broadcast locally on frequencies which are every time different and need to be announced by specific information road signs.

French highway radios make use of RDS-TA and EON-TA: this is a first generation digital technology, derived from the ARI system, which was set up in Germany in the seventies. Almost all radio receivers include this function nowadays. It allows to automatically interrupt a magnetic recording or a CD (or another radio channel in the case of RDS-EON-TA), to broadcast urgent traffic updates produced by a highway studio.

Traffic information is essential to the project: it is offered round the clock seven days a week by specialised journalists. An exceptional level of rigour is required to do this job for at least two reasons. One is that their role takes place in the road safety chain: not many journalists interfere in such a way in people safety. The other reason is that, although they speak from a remote studio, they address listeners who are on the field, precisely "where the action is". Again, this is not very often the case among the profession.

Radio studios are located close to highway companies traffic control centres. So that journalists continuously benefit from the rich database that highway operators keep collecting in order to face their own responsibilities of maintenance and emergency intervention (planned road works, preventive and curative operations to match bad weather effects or any other dangerous event on the route). We must keep in mind that the mission of highway operators is to guaranty safe and fast journeys as far as possible. Information sources include emergency phone calls (from a dedicated phone booth network addressing directly to control centres, or, more and more from mobile phones); reports from company patrols and road police; data from automatic sensors, pictures from video cameras; data and forecasts from weather stations: all these data get to the control centre monitors. Radio speakers continuously receive all those informations and keep in close and constant contact with the operating officers, who are experts and can estimate the duration of any event or action they initiate to reset the traffic.

The evidences given by telephone to the traffic control centres or directly to the studios by witnesses, are especially profitable when the victim cannot talk, when the place of the event is unreachable, or when the traffic is deviated on a route about which there is no available data.

Broadcasting real time information is the first reason to be of these radios, and programs are organized to make that possible at any time. This is the source of constraints, which have been overcome according to the methods used by the continuous information dedicated channels, the model of which is the American television channel CNN. Unlike the American and German models, the programs of French highway radios are not limited to traffic information: real time traffic information takes place in a full radio program, what constitutes the other important innovation of the model: a program globally designed to match the expectations of the audience: drivers and more generally speaking, people travelling on the motorway network.

Do you know that more than half the highway users in France only drive on highway once a year (for summer vacation), and they feel it as a hostile and stressful environment? Highway radios not only provide them with an information service designed to make their trip more secure (no delay, no accident) but also bring psychological comfort and safety: this is very important. The programs do feature content about safety and driving rules, explanations about the infrastructure and road equipments, automotive systems, availability of food

and catering services (including temporary shortage). It also offers experts' editorials and cultural and tourist programs in relation to driven-by regions; and driving-adapted music. Thus the program plays a role of informing, but also teaching and securing: in one word it coaches the drivers.

II.

I mentioned at the beginning of my presentation the important debt the French highway radios owed to recent technical developments, especially in the digital field. The fast pace of change in these technologies is affecting them directly and will do it further on in the next decade.

As I recalled, first RDS generation allowed to broadcast digital codes, which give instructions to receivers (AF: search the best available frequency for a definite program; TA: switch to the frequency currently broadcasting traffic information update).

A second generation of RDS opened the way to TMC (*traffic message channel*), which directly allows broadcasting the very traffic information messages. These messages have to be fairly simple and designed in a specific structure. They are received and translated by dedicated smart receivers, which can deliver them as graphics, or as text or audio messages, in the language chosen by the user. TMC information now comes more and more often with GPS guidance on new cars and receivers. Thus the language barrier has been overcome and a harmonized service of traffic information, although simplified but fairly homogeneous, has been extended in Europe through borders (as a matter of fact, I was myself in charge of the French part of the experiment in the nineties).

In the field of radio, when one mentions digital broadcasting, one usually forgets about the RDS technique and immediately thinks of digital terrestrial broadcasting. If it becomes effective, transferring Hertzian broadcasting mode from analogical to digital will allow carrying together highway radio programs and TMC-like messages, and even more multimedia data (like video sessions). However, one cannot be sure that digital terrestrial broadcasting will reach a commercial phase of development: for instance, in France, the project is currently facing a real opposition from field majors for reasons which are mainly economical, since transferring would mean creating new broadcasting infrastructures and more programs, financed by the same source of advertising.

Besides the Hertzian mode of broadcasting, there is of course the internet technique (IP, internet protocol).

As a complementary service to drivers, motorways companies and highway radio stations have developed websites that offer, among other types of data, real time traffic information such as coloured traffic maps, quantitative data, as well as additional data, such as webcam videos and updated traffic forecasts.

These websites were developed in order to help drivers to prepare their journey. And anyway I think that, whatever the technical evolution, the complementarity of the information which is useful to prepare the journey before departure, on the one hand, and mobile information needed during the journey, on the other, will remain typical of road information.

New bidirectional telecommunication channels are lately bringing an interesting way of pulling the data from the field. Thus *Google* announced in summer 2009 the launch in the US of the collection and compilation of vehicle speed and location data, through in-car mobile phones and GPS devices using *Google* maps, in order to continuously feed these maps with dynamic data. Such a principle of user community is rapidly developing. In France, for instance, one can mention the *Coyotte* network, which became famous by advertising police speed control devices, and is currently extending its user community to traffic information exchanges. I already mentioned how highway traffic control centres and studios rely on users for live updates: truck drivers frequently volunteer to become regular informers and give their personal mobile phone numbers to be reached by the studios when needed: a way of doing which probably comes from the CB tradition and is meeting the new community philosophy which is developing among young internet fans.

Nowadays, the capacity of telecommunication networks and of smartphones allows all mobile phone operators to deliver maps as well as qualitative and quantitative data through IP, but not (yet) live audio programs with acceptable levels of cost and quality. The information delivered is similar to enriched TMC messages or to some of the data you can get on websites. But it is clear that they are unable to do the job of professional journalists as far as safety and psychological coaching are concerned. Here is the deep difference between *delivering traffic data* and *offering a true and full driver oriented service program*.

On top of that, you have to keep in mind that every program designed for car drivers, whatever the technique and the theme (and not only programs dedicated to traffic information and safety), must absolutely think of safety first, and prefer voice and sound to text and graphics!

So that I believe that digital broadcasting modes should not cause the replacement of French highway radio programs with data bank, but on the contrary will enrich programs with complementary data. These radio programs will master the transfer to digital mode, be it through digital terrestrial broadcasting in an intermediary phase, or directly through IP.

As a conclusion, I would like to go further and ask the question: cannot this experiment even be considered as a model for tomorrow's service radios in Europe?

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

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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

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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 Néstor 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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Radiographing an 'Expatriate' Space

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Abstract:

Drawing on an ethnographic approach to the study of radio this paper presents an ongoing project about locally produced radio among self-designated 'expatriates' residing in the south of Portugal. In addition to outlining the methodology and an initial mapping of minority radio initiatives in Portugal, the paper explores how local radio produced in a migratory context can contribute to the production of a locality (Appadurai 1996). Taking a station made by and for an atypically privileged minority as a case study the paper focuses on how production and consumption dynamics mediate lifestyle migrants' (Torkington 2010; O'Reilly 2009,2000) relation to the place they chose to live in. The argument holds that radio reflects and contributes to positioning the Algarve in relation to 'neighbourhoods' (Appadurai 1996) throughout the world while creating 'structures of feeling' (Appadurai 1996) informing the way it is appropriated. Ultimately, the paper tries to raise questions about the construction of belonging in the Algarve among British residents.

Keywords: radio, Algarve, locality, lifestyle migration

Introduction: The Project

This paper is part of a work in progress: a PhD project about locally produced radio among self-designated 'expatriates' in the south of Portugal. Framed within the interplay between media technologies and migration processes, the project builds on and problematizes the phenomenon of minority media.² To do so, as expanded on below, the exploratory project takes a case-study approach and focuses on how radio plays into the construction of belonging among British residents in the southern and touristy region of Algarve. Motivated by the specificities and potential of the medium for the research of reterritorialization in migratory contexts³ the goal

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² Significantly, the designation is not a consensual one (Siapera 2010; Lewis 2008; Silverstone and Georgiou 2005; Echchaibi 2002; etc.) and seems to be more easily recognized and situated when aggregating the term "ethnic" (therefore becoming ethnic minority media or minority ethnic media). It then easily and quickly refers to the issues of mediatized self-representation in a migratory context (Siapera 2010; Salim 2008; Silverstone and Georgiou 2005; etc). However, most commonly an etic categorization burdened with power asymmetries, the term "ethnic" seems unadvisable as a qualifier without careful prior consideration. Whether there are investments on ethnicity underlying production efforts and uses of media in the context of self-representativity seems to be in fact a research question requiring case-by-case verification of what kind of strategic essentialisms are mobilized and for what purposes. As Echchaibi (2002: 40) puts it, it is important to conceptualize these spaces as more than essentially ethnic.

³ If media are now structuring and structural elements of migration processes (Silverstone and Georgiou 2005; Morley 2000; Appadurai 1991; etc.), radio's particular features suggest it to be a strategic window from which to explore dynamics among reterritorialized collectivities. To be sure, its oral nature, participatory potential, strong local dimension, capability to bolster synchrony and immediacy, have been thought to stimulate the identification with fellow audience members, namely by encouraging and materializing perceived sharing and solidarity (Squier 2003; Tacchi 2002; Hendy 2000; etc.). Additionally, its banal character, ubiquitous presence and naturalized use engage senses and feelings in the relation of listeners with the technology, eliciting, for example, the reworking of memories in personal biographies and collective narratives or the organization of social relations in private domains (Squier 2003; Echchaibi 2002; Tacchi 2002). As 'the forgotten medium' (Hilmes quoted in Squier 2003: 20)

is to tackle the leading research question 'What role does radio play in migrants' management of their cultural identity?'

Monority Radio Mapping

The choice of this case study was preceded by a mapping of the initiatives of locally produced radio in Portugal engaged with the articulation of cultural diversity in some form. Overall, both the choice and the mapping resulted from an interest on the relatively unexplored dynamics of self-representation that articulate the realities of media and migrations in Portugal.

Predominantly, literature on the theme of media and migration in this context has been oriented towards the analysis of representations of the 'other' in mainstream media (i.e. Cabecinhas, 2008; Cunha et al, 2008, 2006, 2004; Cádima and Figueiredo, 2003). Studies are often either structured around a group or nationality (i.e. Filho 2008 and Pontes, 2004 on images of the Brazilian population in Portuguese media) or around a medium (i.e. Santos, 2005, on images of migrant women in the Portuguese press; Cunha 2009, 1996, around press and television). At times a connection is made with how media discourses are interpreted by those represented (i.e. Cunha, 2009; Brites *et al*, 2008; Carvalheiro, 2006)⁴. Additionally, some research projects have recently been focusing on the Lusophone world and the role of media in creating and interpreting that cultural-linguistic connection relating Portugal to some of its minorities, emigrants and other countries⁵. However, in spite of a solid and growing body of research, little is known about initiatives made by, for and about migrants and minorities themselves. In addition to an outdated country report to an international project that mapped the minority media landscape in Europe (Figueiredo 2003)⁶ there is only a study commissioned by ACIDI, the High Commissary for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue (Salim 2008)⁷ and a recently created database of images and sonorities of migrations related to Portugal that is being developed collaboratively.⁸ Other contributions focusing on minority media consist of case studies on the integration of digital technologies in the production of hip-hop music (Simões 2006) and visual culture (Campos 2009) in addition to the occasional section on migrants in more encompassing reports on media (Brites et al 2008). Overall, apart from a study on locally produced radio that considered minority programming (Bastos et al 2009), little attention is paid to the medium of radio.

In order to add to a rather incomplete picture of initiatives in the field of radio, the first phase of the project consisted of a telephone survey among local radios. Drawing on the list of the regulator entity for telecommunications (ANACOM)⁹, the inventory of initiatives provided by ACIDI and the aforementioned studies

technologically reinvents itself to meet new demands and realities of connectivity, radio presents a rich ground for research of the contemporary dynamics of movement it takes part in and of its own relevance in such context.

⁴ In addition to these publications there are two ongoing projects that focus on audiences' interpretations. Coordinated by Susana Trovão, from the Center of Research in Anthropology (CRIA), 'Migrant Family relationships at stake: 'internal' agencies, media debates and political practices' explores media uses and representations among migrant families. Also from the *Universidade Nova de Lisboa*, from the Center of Research in Journalism (CIMJ), 'Audience Transformations and Social Integration', incorporated in a COST Action (COST IS0906), is coordinated by Cristina Ponte.

⁵ In addition to Cunha's contributions (i.e. Cunha, 2010), two projects are currently ongoing: 'Identity narratives and social memory: the (re)construction of Lusophony in intercultural contexts', coordinated by Rosa Cabecinhas from the Center of Studies in Communication and Society (CECS) at the Universidade do Minho; 'Politics of Communication in the Lusophony', coordinated by Helena Sousa, also from same research center.

⁶ The project 'Diasporic Minorities and their Media – a Mapping' was coordinated by Myria Georgiou, from the London School of Economics, and was one of the research efforts undertaken by the European Media and Technology in Everyday Life Network (1995-2003). For more information on the project and the network see http://www2.lse.ac.uk/media@lse/research/EMTEL/minorities/project_home.html [last accessed October 30th 2011].

⁷ This study focused on 'ethnic media' providing a non-exhaustive listing of initiatives and embracing a perspective that is debatable, as discussed in section 1.3.

⁸ The project was founded in 2008 by researchers working with CEMRI (Center of Studies on Migration and Intercultural Relations), based at *Universidade Aberta* (Lisbon). The database is meant to enhance immaterial heritage related to migrations and Portugal as well as to develop an openly editable platform that promotes a deeper reading of the materials referenced, the realities they showcase and their production dynamics to be used potentially as a teaching tool. It is available online on www.ism.itacaproject.com [last accessed October 18th 2011]

⁹ The updated list of existing enterprises in local radio production is available online at <http://www.anacom.pt/render.jsp?categoryId=42701> [accessed October 18th 2011].

available the preliminary research took place in early 2008. It was confined to local stations, which are commonly the sites of preference for migrants to take to the airwaves given the restriction in terms of resources (Echaibi, 2002: 40) as was confirmed. Provided the goal of the mapping was to later select a feasible case study for a qualitative research project, the survey was also restricted to FM frequencies within continental Portugal and was not meant to be exhaustive but to be able to identify different types of initiatives. Phone calls were followed by listening in online as well as by visits to stations and events announced on air whenever possible. To be sure, I asked about radio shows or other radio related initiatives engaged with cultural diversity and made by and/or for foreigners at the stations,¹⁰ provided it soon became clear that initiatives in Portuguese by long standing residents from Africa and Brazil were often not considered foreign.¹¹ This approach ultimately yielded a wider panorama than expected in spite of limitations related to the varying availability of stations' directors, amount of knowledge of the people I could talk to on the phone, outdated or wrong contact information and, simply, failure to answer the phone. Of 311 stations in continental Portugal, 140 contacts yielded data within the time frame allocated for the mapping. This allowed for 26 active and 25 past initiatives to be identified. The numbers are underestimates, as more recent studies and the volatile nature of the radioscope indicate,¹² and invite further research.

Very briefly, to contextualize the slots of air space just mentioned, most of which were shows,¹³ it is pertinent to note there were 11 initiatives in mainstream and public radio. In spite of some similarities with the mainstream broadcasting,¹⁴ local radios seldom seemed to host programs sponsored by state institutions and devoted to the promotion of intercultural relations and diversity.¹⁵ Also, they hosted the majority of initiatives made by, for, and about minorities. Remarkably, although these populations are thought to have 'restricted access to public space' and to be 'a sensitive public' provided there are indicators of some dissatisfaction about the way they are under- and misrepresented in mainstream media (Brites et al 2008: 245), the shows do not seem very concerned with political reinvidications related to the condition of being an immigrant apart from occasional citizens' initiatives included in associations' activities.¹⁶ Averaging two hours on the weekend or in the evening, programs mainly include music, information about legal matters related to integration, news from the country of

¹⁰ In practice, I inquired over the phone about the existence of the type of initiatives in question as well as the driving motivations underlying their establishment, their format, their duration, the human and technical resources entailed and both on and off air relationship with the audiences (of the station and of the show, in case they did not coincide).

¹¹ As the radio practitioners explained, musical genres from those countries (i.e. *Bossanova*, *Forró*, *Morna*, *Funaná*, *Kizomba*, etc.) have penetrated the Portuguese soundscapes, from people's private discotheques, to radio stations and night clubs – which has been suggested (Brites et al, 2008: 278) - and 'such music shows do not target a specific audience'.

¹² The aforementioned study on the locally produced radios, conducted by the legislative and regulatory body for telecommunications, *Entidade Reguladora da Comunicação Social*, in partnership with the *Escola Superior de Comunicação Social*, identified 58 stations with programs for foreign populations. These were not further discriminated in the study. Notably, the focus of the study was wider, concerning the whole universe of 347 local radios. Moreover, the authors admit that reporting through the surveys may have been swayed towards the desirable performance in what concerns programming. This may justify some of the disparity between results.

¹³ In some cases, stations integrate in their playlist other spaces without disturbing its harmony: special features in news bulletins; job and housing opportunities' announcements; discussion of matters particularly relevant for migrants in debate programs; the introduction of different musical styles. Occasionally, on the border with Spain, special shows and advertisements are broadcast in Spanish so as to accompany the cross-border transits and populations. All of these examples were presented as entailing the intention of serving foreign populations and/or facilitating intercultural relations in Portugal.

¹⁴ There were two main similarities. One consisted of EU oriented programs that could be found in both mainstream and local stations, similarly explaining and informing about the union's functioning. A second one related to the connections radio makes to Portuguese living abroad. Interestingly, only mainstream and public radio services produce shows widely explicitly focusing on the Lusophony.

¹⁵ In addition to '*Gente como nós*' (People like us), a show sponsored by ACIDI and broadcasted through TSF's national wide network, most spaces of the sort are broadcast by public service stations such as RDP Africa (namely with '*África Positiva*' (Positive Africa)) or *Antena 1* (with spaces such as '*A Fé dos Homens*' (People's Faiths)). Not necessarily showcasing life histories and successful integration stories, as the first two shows, nor focusing on religion per se, as the latter example, local stations host initiatives promoting intercultural relations such as students' journalistic pieces (i.e. '*Espaço Migrante*' in Rádio Planície).

¹⁶ An example is *Migrasons*, a show broadcast by *Rádio Zero*, a university student station in Lisbon, and promoted by the association *Solidariedade Imigrante* (Immigrant Solidarity). It discusses government's policies concerning immigration, quotidian realities stemming from larger conventions and conditions, etcetera. Similarly, *Rádio Jovem Bué Fixe* is a 15 minute bulletin aired in stations like *RDP África* and *Rádio Zero* about challenges facing African youth in Portugal among other issues. In contrast, '*O Esplendor de Portugal*' does not assume a minority perspective nor has an agenda to improve the minorities' standing in Portugal. The talk-show features weekly conversations with intellectuals from different nationalities and is aired by public service channel *Antena 1*.

origin and residence, and community making dynamics like promoting local events among the population they cater for and music requests and dedications.

Having started as early as 1987 and as recently as 2009, shows language(s) of choice, target-audiences, and disappearance reflect the migratory transits in which Portugal has been involved. Most illustratively, a large number of the shows that were discontinued followed the arrival, settlement and departure of Eastern Europeans.¹⁷ Also reflecting the migratory fluxes, there were seven shows produced by and/or aimed at populations from Africa, five by and for Eastern Europeans (Romanian, Ukrainian, Moldavian), three by and for Brazilians, three by and for Western Europeans (British, Dutch and French), two by and for Indians, two by and for (Luso) Venezuelans, and one by and for the Chinese in addition to two Brazilian owned and run stations (Tropical FM and Record FM) and a British owned and run bilingual station (KISS FM). Making dynamics of self-representativity more complex, some initiatives originated within the stations rather than in incoming proposals by members of minorities. In other words, some shows are made *with* more than *by* foreigners even if they do focus on matters specifically pertinent to some groups. For stations they represent not only a way to fulfill the legal requirement of serving the local population in its cultural diversity (Articles 12 and 49, section e), of the law n° 54/2010 concerning radio broadcasting), but also new audiences and advertisers. Some DJ's in fact migrated themselves with their shows from station to station in order to find the most favourable conditions, feeling at times exploited as 'the chicken with the golden eggs'. Interestingly, the recurrent reason given by directors who never welcomed initiatives relates to the legal indication to promote Portuguese language and culture (Article 32, section f) of the law n° 54/2010) and the coherence of the broadcast.

The British station in the Algarve invited research for a number of reasons. First, the case met the criteria of being an established initiative (on air since 1992 and with preludes prior to the first licensing of local stations in 1989); of revealing synergies with the target audience and allowing and inviting audience participation; and of both resulting from and expressing a migrant's initiative. Second, radio enjoys a long and lively tradition among the British, which are one of the largest and most established groups among the foreign residents in the Algarve (Torkington 2010; Ataíde & Torres 2010)¹⁸ – coincidentally region with the highest number of local stations and with the third biggest radio audience nationwide (Bastos et al 2009: 65-66). Third, and more importantly, they constitute an under-researched and atypically privileged minority. Hardly visible either in the mainstream media or in academic studies,¹⁹ the British also do not seem to resort to media to have 'their voice heard'.

Remarkably, in the touristy context of the Algarve, British language and culture are rather dominant as English language music currently holds hegemonic status and the lingua franca of business and tourism is now spoken everywhere, from golf courses to supermarkets.

¹⁷ Out of the 25 past initiatives, 16 catered for Eastern Europeans and finished in between 2005 and 2009, having lasted anything between a few months and a couple of years. As the directors explained, these shows accompanied the arrival and settlement of a large foreign population at a time when Portugal lacked social structures to welcome newcomers. The shows 'lost purpose', in part, because of the fast mastering of the language and functional integration of Eastern Europeans, the emergence of entities to provide practical information to immigrants and the exodus that started when the economic crisis started to be felt in Portugal.

¹⁸ According to official statistics, the British were outnumbered by Romanians for the first time in 2009 (Ataíde & Torres 2010:37). They have in any case been a historically significant presence as the principal market for tourism and second-home ownership.

¹⁹ If in general British living abroad have not received much attention as migrants (Sriskandarajah e Drew 2006: 2), the presence of the British population in migration studies in Portugal has hardly been explored (Torkington 2010). British are featured only in tourism-oriented studies, Anglo-Portuguese studies (mostly in the area of Language and Literature), and in a recent linguistics approach to the residents in the most luxurious area of the Algarve (Torkington 2010). Migration studies rather focus on the notorious shift of Portugal as an emigration country (1960s/1970s) to an immigration country. The flows which have been mostly studied are the so called *retornados* (returnees) from the African ex-colonies after independence, who started arriving after 1974, and the striking 'waves' of migration from Brazil (1980s and early 2000s) and from Eastern Europe, namely Ukraine (early 2000s). The media have accompanied the trend, giving visibility, both positive and negative, to these groups. The British presence is hardly touched upon at a national level with the exception of occasional events (local celebrations of Prince William and Kate Middleton's wedding, burglaries victimizing British residents and the highly mediatized case of Maddie McKann, a three year-old girl who disappeared during a vacation trip to Portugal in 2007. Regionally, it emerges in the observations of the tourist industry's performance the British are significant contributors and the privileged market for the tourism board (i.e. Observatório do Algarve, 2010).

The case requires, then, questioning the presupposed subaltern condition associated both with minority media initiatives and the people engaged with them (Siapera, 2010; Salim, 2008; Lewis, 2008; Silverstone and Georgiou, 2005; etc). Considering enterprises of a group enjoying an advantaged social standing in the host context allows discussing the role of locally produced media in migratory contexts by raising the same questions (i.e. of mediation of efforts of reterritorialization and of maintenance of connections to home) from an alternative perspective. On the one hand, the case study possibly allows unravelling other dimensions, functions and uses of media that are instructive about contemporary forms of making sense of mobility and connectivity. On the other hand, given a connotation with a self-secluding attitude associated with strong cultural reproduction habits when abroad, of which the media are part and parcel (Torkington, 2010; Sriskandarajah & Drew, 2006; O'Reilly, 2000; King *et al.*, 2000), that does not prompt the preoccupations other migrant groups have involuntarily elicited when resorting to their media (i.e. Echchaibi 2002: 39), the case of media made by and for British self-designated 'expatriates' especially calls for a reflection of power relations related to the significance of minority media. The focus on one single case rather than a comparative study, as was initially planned, derived from a series of constraints (time, financial, et cetera) as well as the need for greater depth in a qualitative study with an ethnographic approach.

Methodology

In order to explore how radio programs play into processes of construction and negotiation of belonging in migratory contexts a two-pronged approach was chosen. Broadcasts are considered both cultural products and social practices (Spitulnik 1993). As cultural products, the broadcasts are conceived as material to fuel, maintain and negotiate not only social relations but also the cultural repertoire of cultural symbols and norms that producers and audiences draw on. As social practices, they are conceived as activities people engage in to bring the show to life both in production and consumption realms. Following a Media Anthropology approach, a large concern lies with relating texts to producers and consumers so as to unravel practices and processes of meaning making from both ends. In other words, this perspective tries to capture how making radio is present in people's communicative ecologies (Tacchi *et al.*, 2005) when they relate to themselves, each other and the places they have inhabited in their migratory trajectories.

Fieldwork in the Algarve, consisting in long and short stays spread throughout a year, has taken shape as I continue to branch out from the broadcasts that I have been registering both at the end of the computer stream and at the studio. To be sure, the strategy has been to 'follow the radio', to use Marcus' (1991) metaphor for multi-sited ethnography, to events announced on air, establishments of advertisers with salespeople who are looking for contracts; second hand shops of 'charities' whose campaigns are promoted and so on. Looking for the agents and dynamics bringing the radio to life, observation is made both at the station and during accessible reception instances (at food/book/second-hand shops and cafés) as well as in some private settings (inside the car). Interviews are meant to gather the perspectives of other radios and English language local media as well as of listeners, advertisers, DJs, decision-makers and other agents related to the station.

The Station

As its multinational team are quick to remind me and its clients, the 'Algarve's number one', as the KISS FM's slogan boasts, is the *only* station broadcasting in English in the region and licensed to do so. It contributes to the maintenance of a public sphericule (Gitlin, 1998) created by local media (comprising three English owned and run local newspapers, an array of magazines and the radio station), the internet (namely an array of 'expatriate' oriented websites with useful information and directories of services for living outside of the UK), small media (pamphlets of local businesses and events, municipal cultural agendas, phone cards, etc.), UK newspapers distributed in touristy focal points, satellite television and radio options, locally produced novels and an upcoming

film about a foreigner's life in the Algarve. The encompassing mediascape include other Portuguese media with English editions (i.e. the trilingual free-ad newspaper 123 Algarve, the online news portal *Observatório do Algarve*) as well as a number of national and local newspapers, radios and television channels. "Expatriates" may turn to Portuguese TV films with subtitles so as to work on their Portuguese, especially when the satellite signal is obstructed by rain. Research so far suggests media diets do not change substantially when moving to Portugal with the common exception of listening to radio in the car and buying local newspapers. Not requiring great language proficiency, music national radio stations such as *M80, Antena 2, RFM, Rádio Comercial and Rádio Cidade* compete with KISS with 'golden oldies', classical music, easy listening and pop music playlists – something that the other fifteen Algarvian stations do not seem to achieve²⁰.

Set up by a radio *aficionado* who had previously been involved in pirate radio both in London and in the Algarve, the radio evolved from a soul music oriented station to a commercial enterprise. Having always been connoted as 'the English station', KISS FM tried to draw a Portuguese listenership closer with an audience research that determined a 25-35 year old female target group. In contrast, the English language programming always aimed at the general Anglophone foreign resident population according to the multi-national station's staff. Nonetheless, references in the broadcasts suggest stronger connections to the UK. In addition to English language advertisements featuring British products, services and multinational companies that punctuate the playlists, news bulletins in English are retransmitted from the UK, weather bulletins weekly feature both the Algarve and the UK, usually along humorous comparative remarks, and a handful of shows are presented by English DJ's who spontaneously resort to British banter, UK sports/media/history... references and matters concerning the local social life revolving around British organization and interests (i.e. pantomimes and other amateur-dramatics productions; British Legion's Poppy campaigns; pub quizzes and so on).

An Elusive Target Audience

Although little is known about the British population residing in the Algarve, broadcasts reflect what is safe to say about these 'expatriates': beyond the retirees who conflate positive ageing with seaside living with a move to the Algarve, there are younger people hoping to explore the growing niche-market serving British tourists and residents while raising a family. Correspondingly, popular live shows working as community-making spaces focus mostly on oldies music at lunch-time and on Sunday mornings whereas the early morning's English language news, weather bulletins and exchange rates are intended by the programs coordinator and sales team to capture the morning drive-time, when people go to work or drop their children at school. This is the most recent scenario, which started to evolve since the 1980s, accompanying the popularization of the Algarve as a destination. According to informants who have resided in the Algarve since the 1960s, the pioneers included artists and high-class tourists in search of the exotic and remote, some retired military personnel and families who tried to start a life here. Unlike many who arrived since the 80s, these first settlers are fluent in Portuguese in addition to being well aware and involved in local life even if they may position themselves still as foreigners. Moreover, usually without UK based business income, pensions or investments, they are part of the 10.795 (Ataíde and Torres 2009) registered residents in the Algarve.

However, free circulation rights within the EU and the relaxed regulations on employment and residency allow a much larger population to remain unaccounted for. The British Consulate's estimates on permanent residents in the Algarve build on 40,000 thousand people, which constitutes roughly 10% of the Algarve's population. A realistic picture should include also non-permanent residents who, however, challenge boundaries between tourism and settlement and seep through statistics. To be sure, as modalities of travel evolve people find ever more creative ways of living in more than one space at a time (migrating, circulating, touring and altering

²⁰ During the research no other English language initiative was on air. There was possibly some competition when other stations had shows.

movement patterns and legal status along the way, by starting as tourists, possibly becoming second-home owners, residents and returning to being visitors). Also blurring distinctions, as Torkington (2010: 99-100) notes, the 'expatriates' engagement in the same activities as tourists (eating, drinking, playing sports, relaxing) in the same places (i.e. golf courses, marinas, pubs, horse-riding facilities, hotels, spas, restaurants) while displaying similar behavior (use of language, style of socializing, etc) and appearance further approximates tourists and residents. Such overlapping and porous categories obstruct the attempts of profiling the people engaged in these mobilities and of classifying and understanding permanence in southern European contexts like the Algarve (King et al 2000; O'Reilly 2000; Torkington 2010) which do not resemble urban settings like Lisbon or Porto but may resonate with the areas of Madeira and Central Portugal.

To conceptualize these tourism-informed mobilities that are no longer contained in the idea of 'International Retired Migration' (i.e. King et al 2000), the notion of lifestyle migration has been developed (O'Reilly 2000, 2008; Torkington 2010).²¹ At a conceptual level, for the proponents of the concept lifestyle is inscribed in larger dynamics of commoditization of leisure and broadly encompasses aspirations of a more relaxed, healthy and informal way of living. Fundamentally, it underscores the 'conscious choice not only about where to live but also about how to live' (Hoey cited in Torkington 2009: 127). Unlike movements catalyzed by economic hardship or the search for financial security, Lifestyle Migration then concerns the phenomena of «relatively affluent individuals moving (...) to places which, for various reasons, signify for the migrants something loosely defined as quality of life» (O'Reilly & Benson 2009: 621). It is already used as a category of practice namely by reports on British emigration (Skriandajah & Drew: x).

KISS' advertisements, which extend to other English language media, index the interests and needs of the target audience, rendering the abstract notion of lifestyle more concrete and confirming some demographic and sociographic contours of the population. They place pools and barbecues, golf courses and orders from the UK in the international residents' daily lives besides indicating a preference for English speaking staff, preoccupations with insurances of various orders and irritation with 'red tape'. To be more precise, the services and products advertised, from the handy man that does odd jobs to large moving, construction, real estate, security, cleaning and design companies, indicate a common aspiration for an ideal of living relaxedly in the sun by the pool but suggesting a spectrum of sophistication and quality of services. Still, all relate to finding, selling and renting property as well as moving, renovating, refurbishing, maintaining, securing, heating and decorating a house. Complementing the scenariou, leisure is yet another leitmotif as advertisements publicize particularly spas, concerts, golf courses, family activities, sand sculpture exhibitions, etc. This requires the amount of resources that attract banks, legal authorities, accountants, insurance companies and so on that collaborate when selling services. For those who are still active, business opportunities are widely announced especially as fairs, business networks' meetings and multinational companies become more popular. Indicative of an ageing population among the foreigners, health concerns are answered by private clinics and alternative therapies are also common among the commercial breaks. Finally, catering also tourists, rent-a-cars, hotels and, restaurants and foodstuffs' shops with British products and brands are featured.

Radio and the Production of Locality: the 'Algarve'

Remarkably, tracking the connections between the station, the advertisers and their clients reveals more functional links between the Algarve and the UK, Spain or Gibraltar than with Lisbon: multinational companies easily have their headquarters in the UK and people quickly travel to Gibraltar to avoid the paperwork of getting

²¹ For further information on the idea see the research on the 'Lifestyle Migration hub', available online at http://www.lboro.ac.uk/departments/ss/lmhub/lmhub_home.html [accessed on October 20th 2011].

married in a different country. This shapes the socio-economic realities making up the Algarve's current dynamics that create it as a particular locality, to use Appadurai's terminology and theory.

Appadurai's proposal of the notion of locality articulates the process of place-making in the age of intensified global circulation of people, goods and ideas. By taking on board the importance of the imagination and perception while not losing sight of historically grounded and power-infused contextual dynamics that render places very concrete sites for everyday life, Appadurai proposes locality is a social place whose nature lies in the lived experience of and in a globalized world. More concretely, the author relates actual social formations (which he calls 'neighborhoods') with 'a structure of feeling' (which roughly translates into the way place is appropriated, sensed and inhabited). Such articulation falls at the intersection of various flows along what Appadurai calls 'scapes' (technoscapes, ethnoscapes, finanscapes, mediascapes and ideoscapes). Ultimately, this dynamic relation specifies and situates locality to the extent it works to produce in a recognizable way particular conjugations of place, subjects and their relations to contexts, products, practices, and so on. It is then in the tension between local and global, between individual sites of agency and globally defined fields of possibility that locality is produced (Appadurai 1996: 179).

If the way the place is imagined is key to how it is constantly being created that is intertwined with the position of neighborhoods in relation to each other. The present argument holds that the radio reflects and contributes to the production of a locality. Although artificially singling out the Anglophone and rather British social reality that coexists with multiple other forms of living (in) the region, I focus on the 'Allgarve'. The expression has been made official by the regional tourism board as its promotional brand so as to encompass the diversity of leisure opportunities and natural landscapes the region offers.²² However, the phrase captures what the Allgarve also 'sounds like' due to, and especially among, Anglophone northern Europeans. Moreover, it evokes modalities of inhabiting places that are popular enough to constitute a map of the English-speaking Algarve. 'Allgarve' is then becoming for the project, a shorthand way to address the locality most of the informants relate to.

Radio and the Production of Locality

The radio reflects and contributes to locality's (re)production in a variety of ways. First, it helps positioning the Algarve in relation to other places, inscribing it in a constellation of neighborhoods through the linkages that production dynamics created with music and radio scenes elsewhere. Building on the recent recombinatory, distributional and archival possibilities, production geographies are reconfigured transcending borders. Although the possibilities of connectivity brought about by the internet dethroned KISS as a privileged gateway of distribution of music in the Algarve, they opened the possibility for more affordable ways to make radio. Yet, the personal connections of the founder in the British radio scene earned the station the access to advertisements and jingles' production companies as well as voices. Some of the latter also appear in voice-tracks of pre-produced shows that are sent in to the station. 'Late Night Algarve', a show that was recently discontinued, was usually recorded from the show-host's home studio in Scotland. Some of the listeners he befriended when becoming more than just a visitor to the Algarve used to speak back to their radio sets when he read the weather bulletins and other local information off the internet. Notably, even in the cases of show hosts who were not in the founder's social circles and whose shows are not geographically situated (namely, the late night dance, house and techno programs) the radio provided a significant connection to the Algarve: the station lent publicity to DJ's from all over the world who thus gain reputation and credibility among local night clubs, where they apply to work in the summertime when on tour.

²² For more information on the tourism board's reasoning for the expression see <http://www.allgarve.pt/en/what-is-allgarve> [last accessed October 30th 2011].

Similarly, albeit on the other end of the broadcasts, the audience's feedback also indicates how reception instances reflect and reinforce the approximation of the 'Algarve' with an array of neighbourhoods related to the tourism markets connected to the Algarve. In the absence of podcasts or asynchronous availability of broadcasts²³ and in spite of time differences, people tune in through the Internet as the messages and music dedications arriving through email, phone-call, text-message or Facebook post to live shows signal. For Facebook posters, often times tourists who enjoyed listening to KISS when driving rented cars, messages revolve around nostalgic memories from a great summer. Requesting the name of a song they cannot stop thinking about or seeming to try and evoke the taste and good feelings associated with the sun and fun all the way in their offices and homes wherever they are in the world (as the map in Fig.1 suggests).



Figure 1 – Map of visits to the station's website in between August 2010-January 2011, provided by KISS FM



Figure 2 – Facebook post of a runner doing marathons to fundraise for causes

Regular listeners tend to have greater connections to the Algarve (owning a house and/or returning regularly and for larger periods of time) and add messages to be read out on air to their Facebook posts. More than others who use the radio to connect to a mass of unknown people in the Algarve, (i.e. people who come from the UK for a cause as apparent in Fig.3), regular listeners use the radio to connect to each other, the Algarve and their own biographies, revealing a deeper and more textured affective relationship to the Algarve (Fig 4). Also, as listeners, people can follow the lives of most regular participants as they update the show on how it has been to go back to the UK after years of living in the Algarve, for example. The latter then become regular visitors and adopt a particular register when writing messages. To be specific, they usually make a point of complaining about the weather where they are and of mentioning when they are next visiting. Additionally, they constantly take part of anniversary/birthday/special event greetings with music dedications that seem to serve to maintain their presence among social networks they feel part of in the Algarve. The following excerpt from the Sunday morning show conveys this:

An email came in: 'Good morning, just to let you know that we had a chilling minus 18 in Glasgow, when going to work this morning and we're stuck in the snow with the truck for 12 hours. We've just been jealous of all you good people in the Algarve. Could you please say hello to all on the Grove camping site and happy birthday to Allison in Olhos de Água? We can't wait 'till December when we get back there.' And it was signed William and Jennifer. This is for you'²⁴

²³ The only exceptions to this are the podcasts created by some DJ's themselves and posted on their own/personal websites (i.e. 'Thank God is Friday' show, 'Atlantic beat' show).

²⁴ People's names are fictitious for the sake of anonymity.



Figure 3 – Facebook post from an internet listener



Figure 4 – Facebook post featuring memories of the Algarve

However weak these ties may seem, it is their lubrication that strips their banal nature of a trivial quality, as Grannovetter (1973) suggests. This helps creating a sense of community by adding to, for example, investments of these people such as organizing activities (i.e. pub quizzes for fundraising for social solidarity) during their time in the Algarve.

Finally, the radio broadcasts contribute to the production of locality by reinforcing the circulation of alternative locative markers. More than invoking references that are drawn from a British history and imaginary,²⁵ the broadcasts contribute to establish particular place-naming. On the one hand, DJ's of live shows, like any English speaker, automatically draw on expressions whose circulation and consolidation they contribute to. The most illustrative example is 'the Golden Triangle', an expression created by real estate agents in order to associate a resort area with luxury and glamour. Addressed, literally, as 'the area between Vale do Lobo, Quinta do Lago and Almancil' the expression finds no match in Portuguese but has gained a life of its own and is even used to refer to events (i.e. 'the Golden Triangle Exhibition'), although mostly among 'expatriates' and within the 'Allgarve'.²⁶ Additionally, shop addresses and events' locations are pronounced with an accent both in advertisements and in live shows. Only rarely translated (i.e. a charity organization in Vale do Lobo is called the Woolf Valley Charity), places gain variations on their names: *Albufeira* (älb ö öphěē/ru) becomes älb ö öphěwřü ; *Loulé* (Lölë) turns into L ö ölēē; *Lagos* (Läg ö ösh) into Lëögöš or Lügöšh, *Portimão* (P ö ö/rtëmüöⁿ) into Poorwrtëmëö²⁷ If at times advertisers request that pronunciation in order to have it recognized by their target public, English-speaking foreigners, such carving of new sonorities for places in the region through radio broadcasts is not always purposeful or even conscious. In fact, the production team has even repeatedly sent recordings of the Portuguese

²⁵ To give some examples, although without conscious intentions to exclude other listeners, DJ's eventually draw on well known phrases of famous British comedians to make jokes, promote competitions that require familiarity with British music and television and praise appeals to support the British Legion.

²⁶ For a rich and in depth exploration of this place-naming dynamic see Torkington (2010).

²⁷ For the sake of easier readability in comparison to the symbols used by the International Phonetic Alphabet, the respelling system used for phonetic transcription was the Concise Oxford Dictionary's. To consult the symbols see the Wikipedia entry's tables at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pronunciation_respelling_for_English#endnote_cod [last accessed October 30th 2011].

pronunciation to the English voices who figure in the advertisements so as to avoid mispronunciation. What is more, the station's DJ's try to correctly indicate locations and do, as is common among 'expatriates', mock tourists and other residents for following the common misguidance of their own native languages when referring to places. As such, laughing at the idea of 'ãlb õ õph ũ wrũ' or 'Phũwr õ õ' DJ's will still use the established English pronunciation of Portuguese names.

Notably, place naming is associated with the highlighting of an 'Allgarve' map that is composed of venues repeatedly used for events promoted by and largely for 'expatriates' (performances, fairs, etc). This is telling of how the radio plays into the creation of structures of feeling and ways to inhabit the Allgarve. Most of the events are meant to fundraising for causes deemed to be of pressing need for a region that has, in many ways, been neglected by a Lisbon-centered government and has grown mainly through tourism. For organizers like Mary, these activities are a way to feel more involved and connected to the Algarve even if they fuel socializing among circles of people whose leisure preferences are rather British and may resemble the aforementioned closed off stereotype. Commenting on an Old Time Music Hall she organized to provide equipment and assistance to local fire-fighters Mary explained:

M: (...) if you are not working it is very, very difficult to meet people. (...) not having an inroad or a connection... this gives me that facility to be able to do that. And I really start to feel that I am living in Portugal! (...) I feel part of it! I don't belong to a club or a bridge club or something like that (...). And actually, you should be giving something back to your community. We are very, very lucky to be living here. We feel very fortunate to be living here. So we need to be putting something into the community! (...) You know, I'm not just sitting there taking. I really appreciate living here.

The radio's messages supporting and announcing these events and later reporting on what was accomplished play into an active social life symbolically connected to the UK but grounded in personal trajectories and aspirations oriented to engaging with the Algarve as 'home'.

Conclusive Notes

In order to explore the specificities of locally produced radio made by and for a privileged minority and the way it mediates the construction of belonging in migratory contexts the idea of production of locality (Appadurai 1996) appears to be particularly useful. It allows capturing the relationship between production and consumption dynamics in an articulation that calls attention to the specificities of the case in question. Besides drawing the Algarve closer to neighborhoods that reposition a region of Portugal in an international scene, the radio plays into the reproduction of 'structures of feeling' relating lifestyle migrants' to the place they chose to live in. Uniquely, it points to the sensorial dimensions of the 'Allgarve' with its oral and ordinary nature: alternative place naming is heard on air rather than felt in print and phatic messages with personal undertones expressing both maintenance of social ties and affective relation to place are integrated in live shows rather than letters to the editor. Albeit only as part and parcel of other larger agents and strategies at work in processes of reterritorialization (i.e. mobilization for social solidarity as a means to 'give back' and foster local development), radio related dynamics also raises questions and clues relating concerning the construction of belonging of lifestyle migrants. What kinds of connections with place are explored by engagements with the public sphere through 'charity' work supported by the media? What is the role of local background sound and company - that is often replaced by sedentary media diets grounded in the country of origin - in the processes of making sense of displaced people's lived experience? What kinds of 'structures of feeling' and forms of belonging are relevant when, as King (2000: 137) discusses, integration may not be the most relevant goal for British residents nor, therefore, an adequate concept to elaborate on their mobilities and connectivities?

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Radio today: the risks of the past and an uncertain future

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Abstract:

This paper aims to be a first approach, framed in a deeper study, to the programming models of the general-interest Spanish radio stations and to its dominant contents compared to those offered by the Internet platforms of that same radio stations, mainly podcasting, in order to see how far radio has or has not been rethought according to the new media audiences. For this purpose it has been designed an analysis of the program grids and its contents for the four major commercial stations in Spain –SER, COPE, Onda Cero and Punto Radio– and the public radio station that also offers general-interest contents –RNE 1–. That offer will also be compared to the contents offered as podcast by the five radio stations. The objective is to quantify, if any, the new content offered by the Net to the listener, as well as the flows established between the Internet radio and traditional hertzian radio, and to analyze the new formats in which imminent future radio is being built.

Keywords: Radio, podcasting, Internet, radio programming

Introduction

It is easy to realize, reviewing mass media research in recent years, that those studies that have radio as the main subject matter of their hypotheses are the least in comparison with those addressing television or even the Net and its applications in mass communication. Radio research is being done in the fields of content production or radio genres and sonorous language and its implementation. However, other issues such as the pending digitalization, Internet radio and the change in consumption patterns caused by its reflection on the Net leave the radio in a rather complicated point.

The latest research is already pointing to the end of the traditional business model, which is dying from exhaustion and the indifference of private companies and public administrations on this matter. The crisis has dented the radio we used to know, among other reasons, due to the copy of formats and contents from the waves that are dumped in the Net without rethinking the media and finding a new business model.

In order to see how far radio has not been rethought nor has evolved according to the new media or audiences, this research aims to be an approach to the programming models of the general-interest Spanish radio stations and to its dominant contents compared to those offered by the Internet platforms of those same radio stations (websites, podcasts or radio on demand). The objective is to quantify, if any, the new content offered by the Net to the listener, as well as the flows established between Internet radio and traditional terrestrial radio, and to analyze the new formats in which imminent future radio is being built.

Subject of study and work hypothesis

Internet has revolutionized the mass media system, access to information has been democratized and every media has incorporated elements from the others: written media have included audiovisual elements and in its turn audiovisual media have incorporated written word and sound-based elements.

This way, Internet radio transforms traditional terrestrial radio from being a media that only had sound into a multimedia device. The radio, that previously could only be heard, can now be read and watched (Rojo, Hellín & San Nicolás, 2008).

At the beginning, Internet radio was useful for traditional radio as a way to expand its distribution in other fields while, at the same time, it facilitated access, expanded the range of offers and improved the availability of its contents. Shortly after, some elements already owned by the Internet were introduced and some experiments were made to exploit new possibilities; that is what we called "Internet radio". Finally, there appears a variant that tends to establish total convergence and synergies that give rise to what Cebrián Herreros calls "ciberradio": a medium that is different from traditional radio and Internet and is achieved by the merging of both media (Cebrián, 2008).

According to Franquet (2003) there are two different modes of radio distribution through the Internet: broadcasting simultaneously the same programs as conventional radio through the Net and storing these programs in files available for consumption when needed, what is known as "radio on demand".

The first one, simultaneous broadcasting, is still the most widely used by most Spanish radio companies that "use the Internet as a complement to their hertzian broadcasting, as a value-added service to their listeners or as a means to connect with their audience, in order to obtain information or facilitate their participation, but without assessing the properties of the Net as a valid media to spread journalistic contents" (Peñafiel, 2007:25).

The second practice, storage of programs, converts flow radio programming into an asynchronous one that is deposited on the Web so that anyone, anytime and anywhere can access it. Thus the listener becomes detached from the characteristic simultaneous transmission and reception of traditional terrestrial radio (Cebrián, 2007).

Given these two ways of online broadcasting, live, simultaneously with the terrestrial programming, and storage, Carmen Peñafiel (2007) mentions interaction, immediacy, lack of boundaries, both spatial and temporal, and the incorporation of multimedia services as the main features of Internet radio; while traditional radio is characterized by synchrony, immediacy and transience.

Therefore, with Internet radio we go from a synchronous radio to an asynchronous one, disconnected from airtime, in which listeners become users and can access radio programs at any time and listen to them when and where they please. Now, users are free from the constraints of live broadcast to access programming and are able to develop personal strategies of use and consumption (Cebrián, 2008).

According to Gallego (2010) this split between space and time is one of the most important consequences of the merging between radio and the Internet, but what he really considers essential is the relation established between the Internet user and the audio, and hence the interactivity that arises from this relationship. This causes the listener to become a real active part, not only by making an active listening or using of the multiple forms of participation that the Net has brought with it, but also by becoming a content generator.

Internet radio gives listeners a prominent role. The traditional model was a mass consumption one while the new model implies a personal consumption and broadcasting in which individuals have spatio-temporal control on radio programming (González & Salgado, 2009). But users can also participate in the Net by creating communities around a radio station or program, providing feedback, and even may create a podcast with the audio files of a program (Gallego, 2010).

Content customization and active consumption is one of the transformations and one of the great benefits that technological development has provided. This, together with the change in the way of providing contents,

from program flow to stock programming and from thematic models to radio on demand services (Rojo, Hellín & San Nicolás, 2008), is transforming radio as we know it, with a new formula of fragmented programming or isolated contents, which replaces the single broadcast, continuous and mass hearing offer (González, 2010).

Nevertheless to achieve this personalization and user interaction with the new radio contents, it is necessary that programming is stored so that it can be retrieved later on. The most important consequence of the creation of these audio warehouses, to facilitate users' access to them, is that traditional radio programming has to be fragmented on the Internet.

Radio programming has traditionally been identified as program flow or continuous diffusion, characterized by the continuity and extent of its distribution. Internet radio, either streaming, radio on demand or podcast, causes the program grid, through which traditional radio was structured and was taken as reference for the complete structure of the product, to start fading away (Bonet, 2007). In this fashion, the structure of the broadcast programming is broken being later restructured by each user according to his preferences. Balsebre says that "the confusion may be in considering radio as a medium of expression such as television or cinema, when in fact its essence lies in being a medium of information. [...] It is time to turn information into a commodity, programming into a consumption item, the medium into a showcase. Here begins the age of radio as a service and ends the time of radio as a company" (Balsebre, 1996).

Therefore, radio programming is fragmented in completely different ways from the usual ones. This new fragmented programming allows each user to establish a sequentiality suited to his needs, accessing all the parts he desires, for as long as he wants and as many times as he likes. Thus, radio programs become decontextualized, outside the program grid, and the user builds its own new and personal contextualization by interacting with the radio products (Cebrián, 2008).

So now users do not receive the programming but they search for some specific content and produce their self-programming combining the contents of one or more radio stations, selected within the range offered by the channel itself, live and recorded, and create their own program grid interacting with it and also with other users (Cebrián, 2008).

But not all radio programs are permanently available via the Internet for recovery. According to Rojo, Hellín and San Nicolás (2008) Internet radio offers three different possibilities: durable in time or audio library, ephemeral or for a short period of time and live broadcast; in turn Cebrián (2008) talks about these three but under different labels: live broadcasting in synchrony with the user's time, radio for each day or temporary and permanent radio; and he adds one more, the possible combinations among them.

Therefore, Internet radio multiplies the ways and times of access to programming by giving listeners a prominent role they had never enjoyed before.

Since its appearance in 2004, podcasting, has become an important way of radio consumption and has revolutionized the way listeners access those contents generated by the stations, but also has made it possible for users to become producers.

The term podcast, according to Berry (2006), refers to a disruptive technology since it allows the downloading of audio content from the Internet using software applications, but it is also used to describe those contents manually downloaded, and therefore it is necessary to develop a new terminology. In this respect Gallego (2010) considers that it is basic to differentiate podcasting from manual radio on demand audio download, distinction that we will refer to through the definition of podcasting and the description of its characteristics.

There are different versions concerning the birth of the concept "podcasting", but the most likely, as noted by several authors (Blanco, 2006; Cebrián, 2009; Gallego, 2005 and Gallego, 2010) would be the sum of two terms: iPod, the portable player developed by Apple, and broadcasting. The coined of the term is attributed to the British

Journalist Ben Hammersley who, in an article entitled "Audio Revolution" published in *The Guardian*, named it for the first time (Cebrián, 2008; Gallego, 2010).

"MP3 players, like Apple's iPod, in many pockets, audio production software cheap or free, and weblogging an established part of the internet; all the ingredients are there for a new boom in amateur radio. But what to call it? Audioblogging? Podcasting? Guerilla Media?" (Hammersley, 2004)

Throughout this work we will also find the term "podcast", so it is necessary to clarify the conceptual differences between this term and "podcasting". We understand podcasting as the distribution of audio content over the Internet through an automated process called web syndication, while we call podcast the audio file distributed through podcasting or a series of audio episodes distributed periodically in a single feed (Sellas, 2009). Therefore, podcasting refers to the whole process while podcast designates its contents, both those offered and those received (Cebrián, 2008)

In this approach to podcasting a technological definition must be given as well. For this means it must be mentioned that podcasting itself is not a new technology, but the integration or union of two existing technologies such as MP3 –the most widely used format of audio compression– and RSS (Really Simple Syndication¹) –that facilitates the subscription to a source which automates the downloading of files–, so it cannot be said that it constitutes a technological revolution, but it can be held that this combination is responsible for a sociological innovation (Gallego, 2005; Gallego, 2010).

The simplest and easiest understandable definition of podcasting is given by Sonia Blanco (2006) in just three words: audio plus syndication. Adding then a more detailed description:

[a podcast is] "an audio file that includes some labels that allow the syndication of that file, so that the user can subscribe and receive in his feed reader the new distributed episodes of the podcasts he has selected. [...] However, the process of podcast listening does not need to be automated and the listener can download the file manually. Also most podcasters offer the possibility to hear each episode on the website too, without downloading any file."² (Blanco, 2006:1935).

Throughout the reviewed work we have found some other definitions from different authors (Berry, 2005; Cebrián, 2008; Gallego, 2010 and Sellas, 2009) but since they all agree on the essentials we will operate with Blanco's definition.

Podcasting, like Internet radio, allows users to cross space-time barriers of traditional radio, retrieve the contents fragmented and isolated after their release, select, reorganize and restructure them according to their needs and rhythms. After all, podcasting allows users to interact with the contents to create their own programmatic grid.

Up to this point, radio on demand and podcasting are broadly similar. The main differences are related to the fact that podcasting allows syndication of audio files. This means that users can now receive their favorite programs instead of having to search for them in the website of the radio stations (Peñafiel, 2007). Furthermore, this allows users to become independent of permanent connection to the Net and to be able to listen to the audio files outside it. So podcasting becomes an independent product free from any kind of broadcasting, whether synchronous or asynchronous, since it provides users with those documents whether they are or not online (González, 2010).

¹ The acronym RSS can be used to refer to different versions of the standard: Rich Site Summary (RSS 0.91), RDF Site Summary (RSS 0.9 and 1.0) and Really Simple Syndication (RSS 2.0).

² From the original: "un fichero de audio al que se le incluyen unas etiquetas que permiten la sindicación de dicho archivo, para que así el usuario pueda suscribirse y recibir en su gestor de suscripciones los nuevos episodios que se vayan distribuyendo de los podcasts que ha seleccionado. [...] No obstante, el proceso de escuchar podcasts, no tiene que estar automatizado, y el oyente puede realizar la descarga del archivo de manera manual. Además la mayoría de podcasters también ofrecen la posibilidad de escuchar cada episodio en la página web, sin necesidad de descargarse ningún archivo."

But despite the fact that users decide when they want to listen to the programs, which is a fundamental change, the producers, the radio stations, still maintain control over the content (Berry, 2006), and therefore the unidirectional scheme is the same in terrestrial radio and Internet radio.

Work Hypotesis

Our main hypothesis argues that the programming aired by Spanish general-interest content radio stations differs from that offered as podcast by each of them; that most of the analyzed stations will offer less contents as podcast than those broadcasted and that radio stations have not generated a solid structure yet for the contents offered in the Internet to be competitive in this sector.

Methodology

Content analysis has been used to try to study in depth broadcast radio programming during the week from July 4 to 11, 2011, which held the sample and its analysis, trying to corroborate our work hypotheses. The number of broadcast programs provided that week by the main four commercial general-interest content radio stations in Spain (COPE, Onda Cero, SER and Punto Radio) and by the public channel that also offers general-interest contents (RNE 1) has been counted, both analogue and podcast.

For data collection of analogue programming and of course the digital one, the website of each of the stations and the information it provides users with, regarding its contents, has been used as a tool. Each of the programs broadcasted that week (according to the program grid found in the website of each station) and those offered as podcast that each station has uploaded during the following days of its airing, have been considered as units of analysis, obtaining a total of 380 units. The variables have been coded using PASW Statistics after collecting research data.

The study has been both descriptive and comparative. Having several different general-interest content radio stations, as said before, allowed us to analyze each one separately obtaining more or less significant results, but also allowed us to compare the different radio stations data enriching the resulting figures and conclusions.

To conduct the content analysis, a template has been used in order to draw a series of necessary variables for this first approach to the subject of study. All the contents broadcasted using terrestrial radio and together with all content provided by each station from July 4 to 11, 2011, have been coded.

In this template all the contents broadcasted as terrestrial radio or podcast by each of the mentioned radio stations have been coded from July 4 to 11, 2011. The focus of attention has been the whole content, that is, the program and each of them have been considered as a different unit of analysis in both its analogue and podcast, if any, versions.

In addition to registering the broadcaster radio station (COPE, SER, RNE 1, Onda Cero or Punto Radio), it has been registered the title of the program, date of airing, duration –of analogue programs–, hour of broadcasting and if the program belongs to the grid announced in the website or if, on the contrary, it is offered as podcast. Since it is intended to measure if the offer of both terrestrial and podcast is comparable and to what degree, the theme of the contents has also been registered, distinguishing in a variable whether these correspond to information, sports, culture, accident and crime reports, society, magazine and finance among others.

Regarding podcasting, we wanted to know if radio stations offer their programs in their whole length or if, on the other hand, they are offered as fragments; if these fragments correspond to the sections of the analogue programs and how many can a podcast of any program have. This information has been used to reach the conclusions of the study through statistical analysis of registered data.

The whole research is methodologically based on contingency tables which have crossed the essential variables of each chapter and showed or not significant relationships among them. Each designed table is a tool to corroborate not only the general hypothesis, but also each of the more specific hypotheses that develop the

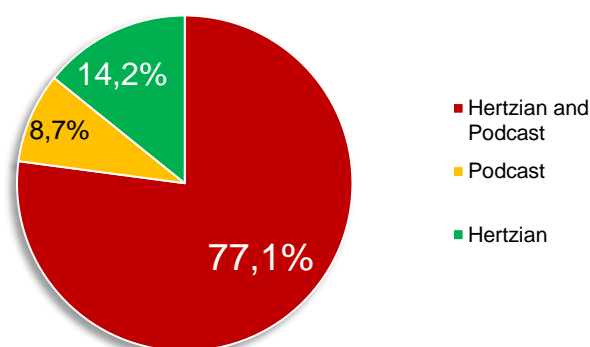
more theoretical parts of the research. The data used have been extracted from the database configured after the content analysis and the tables have been designed in accordance with the questions that have arisen through the whole process.

The interpretation of quantitative data produced by the numbers is considered sufficient for this specific analysis, although we are aware of the importance and need of expanding and completing it with a discourse analysis based on more qualitative techniques of information analysis. However, despite in-depth interviews with programmers, media directors or discussion groups seeking results in the same line of research, would for sure complete substantially the results, we also believe that the analysis executed is just an attempt to assure, in numerical terms, that the hypotheses assumed in the study are true, without the depth all those qualitative conclusions could give. We are also aware that the data about the analogue programming aired those days that we have handled does not correspond with reality, because the program grids found on the websites of radio stations are not always updated and also because summer programming changes depending on the production routines of the stations during summertime. However, this leads us to the conclusion that the information radio stations in Spain have in their websites is not being sufficiently checked and is anarchic in most studied cases.

Results

Contents format

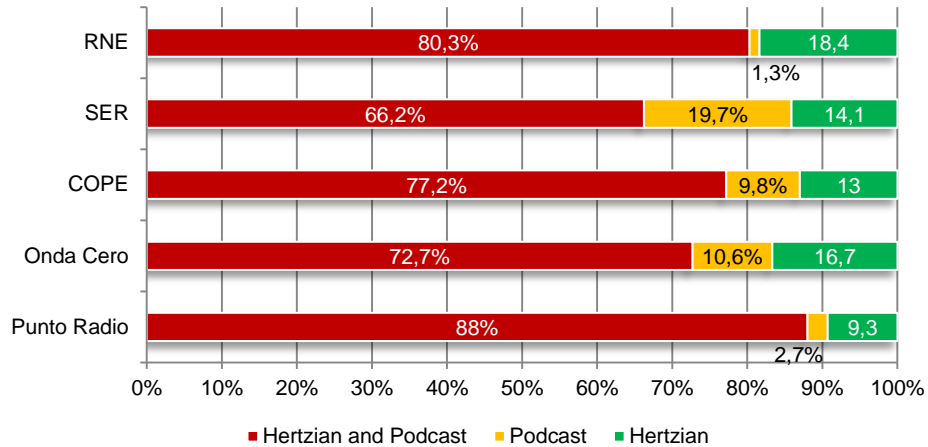
The first set of results is intended to describe the most significant differences between the contents that radio stations broadcast in traditional terrestrial radio and the quantity of podcasts generated from those contents. Contrary to what might be expected, numbers show that most of the contents broadcasted through the airwaves, at least in the analyzed time span, find its corresponding podcast to which the user has access soon after its broadcasting. Of the 380 analyzed cases, 77.1% of the whole can be found in both formats, while just 8.7% are only available as podcast. At first glance it could be put forward that those contents are produced by the radio stations only and exclusively for the Net, however, since the program grids analyzed are those available on their websites, we cannot assert with certainty that such podcast contents have not been broadcasted in traditional radio that week. On the contrary, it can be mentioned the case of Cadena SER, that advertises some of its contents as specifically generated as podcast: "La hora extra", "Punto, SER y partido", "La octava planta", "Play Fútbol", "Play Basket" and the video blog of Iñaki Gabilondo. It should also be mentioned that, although these are contents of specific creation to be broadcasted only through the Net, by the time the analysis was carried out –July, 2011– the last podcasts found of these programs belonged to the previous month –June–. Finally, 14.2% of the programs analyzed are only broadcasted by traditional radio –the content of those programs will be presented later on.



Graphic 1. Contents format
Source: Prepared by the authors

Contents format in radio stations

Going a little further and itemizing the use of podcasting by each of the radio stations analyzed.



Graphic 2. Contents format of radio stations

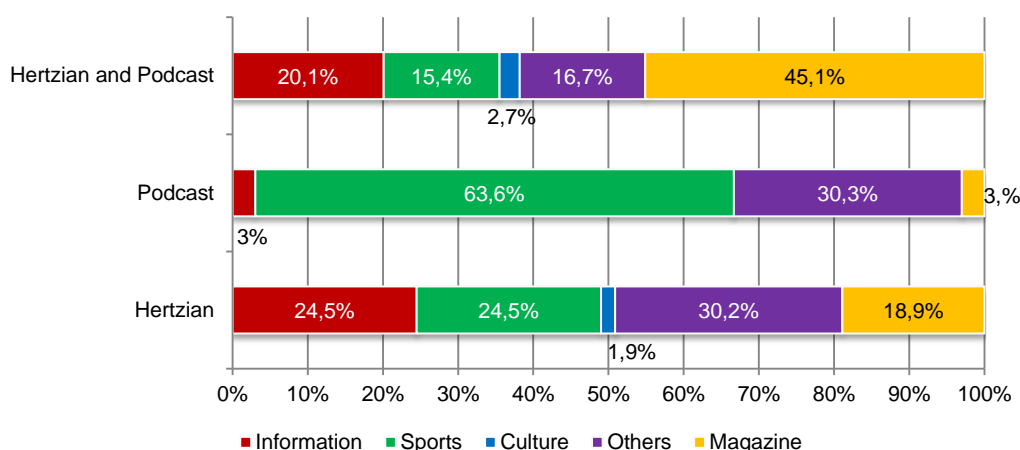
Source: Prepared by the authors

Punto Radio is the radio station with more contents in both formats, analogue and podcast, since 80% keeps the double offer. RNE follows with 80.3% of the analyzed cases, while the lowest number of content offered through the waves and Internet belongs to Cadena SER, which computes a 66.2% of its programs. However, it is precisely this station the one that has more only-podcast content, since in the 71 programs analyzed up to 14 have been registered only in that format. A significant figure when compared with the 2 cases analyzed belonging to Punto Radio or the only one case of RNE. COPE and Onda Cero have intermediate values; around 10% of their content is diffused only as podcast. There are also analogue contents of which no podcast has been generated, specifically 54 cases of which 14 belong to RNE, 10 to SER, 12 to COPE, 11 to Onda Cero and 7 to Punto Radio; very low and similar figures in all the stations included in the analysis.

Content format of themes

In the overall, of the 33 programs diffused as podcast, it is noteworthy that 21 of them are programs whose main theme is "sports", 10 fall under the category "others", specialized content with very specific topics such as films, hunting and fishing, bullfighting or mystery; but among those categorized as "magazine" and "information" there is only one case of each.

If we read the data focusing on those contents with no corresponding podcast, we count up to 53 programs, a figure significantly higher than the previous one. Within these only analogue diffused content, 30.2% belong to the "other" category while 49% of the cases belong to "information" and "sports", but there is only one cultural program.



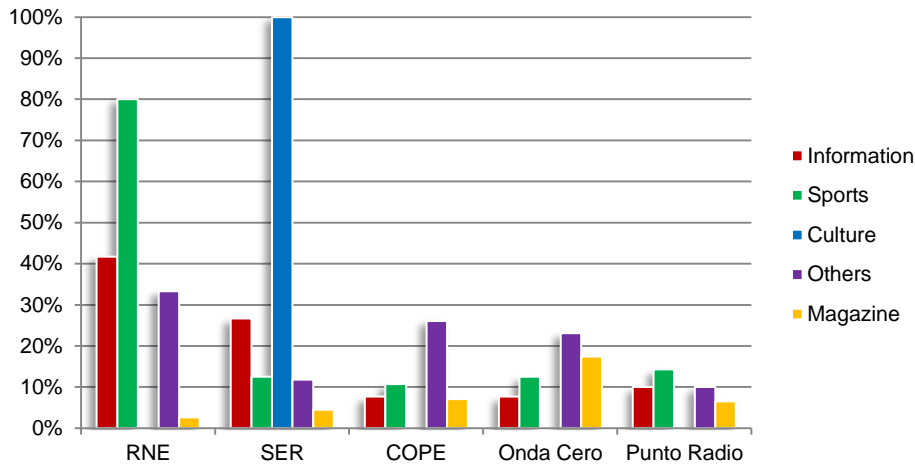
Graphic 3. Contents format of themes

Source: Prepared by the authors

A quick glance at the program grid of the general-interest content radio stations highlights one point: in all of them there are large sections of programs that last for nearly seven hours, characterized by their stability in the daily programming and their versatility of structure and content: magazine programs. In the case of the public channel, the one with the largest number of magazine programs, 38 out of the 61 analyzed fit in this genre, precisely because of their length and versatility of format and content. 97.4% were diffused through conventional radio and found as podcast, none was released just as podcast and 2.6% was just broadcasted through the waves. Those programs categorized as "information" and "others" – 12 out of 72 in each case – are also important in RNE: none was specifically created as podcast while 9 were only diffused in traditional radio –5 under the category "information" and 4 under "others".

When asked what types of programs were diffused only through the waves and, therefore, with no corresponding podcast during the analyzed week, it is remarkable in the case of RNE that most of these contents were sports programs. In the public channel 80% of its sports content were only counted as analogue. On the contrary the commercial stations display lower numbers, for example in Cadena SER those programs represent a 12.5% while similar values are found in COPE, Onda Cero and Punto Radio. It is necessary to specify that in the case of RNE there were only 5 sports programs found in the chosen week, while SER and Onda Cero had 16 each and Cope reached the number of 28 programs with sport as its main theme.

Cadena SER has its higher value of contents diffused exclusively through the waves in information programs – excluding "culture" with just one case and thus 100% –, 26.7% of them do not have a corresponding podcast. In COPE, that figure corresponds to the category "other", especially religious content such as "Iglesia noticia", "Informativo diocesano" or "La Santa Misa", reaching 26.1%. Something similar happens in Onda Cero, since out of the total of its content classified as "other" 23.1% were diffused only through traditional radio – "travel", "health" or "pets" are a few examples of these contents. In the case of Punto Radio, percentages have more similar values and out of the 7 programs found with no associated podcast 2 are "information", 2 "magazines", 2 "sports" and just one with "cinema" as its main theme, thus classified as "other".



Graphic 4. Themes in hertzian radio
Source: Prepared by the authors

Podcasting Characteristics

The second block of results expects to analyze those contents especially designed for the Web by the radio stations, describing its features and the way podcasting is currently being developed in Spanish radio. Once the use of podcasting has been confirmed and embodied in numbers and percentages, with higher results than *a priori* might be thought, we can assert that both Spanish commercial and public radio stations have entered fully into its development.

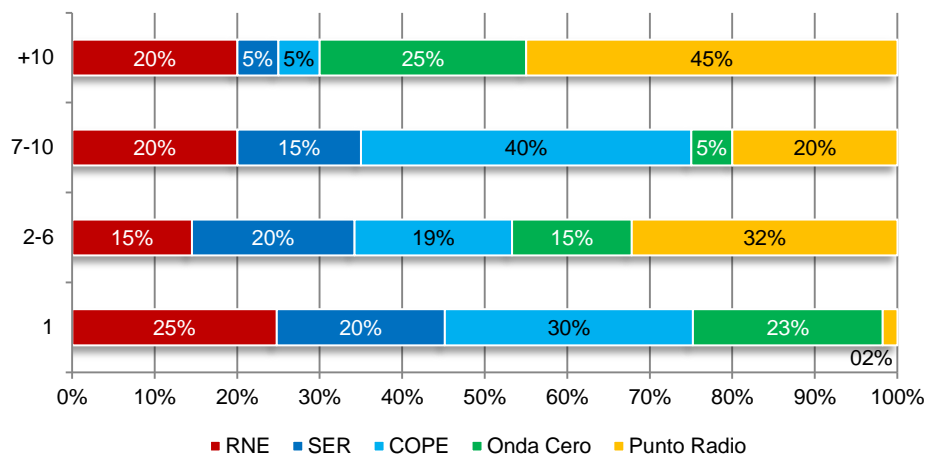
Among those programs released as podcast in the analyzed radio stations 82.2% are offered in its full length, that is, a user can access the entire content of the program aired live through the waves a few hours ago and listen to it whenever and however he desires. Only 58 out of the 325 counted cases had a missing part. At the same time it can be also said that there is a noticeable trend toward program fragmentation, when presented as podcast, because of the excessive length of some of them. 68.6% of the programs are fragmented while just 31.4% is presented as a whole audio file. There are also stations such as Punto Radio or Onda Cero that use both versions for some programs. One of the most arbitrary questions regarding this matter corresponds to the way radio stations fragment their programs, as there is no general formula for doing so and even within the same station and the same program there are different criteria. Only in 27.7% of the cases the fragments of the podcasts corresponded to a fixed section of the program, while in the remaining 72.3% the audio files are fragmented as hourly blocks or entire contents, standing out the formula in which the podcast fragments correspond to random or important moments of a given program, like an interview.

The highest number of fragments recorded for a single program has been 18 and corresponds to a "magazine" broadcasted in Punto Radio, but we can state that this is an isolated case and that the most common number of fragments is close to an average of 4.

The most fragmented programs are "magazines" with an average of 5.51 fragments (it has already been mentioned that the cause that justifies this fragmentation is the length of content of these programs), followed by daily "information" programs with references to the current political and economic events. On average, radio stations fragment these programs in 4.07 parts. At the other end of the list are the strictly "cultural" contents, scarce during the week of the analysis and barely fragmented. Nor do "sports" contents (an average of 2.26 fragments per program) or those classified as "other", with an average of 1.67 and a maximum of 9 fragments in both recorded cases of the science program "Luces en la oscuridad" by Punto Radio.

There are no major differences in the average fragmentation between the different radio stations, ranging from 3.18 to 3.44 in Cadena SER and Onda Cero respectively, but this average is higher in the case of Punto Radio,

5.5, due to the greater fragmentation of its “magazine” programs. There is a total of 113 programs uploaded as podcast with just one fragment, 34 of them belong to COPE, which holds the highest number, while Punto Radio with just 2 programs is the station with less single-fragmented podcasts. Once recoded the variable “number of fragments” and grouped the values, we observe that the highest percentages of fragmentation are in a range from 2 to 6, where Punto Radio has a 32% of the total (which represents a 72.1% of its podcasts) followed by SER with 19.7% of its programs fragmented from 2 to 6 parts and COPE with a 19.1%, while RNE and Onda Cero have 22 programs each within this range (14.5% each). If we focus on the range of podcasts with more than 11 fragments, Punto Radio stands out again with 45% of the total (13.3% of its programs) while SER and COPE only have one program each with such number of fragments (5% of them each).



Graphic 5. Fragmentation of podcasts
Source: Prepared by the authors

Findings and conclusions

- Spanish general-content radio stations, both commercial and public, have advanced considerably in the use of tools to make them more visible and increase their presence in the Internet in recent years. Most of them, especially at state coverage, use websites and podcasting as a basis for their online programming and as a lure for the audience that wants specific radio content without being subject to the diffusion timetables of the waves. In contrast to what might be at first thought, this research demonstrates that almost every program broadcast through hertzian radio on the analyzed stations has its corresponding podcast on the Web available to all users.
- However, we can also conclude that the Internet is not used to offer different and innovative contents that do not have place in traditional radio. The podcasts are simply identical copies of the analogue programs and, in most cases, do not even have a fixed fragmentation structure. They are designed as a support through which the same contents can be made available on the Internet and consumed on demand but without designing a new specific narrative. The clearest example can be found in the advertising those podcasts include which, as has been said, is exactly the same as that included in traditional radio, in the same place and order. The stations still have not bothered designing special advertising for this new form of radio consumption, wasting the commercial advantages that its redesigning could bring. Only Cadena SER announces on its website specific Internet content, however, during the week of the analysis these contents were not updated.
- The radio stations websites and their podcasts are not, generally, easily accessible to the users and there is a huge anarchy in the ways information is made available. The stations do not seem to have a clear

idea of the criteria under which podcasting works, since none of them keeps a fixed formula for uploading and fragmenting those contents. The program grids of the websites are neither up to date. Perhaps this disorder may be due to the absence of a specific department in charge of these issues because, up to now, in most cases, writers and announcers are in charge of uploading the audio files. It is worth mentioning in this section that both RNE and Punto Radio are the two stations with a better organization of their digital content on the Net.

- Podcasting, as it is conceived by the main radio stations of Spain, causes the message to lose many of the features radio has as distinguishing features from other media. The continuity of the messages, the proximity to the listeners and the freshness of live dialogue are lost; radio narrative is not anymore perceived to follow an aural narrative based on the support of the audio rather than in the essence of radio. Radio has not been rethought and still has not found in podcasting a new business model to make executives work for innovation, investing in new radio formulas and generating contents that are not just copies of the analogue ones uploaded to the Net.

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Romeo in love: a community format in a community radio

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Abstract:

This case study aims to investigate - through qualitative analysis - the form and content of a format in the schedule of an Italian university radio programme. *Romeo in Love* is a videocast on Lesbian Gay Bisex Transgender culture experienced by young people. It is made in the studios of FuoriAulaNetwork university web radio of the University of Verona. The format is run by two young postgraduates, one gay and one heterosexual, friends in life and passionate communicators, who have developed skills in the radio business during their courses of study. Both are in fact founders of the university web radio created in Verona in March 2005 as an experimental product of media education and public communication.

A university web radio is a community medium-free, alternative, non profit and an expression of youth culture, developed from grassroots, created to meet the needs of a community with the purpose of sharing common values and passions.

Romeo in Love was launched in May 2008 and was made available after the weekly live show in the form of a podcast on the radio's website, and then on its own site. In 2009 the programme became a videocast and in this new form embraces an even wider, and more diverse audience, including listeners from outside the LGBT community.

Keywords: LGBT culture, university radio, community media, new media

Introduction to queer radio: brief American and English history

*I saw the best minds of my generation destroyed by madness, starving
hysterical naked, [...]
who passed through universities with radiant coll eyes hallucinating Ar-
kansas and Blake-light tragedy among the scholars of war,
who were expelled from the academies for crazy & publishing obscene
odes on the windows of the skull.*

These verses were written by the poet Allen Ginsberg in 1956 and are part of *Howl*, a controversial poem in which the poet revealed his liberal attitude toward sexuality. Ginsberg's reading of *Howl* on Berkley station KPFA-FM in the same year and was one of the first signs of gay culture on the air. KPFA, founded in 1946, was one of the first community stations in the United States, and part of Pacifica, the country's oldest public radio networks. The Pacifica Radio Network has served as a template for community broadcasting, introducing listener-sponsorship, the programmes guide, and key fund-raising techniques (Dunaway, 2005).

In the late 1960s the Federal Communications Commission – an independent agency of the American government with a regulatory power on broadcasting – demanded that Ginsberg's poem cease to be aired on Pacifica radio stations.

But why has the LGBT community chosen radio to communicate? In the late 1950s radio was the main media after newspaper and David Gilmore, producer of *Outright Radio* – the successful gay radio programme launched in Atlanta 1998 – explains radio is a strong, inexpensive storytelling medium and 'the obvious choice for the show's personal narratives, interviews and documentary pieces' (Johnson, 2008: 104).

The first appearance of queer topics on air in the US was in the late 1950s, with the broadcast of Ginsberg's poem and the first gay-rights radio documentary in 1959 on San Francisco's KPFA. In June 1969 the Stonewall riots – a rebellion in the streets of New York – occurred and determined the beginning of a LGBT modern movement all over the world.

This incident encouraged a new freedom across radio. Over the next two decades, queer radio stations emerged over public airwaves, with dedicated volunteers hosting and producing programmes across the United States (Johnson, 2008: 98).

As consequence, by the 1970s, many stations were dedicating space to queer news. In addition to public and community there were university stations such as Georgetown University's WGTB-FM which hosted guests like famed gay beat poet Allen Ginsber (Johnson, 2008: 98). In 1971, Imru debuted on Pacifica's KPFA as the first weekly gay radio show in Los Angeles and by 1988 when *This Way Out*, produced by Greg Gordon, was launched and soon, syndicated and aired by more than a hundred stations.

In the 1990s, market research began to break down the stereotypical assumptions about this ignored audience (Johnson, 2008: 100) which soon became a 'marketable audience' (Scarborough Research, 2010).

In 1992, the KGAY Radio Network was launched as the first 'attempt to market: a 24hour all gay and lesbian format in America' (Johnson, 2004: 647; Johnson, Hoy, Ziegler, 1995), which open the door in 1998 for Charles Bouley Jr. and Andrew Howard to become the first openly gay couple in the US to host a drive-time show called *Goodmorning Gay America* on a commercial station.

In the 1990s new technologies arrived. In the US Sirius Satellite radio offered one channel only to queer programming and in the UK the counterpart was Gaydar Radio. However, in the UK queer radio came onto the airwaves as late as the early 1990s, despite some scholars (Beck, 2004) arguing that queer topics had begun to be heard on air as early as the 1920s.

Radio programmes devoted to the lesbian world deserve a special parenthesis. In the UK 'the first independent production on Radio 4 was also BBC Radio's first lesbian and gay programme. *A Sunday Outing* was a two-hour live magazine programme broadcast on Saint Valentine's Day 1993' (Ney, Godwin, Hollows, 2000: 78). However "some of the earliest references to lesbian were almost certainly made on *Woman's Hour* a programme from 1946" (Ney, Godwin, Hollows, 2000: 72).

Gender studies, especially related to woman, are popular and widespread in academic research; sexualisation and feminine values in journalism (Carter, Branston, Allan, 1996) is a very interesting point of view.

There are also some effective studies dedicated specifically to analyses of women in radio (Loviglio, 2008) which suggest that 'the original relationship between women and radio was quite clear – women should listen but not be heard' (Fleming, 2002:159). In her study examining the representation of Muslim women in radio on the flagship radio current affairs programmes produced by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Posetti concludes that radio, as a blind medium can facilitate communications and free expression from a feminine and minority perspective (Posetti, 2008).

This point of view is also valid and useful to explain and analyze all queer media experiments, especially queer radio which have their own characteristics.

Allan Beck underlined the following specific categories into which queer radio could be inserted (Beck, 2004: 141).

1. 'Ghetto' programmes run for a gay audience.
2. Popular music.
3. Mainstream discussion-tied-to-phone-in on an issue.
4. Magazine programmes such as 'Gay and Lesbian London', now to be on the Internet (started on BBC in 1993).
5. Personality interviews.
6. Radio drama.
7. Radio comedy.
8. Targeted commercials.
9. News items, packages and features.
10. Lesbian/Gay operated stations, and now on the Internet.

According to the last point of Beck's list, a recent phenomenon are corporate radio as Clear Channel Radio who launched in 2007 Pride Radio and, in the last decade, the increase of Internet radio. Similarly in 2002 the Radio Gay International Network and GayInternetRadioLive.com were both launched online. Early on, the Internet became a new channel with characteristics well suited to bring out all minority group's issues and needs to communicate.

The Internet is also home to a number of gay radio programmes that can only be heard via the web, and this appears to be the trend among gay radio broadcasters who wish to seek a larger audience base to justify commercial sponsorship' (Johnson, 2004: 648).

Technological changes appear to have 'liberated' the LGBT community and allowed it to express itself freely, not providing a new means of reaching members of its own community, and potentially opening the LGBT community and its issues to society as a whole.

In the recent years new options have emerged that offer isolated members of a minority the opportunity to reach and communicate with like-minded fellows: scattered cable-TV and radio programmes that are available to those lucky enough to live within their range, and for those with access to cyberspace, the Internet and the World Wide Web. These technological innovations permit the construction of virtual public spaces that can be life – or, at least, sanity- saving refuges for many who have reason to feel that they are living in enemy territory (Gross, 1998:98).

The Internet, which represents a democratic media system, has liberated the LGBT community, although it still faces strong censorship, as can be seen in the university media panorama.

Censorship and freedom in university media

Recently the Canadian Broadcast Standards Council (CBSC) censored the Dire Strait's famous song Money for nothing, and as a result most of Canadian university radio, despite claiming to represent free airwaves, decided not to play it. 'No offence to the Dire Straits. We just don't play them' says Chad Saunders, University of Calgary radio's station manager (Carson, 2011). The 'formal' reason is likely related to the Canadian Radio-Television Telecommunications Commission, who strictly limit how many hit songs university radio are permitted to play, and because such stations are suppose to be dedicated to independent and local artists. However, Money for nothing supposedly violates radio's code of ethics because it likes the word 'faggot' - which is a slang term for gay men -. 'See the little faggot/With the earring and the makeup/Yeah buddy that's his own hair/That little faggot got his own jet airplane/That little faggot he's a millionaire' are the famous song's indicted verses. These words and in

more the fact that famously gay Elton John performed it in the past are probable evidences of violated decency standards (RadioInk, 2011).

On the other side, the US, where censorship is not so strong, Eminem is accused of being anti-gay and was banned by students on Sheffield University's radio station (AbcNews, 2011) and the MTV Video Music Awards has added new category, 'Best Video With A Message', designed to celebrate gay-friendly artists such as Lady Gaga.

If censorship related to queer topics in the US is not common in another part of the world than Canada, a gay kiss photo student newspaper triggers different reactions between anger and praise (Reimold, 2010). It happened in South Africa. American society seems to be more openminded and there are many National associations fighting for LGBT rights with activities in schools, colleges and universities: educational aims are very important and strategic for those organizations.

Among the most active of these organizations is Global Network Student Equality (GLSEN), who advocates for LGBT youth in schools, defending the formation of gay-straight alliances and advocating for anti-bullying policies; GLAAD which has prepared a 'Guide for college media' resource for college journalists covering stories about the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender community and NLGJA, an organization of journalists, media professionals, educators and students working from within the news industry to foster fair and accurate coverage of LGBT issues.

In California just few months ago the Fair Education Act was passed, ensuring that the LGBT's rights movement and history is now included in public school curriculum (ThinkProgress.org, 2011; Equality California, 2011). Furthermore, in American universities great attention is placed on research on the campus climate for LGBT students, and the US Government pays particular attention to it (Menefee-Libey, 2011; Dilley, 2002).

According to Stage 'the primary policy vehicle for addressing gaps in college access and choice is student financial aid but is not enough. Eliminating gaps in college enrollment requires attention not only to the financial barriers but also to academic, social and phsyiological barriers' (Stage, 2007: 125).

CampusPride, a national nonprofit organization - founded in the US in 2001 for student leaders and campus groups working to create a safer college environment for LGBT students - releases every year the State of Higher Education Report and the Campus Climate Index, a nationally-praised index, which takes an in-depth look at LGBT-friendly policies, programmess and practices; colleges are rated from one to five stars, depending on their answers to a detailed, voluntary questionnaire (CampusPride, 2011).

Most importantly these associations and organizations pay particular attention to creating relationship with university media which can be used as effective means to promote special messages, as happened at Kansas State University. There, a sexual education programme that was aired by the local university radio station to promote student health issues, was first reviewed (Van Haveren, Blank, Bentley, 2001).

University Radio and LGBT issues, a brief history in US and UK

Hi I'm Joel the Hastings rep for LGBrighTon. I am in my second year studying broadcast media at UCH and resident in Brighton. I am also station manager for the student radio station Burst Radio and hope to engage with everyone interested in events and activities provided by LGBrighTon. You can catch me DJing' at Blow Out special events at Revenge and other student union events. I would like to encourage and facilitate an LGBT show on Burst Radio. If you would like to get in touch regarding any of the areas I am involved with please do not hesitate to contact me.

Joel Samuels is an English gay student at the University of Brighton and in this message on the Student's Union website he expresses the desire to create a programme on their local university radio.

Joel failed but the history of queer students' radio is not so negative, especially in the US.

Amazon Country at the University of Pennsylvania's station was one of the first queer programmes broadcast on a university radio station. Founded in 1974 WXPB 88.5 is the United State's longest running lesbian/feminist radio programme and Debra D'Alessandro, an activist, educator and entertainer with a wide range

of performance and broadcast experience and very famous in lesbian community and media panorama, has hosted the show since 1996. Outloud, at University of Kentucky 's station WRFL-FM is another example.

We are a student-run LGBT news and talk radio programme. We focus on issues regarding the LGBT population (and really, diversity at large) in the Central Kentucky area. As we are students, we also frequently discuss things going on here in Lexington and at the University of Kentucky.

We are the only student-produced LGBT show in the state of Kentucky, and certainly one of the few that broadcasts from a real FCC-licensed FM radio station. (University of Kentucky, 2011)

At Columbia College of Chicago attention to minorities is high and its university radio won an award from College Media Advisors 'for diversity on the basis of the makeup of the station's student staff and advisors, who reflected the racial, cultural, religious, lifestyle, and ethnic diversity of the community we are licensed to serve' (Calabrese, 2008:300).

LGBT radio: university and community?

As we can see queer university radio in the US and UK are not so widespread, however LGBT issues are commonly treated in programming on students media, especially in those programs that deal with generic topics.

But how we can define a queer programme or a queer radio in the campus media 'scenario'? Have they some characteristics in common?

Some scholars define university radio as community (Saul, 2000; Sterling, 2004; Keith, 2008; Chignell, 2009) and alternative media (Atton, 2002; Scifo, 2007) according to some specific characteristics that unite them such as: non profit, independent, 'participatory, action oriented, two directional' (Fourie, 2001: 428) and, mostly, 'committed to reaching groups, particularly women and minorities' (McCourt, 2004: 375).

LGBT people are a community and they can be compared to a minority as Gross underlines, quoting Cory. Our minority status is similar, in a variety of respects, to that of national, religious and other ethnic groups: in the denial of civil liberties; in the legal, extra-legal and quasi-legal discrimination; in the assignment of an inferior social position; in the exclusion from the mainstream of life and culture (Gross, 1998:88).

Therefore, if 'more than any broadcast medium, community radio reflects the cultural diversity of a region' (McCourt, 2004: 375) we can also define queer radio as community radio.

As community media, LGBT media matters, as Barbara Dozetos, a Huffington Post's journalist, has written recently.

LGBT news outlets provide us with much-needed context, not only for the hot-topic issues, but also our lives in general. Members of other cultures, races and identities are often brought up surrounded by family and friends of similar backgrounds. Very few of us were fortunate enough to be raised in predominantly LGBT communities or even households. So we turn to community media as a place for validation, confirmation, and information. There we learn that we are not alone and find our common culture. (Dozetos, 2011)

The community aspect in university media is also underlined in a recent interview made by a young student reporter of Campus Progress to Amy Goodman, journalist and founder of Democracy, Now! - a national, daily, independent, award-winning news programme broadcast by Pacifica Network - who says 'cover the stories of the different communities that make up your larger community. Then people will want to read about what's happening with them and with other people. I see the media as a bridge between communities. Of course, work online and – do you have a community radio station?' (Newman, 2011). Online is the new frontier of media.

New media: new opportunities for queer radio

New media create opportunities for the formation of new communities, and the Internet is no exception. In contrast to most other modern media the Internet offers opportunities for individual engagement both as senders and receivers, permitting the coalescing of interested-based networks spanning vast distances. The

potential for friendship and group formation provided by the internet is particularly valuable for members of self-identified minorities who are scattered and often besieged in their home surroundings (Gross, 2003: 260).

In Gross' words we can find a basis to underline the specific importance of new media for LGBT community and especially for students who could be speakers on university radio. "Online support networks assist lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered (LGBT) individuals in identifying their sexual orientation and sharing their news with loved ones and friends" (Pole, 2010: 53) and new media also offer a new research field on identity of LGBT people (Pullen, 2010).

Internet radio have their own particularity and experimental stations are beginning to explore the very different financial conditions on the web for clues as to how they can cover their costs in the long term, "but principally they all begin with the idea that their programmes should be on the air because they have something different to offer" (Priestaman, 2002: 116).

In this case study, we will discuss an experimental radio product which was born as a podcast for a specific community inside a community medium and how its characteristics confirm Chignell's statement that 'some of the most successful podcasts are made for niche audiences and provide for specific need' (Chignell, 2009:43).

Current studies on podcasting are asking whether podcasting will be the future of radio as a revolutionary trend (Menduni, 2007) and exploring the medium's use in educational and teaching contexts at universities (Brabazon, 2009).

Podcasting not only removes global barriers to reception but removes key factors stopping the growth of Internet radio (Berry, 2006; Douglas, Ferguson, Clark, Reardon, 2007) furthermore podcasting incorporates portability, intimacy and accessibility, which are all characteristics which are perfectly suited to queer media products such as the topic of this case study, Romeo in love is.

This programme, which we will discuss, has been broadcast by FuoriAulaNetwork – the University of Verona's web radio, born as net-only in 2006 – since 2008. The history of university web radio in Italy is very recent (Perrotta, 2005; Scifo, 2007; Cavallo, 2009): with the first one launched at University of Siena in 1999. Meanwhile the debate into what constitutes university radio is still open. Unfortunately not many Italian scholars are interested in this topic, so contributions are minimal compared to research from the UK and US (Sauls, 2000; Flaming, 2002; Scifo, 2007; Baker, 2010).

Italian LGBT media: a brief history

A survey on minorities stereotypes on media was presented in July in Rome and was the first complete survey on this topic in Italy. The research – made by the University La Sapienza and Mister Media Ltd and still in progress - highlights which kind of minorities is most represented in Italian radio and television news. Some outcomes indicate that migrants – 58.6% - are most highly represented, followed by the LGBT community – 13.8%.

In Italy there is not a strong tradition of LGBT studies in academic fields despite gender studies having a very high importance and minorities groups been the subject of many interesting surveys and research projects.

Academic research related to university media, such as radio and television projects is not yet developed and so finding relevant studies poses real challenges.

LGBT media in Italy are minimal and LGBT radio programmes even more so Romeo in Love is currently the only example of a LGBT non-profit and community format on university radio and one of the few radio programmes in the Italian media scene. Immediately after its birth another Italian university radio decided to follow its lead. Radiobue, the University of Padua's web radio, launched a six minute programme named Gayclick, but it ended after just a few months and its podcasts are now difficult to find online.

Relating to some LGBT media products in Italy, here there are some experiences:

- Deegay.it is 'The Italian Gay Web Radio', a for-profit project, initially born in 2001 as community project;
- Gblt.tv is a non-profit online aggregator for news and multimedia products especially videos;
- Goodasyou was a video format which was broadcast for three seasons on www.gblt.tv and Sky;
- ShortBus is a programme, broadcast on a local FM station named Radio Onda d'urto, now also on podcast;
- L'altro martedì is a programme broadcast on a community station named Radio Popolare;
- Trovati un bravo ragazzo, broadcast on a national station named Radio24 from 2005 until 2008 by Chiara Gamberale, a famous Italian author, who talked on the air with her gay flatmate, Carlo Guarino, about different news and topics often related to LGBT community.

Methodology of research

This paper is based on a single case study, using an in depth-interview with the creator and host of Romeo in love Sebastiano Ridolfi.

Mister Ridolfi was interviewed twice over 8 months about the story, development and structure of his projects using both an informal and non-structured interview (administered in April, 2011) a structured-interview with several questions (administered in July, 2011). The interviews were recorded and used as basis for this case study. All quotes from Ridolfi utilized in this paper were drawn from these interviews.

The research is still in progress and will continue with field observation of the editorial and recording processes during the 2011-2012 season. Further in depth-interviews and a survey based on a questionnaire given to selected audience will also be developed.

Romeo in love's history and reasons why

Romeo in Love was born in Verona on May 17 2008 which was also the 'International Day Against Homophobia' and there are two reasons why it was born. The first one was very personal as Ridolfi remembers "It was one year that I have my first homosexual relationship and, at that time, I didn't know almost nothing about the topic. Also choosing Fuori Aula Network was a personal reason because it is a place where you can experience a natural experimental project as they should be all university radio".

Ridolfi was one of the founders of the University of Verona's web radio which was launched, as an embryonic project in 2002 by the Integrated University Communication Office.

The other reason was social and related to the death of Nicola Tommasoli on May 1, 2008, a boy killed for trivial reasons, not far from the university radio location.

Climate in the city at that time led to a desire to escape or desire for vindication of civil and free way of living in a city that it did not seem to be so friendly, especially to LGBT community. They are positive and negative factors united into something constructive. The programme has an editorial ideological line: LGBT community is interesting but obscure to most and a battle for the acquisition of civil rights. We look abroad, and we have a lot of contacts because, and within us in Italy, in the Vatican, morbid curiosity is the worst evil.

Those who do

On the first year there were three hosts however Sebastiano Ridolfi was the only host with former radio experience, which he had built in the FuoriAulaNetwork and also during his high school course. At that time Ridolfi was a university student, as was one of the other two hosts, neither of which were radio experts but they were LGBT's issues experts; so the balance was achieved. "After a year I acquired knowledge of the topic through the transmission and everyday life. To me Romeo in Love is a sort of epilogue of the world's knowledge of LGBT community".

In 2009 Ridolfi knew everything and another balance was needed. Ilaria Malagutti arrived to replace the other two hosts; a radio expert - like Ridolfi, she was one of the founders of university web radio - she was an outsider on LGBT topics but she had a sensitive eye on human rights issues. Malagutti was in the same situation as Ridolfi in the first year but today, after three years of hosting, they are "two people with the same radio skills but no need of LGBT issues because we want to maintain two different points of view".

Format structure

The general structure never changes: weekly 30 minutes segments with 5 blocks with one cover and theme, summary, first topic, second topic, and news in brief. Issues are thematic but not monographic except for special events like national 'Gay Pride' or the last Lady Gaga's Italian concert.

Since the 38th episode podcasts became videocasts.

Initially it was an experiment and we had to change production's process. The post production involved a lot of time and personal investments are being made in equipment (new computer, a phone with HD camera). I adapted all the flows of production to save time. I follow everything related to video and Ilaria to audio. We make interviews in studio, by phone or skype. The standard scheme is dialogue and the confrontation between the two hosts. The theme is based on guests if we have them or by the weekly actuality. We follow it through the RSS, we check weekly around 900 Italian articles and we read about 50.

The cover is a very important part of the scheme. It lasts 4 seconds catching listeners' attention and defining the identity and the message of every episode.

Ridolfi and Malagutti sometimes broadcast or record outside the studio – which is inside university radio – and the reasons to go outside have increased with the transition to video.

Main features

Romeo in Love is an emotional product, a community service focused on AIDS prevention, and it is mostly a 'single-product'. Romeo in Love was "born with a distinction from other university radio's formats because it was born as a single programme designed for the podcast".

In the beginning there was one song on the first edition which was then totally removed.

Today the music choice is easy listening rock music: Sharif is the only artist for all the backgrounds and he is released in Creative Commons by Beatpick.com. Along with the first few episodes, it was associated with a distribution unrelated to streaming audio – used by university radio - and first of all it aimed to syndication at different times. It is a talk programme made to be a podcast. The streaming broadcast radio is a surrogate of the main channel and is podcast.

As Priestman argues podcasts 'are additional to the horizontal exploiting characteristics of the Internet as a method of distribution' (2002: 134).

Switching Romeo in Love into videocast has meant increasing popularity: with 900 downloads made of the first episode and an average of 1900 per episode today. Videos capture the attention on the web in a more empathetic and emotional way than sounds do.

I was afraid video was boring for half an hour while the perception, despite the fixed camera, is very positive. Ilaria is telegenic and thanks to make up – with some disguises - sometimes the programme becomes more pleasant and nice. Only Ilaria masquerades herself and we don't need anonymous interviews even if there are some guests very shy and worried.

Editorial work and promotion

In the editorial work for the show both hosts have equal roles. Ridolfi follows RSS and Malagutti TV and newspapers. They are helped by a young lawyer who contributes contents on issues of labour and civil rights. The programme is prepared with an editorial meeting before recording and a couple of hours of work each day.

*Fans help us on the promotion and also the dedicated website, online after the transition to videocast, is a strong promotional tool. We also use all social networks, too.
The site was mostly done to protect the programme from the University internal influences because university web radio now is only the producer but not editorial director.*

In 2008, Ridolfi was a guest at the annual conference of ILGA-Europe, a non-governmental umbrella organization which represents its members, principally organizations of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender persons, at the European level, and Ridolfi remembers that experience as very important for him and his programme because "the approach we use in our programme in Europe does not exist. University as laboratory for students and young people, Verona as city of love and hate make the project unique".

Target audience

The main target audience for the show are the LGBT community, the university community and all net surfers. There are some direct involvements with creative contributions but feedback comes almost exclusively via private mail and Facebook private messages.

There are just a few comments on the website and on social networks despite the numbers of downloads and views.

There is trouble to come out even if we receive many proposals for collaboration on many things. There's a lot of attention to the issue of prevention and health. Nobody does it and it is appreciated.

Many listeners believe that we do it for work and are even more amazed when they realize we are only volunteers and we spend personal funds.

Why community and university radio

Romeo in Love makes a community talk, it is heard by a community and it facilitate listening from a community to another. "We pay attention to the local LGBT community but also to Italians abroad. I choose university radio which is also a kind of community radio for freedom in production language, even if sometimes students are paradoxically closed in themselves and not very cooperative. In the national community we became influent but not as the voice of some counter or affiliated with movements or associations. We are free and independent. On the other radios university we had a very short period of re-transmission, but feedback from the university network failed".

As university radio LGBT media products struggle to make themselves known and Ridolfi highlights that "as university radio are educational also Romeo in Love wants to demonstrate to radio university students that they can make a programme designed and created for the web as videocast and experiment a new media language". Training is a common feature with university and community radio.

The future

In terms of programme and content Ridolfi and Malagutti want to bet on information and prevention because nobody does. "We seek the key to making information easily available on this issue". They also would like to better treat media relations and syndication because LGBT Italian media have never given space to it and university media networks too as Raduni, association of university radio professionals and students born in 2006 and Ustation, first university media and students reporters italian network born in 2009. Ridolfi has a dream related to "replication of Romeo in Love towards younger age groups with an educational workshop or replication in countries like Iran or in Africa where they have bigger problems on civil rights but experiences similar to Romeo in Love, thanks to Internet".

Reffering to budget and finance

We are non-profit and mostly we will be forever because Romeo in Love is distributed via Creative Commons and everybody can use it for non-commercial use. This is the only way LGBT issues probably could become more disseminated and shared.

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Creativity: the key to creating successful advertising messages in the digital sonosphere

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Abstract:

The characteristics of the radio media have traditionally been put forward as arguments to justify the lack of creativity in radio advertising in Spain. Factors such as fragmentation of the media, the need to resort to high frequencies in the broadcast message, the format almost absolute control wedge or direct translation of texts designed to television to radio, have led to and perpetuated the idea that radio advertising is not creative. However, the sono-digital realm has become the paradigm upside down transmission and reception of audio advertising messages. Multiplication, integration and interaction of different receiving devices paint a landscape in which arise not only new consumption habits that are beginning to overtake traditional formats, but also creativity stands as an essential tool to attract attention of the "new audiences". This is one conclusion that emerges from the first phase of the study being carried out Publi-radio Research Group (Faculty of Communication Sciences - Universidad Autònoma de Barcelona), with the title: *The Digital Sonosphere as a New Space to Communicate with Young People: A Study of Listener Habits for the Development of new PSA Formats CSO2009-12236*. The project emphasizes the importance given to creativity when developing advertising products, so much so that young people who have been part of the field investigation, one of the conditions to be given to advertising is acceptable to be creative. In this new stage of digital sound-field, in which the radio loses its characteristic half-king as a transmitter of sound advertising and must coexist with other media that carry the increased potential for contact with the target. These new media have features that allow them free of the topics traditionally associated with radio advertising, but have we taken this opportunity to renew? The emergence of these new media has not been accompanied by the emergence of new advertising formulas sound. In this communication, is intended to highlight the opportunity provided by the digital sound-field enhancement factor of creativity and highlight the central role it can and should play in building future audio advertisements.

Keywords: creativity, sound, advertising, digital

Creativity, the nucleus of advertising activity

Creativity is undoubtedly one of the key characteristics of all activity related to advertising and the very basis of its very existence (Koslow, Sasser and Riordan, 2003). The core activity of the advertising business and the essence of the work carried out by advertising professionals is selling persuasive ideas. Advertisers turn to sector professionals for solutions to their communications dilemmas who provide them with a creative pitch for selling their products or services (Ricarte, 2000). Advertising is the only business that is built around a 'creative department' staffed by a wide range of professionals whose titles also bear the prefix 'creative'. This is not at all

surprising, as creativity is the heartbeat of advertising. Therefore, it's obvious that creativity is the most important aspect of advertising and its professional hallmark (White, 1972; Cummings, 1984; Otnes, Oviatt and Treise, 1995; Reid, King and Delorme, 1998).

The 1960s are generally considered to be the decade when advertising creativity bloomed and reached its peak. It was during this period that William Bernbach, David Ogilvy and Leo Burnett founded agencies that would become household names and legends in the field of advertising. The 'creative revolution' of the 1960s was displaced by a more scientific approach to advertising during the 1970s. The emergence and consolidation of firms with massive corporate structures and far-flung agency networks, the progressive substitution of research for intuition, a changing market environment, a shift in consumer profiles, the development of consumer intelligence, and the need for corporate advertising managers to justify their ideas to superiors are just a few of the many factors cited as causes for advertising's gradual loss of creative spark and progressive failure to come up with any new, groundbreaking advertising concepts since the golden years of the 1960s (Fox, 1985; Jones, 1992; Weilbacher, 1993). These critics claim that creativity in advertising is not what it used to be and that today's creative advertising does not live up to its name.

In advertising, creativity must be tempered by a certain amount of pragmatism. Creativity pressed into the service of advertising takes on an instrumental value that deprives it of the total artistic freedom enjoyed by other artistic pursuits whose purpose is to serve as a form of expression or self-expression. Creativity devoted to advertising purposes is not free of restraints; it is conditioned by a series of factors related to the product or service to be promoted, the target public to which the advertising will be directed, the objectives set out for a specific campaign, the market or environment in which the advertising message will be launched, the communications efforts previous carried out by the competition for the same product or brand, and the budget established for the project. While it is true that these factors rein in creativity by ruling out certain ideas as unsuitable, they also provide a road map for channelling ideas in an increasingly complex, turbulent and saturated marketplace. It is more difficult to come up with products that have a competitive edge today. Although some may have differentiating features, these tend to be short-lived and cannot be counted upon to give them a sustained exclusivity relative to their competitors. Today's marketplace has ceased to be an arena where products compete for the public's favour; it is now a psychological battle in which claims to exclusivity are difficult to make and persuasion must be employed to convince consumers to purchase one brand rather than another (Weilbacher, 2003). This environment justifies a renewed emphasis on creativity in advertising, as creativity is the only means of differentiating products and services and imbuing them with a unique personality. Creativity facilitates the articulation of a dialogue, helps forge an emotional connection between seller and consumer and makes brands interesting and exciting (Reid, King and DeLorme, 1998). It is also essential to the periodic reinvention of products and brands that is necessary to give them a fresh image in the mind of the consumer (Dahlén, Rosengren and Törn, 2008) and save them from becoming predictable and boring—one of the greatest perils that threaten brand names and products, especially the most consolidated ones (Machleit, Allen and Madden, 1993). Creativity, therefore, is the tool that allows us to differentiate brands and what they offer in a saturated, international mass market awash in products and services that all appear to be alike. Kirmani and Rao (2000) point out that marketing signals become key confidence drivers in situations in which consumers find themselves overwhelmed by the array of products and services available to the point that they cannot evaluate them all before making purchasing decisions. According to these authors, a firm's investment in advertising serves a reference of quality for customers who link advertisers' financial commitments to back their products with a greater commitment on the part of these companies to the consumers who buy them (perceived in terms of such intangibles as a commitment to quality, truth in advertising and fulfilment of advertising promises). Along the same lines, other authors stress the importance of consumers' perceptions of the brand and how they experience it. A powerful, intense and intriguing advertising campaign can influence consumers' brand perceptions and a

high level of creativity is required to create advertising that is powerful, intense and intriguing—in other words, effective (Till and Baack, 2005; Koslow, Sasser and Riordan, 2003; Stone, Besser and Lewis, 2000).

Advertising effectiveness and creativity have not always been viewed as going hand in hand. In fact, creative advertising and effective advertising have long been considered two different things—perceptions that have undoubtedly grown out of the differing positions and interests of the principal players in advertising: advertisers, account directors and creative professionals. While the ambition of the first group is prioritising advertising objectives for their services and products, the goal of the third group is to use advertising as a vehicle for showcasing their skills and their aesthetic values and as a means of promoting their professional careers (Hirschman, 1989). Advertising festivals, the Cannes Lion Festival being the prime example, celebrate the aspirations of the latter group. Events such as the Cannes festival do not dole out awards for campaigns or advertising elements on the basis of their effectiveness, but rather on the basis of their creativity (nevertheless, in Cannes Lions 2011 edition, a new award was added: creative effectiveness lions. This award pretends to honour creativity which has shown a measurable and proven impact on a client's business). They are celebrations of creativity for the creators of advertising and provide advertising for the advertising business. In some cases, the work on view at a festival has only been released as legitimate advertising for the brief period required to comply with festival regulations, and industry insiders are well aware of the insertion of 'scam ads'—pieces created specifically for submission to festivals. Against this backdrop, the inevitable question of priorities arises: What is more important—functionality or creativity? As previously mentioned, the instrumentality of advertising creativity distinguishes it from other artistic creativity. Advertising creativity must fulfil objectives established by others (El-Murad and West, 2004). Therefore, we can reasonably say that in the field of advertising, effectiveness and creativity must function in mutual recursive harmony: creativity is required to make advertising effective (Kover, Goldberg and James, 1995) and advertising cannot be considered creative if it is not useful and effective (Amabile, 1983; Mumford and Gustafson, 1988). Kover (1995) is of the opinion that creativity is effectiveness. From this perspective, creativity not only gives a message an aesthetic quality; in today's advertising environment, it also constitutes an essential component of brand survival. The difficulty lies in determining what is creative and what is not; advertising professionals and consumers have different ways of perceiving and judging creativity (Kover, Goldberg and James, 1995), and creative professionals working in the sector have never agreed on this point (Young, 2000).

Although there is a general consensus that advertising creativity has gradually declined since the 1960s, recent changes in the advertising landscape, especially those brought on by the development of new technologies, seem to point to new era for creative advertising. Advertising as it has been traditionally understood is losing ground, greatly due to the fact that traditional media have lost their status as the ideal vehicles for transmitting advertising messages. Younger generations of consumers have turned their backs on conventional media in favour of Internet media platforms. With digitisation, the media are now omnipresent, portable, much more personal than before and offer consumers contents they can choose 'à la carte'. These features and 'the Internet of things' (a phrase originally coined by Kevin Ashton that has come to mean mass interconnectivity) have greatly accelerated this trend. Internet, which offers access to a world of communication possibilities including videos, television programmes and series, music, radio programming and films, is emerging as the new dominant media. In the analogue world, each medium was bound to a single reception device (television to a television set and radio to the radio receiver). In contrast, the digital world offers an extraordinary freedom of choice. Thanks to the digital revolution, music is now available through a transistor radio, a mobile phone, a PC, a laptop, an iPod or a tablet device (and the list goes on). This new landscape implies a major paradigm shift in the codes of advertising. The twentieth-century concept called 'advertising' is steadily giving way to a more twenty-first century concept referred to as 'communication'. Today, one talks less of advertising ideas and more about communication ideas: surprising, fresh original ideas that exploit the characteristics of how and where they are presented in order

to optimise its impact on the consumer. The campaign launched for Tipp-ex on YouTube is a good example of this new idea-based concept of product promotion.¹ The digital environment presents new opportunities for creativity to regain a central role in advertising communications—a protagonism that it never should have lost.

One of the arguments most frequently used to categorise radio as a second division advertising medium has been radio advertising's lack of creativity. Nevertheless, in the same way that the integration and interactivity of electronic digital devices are now seen as generating new opportunities to transmit and receive content, the multiple reception channels that digital technology now offers could be viewed as vehicles for converting sound into an important tool for the 'comeback' of advertising creativity. In a context abounding with new ways of accessing content and new media consumer habits, a new paradigm is emerging that could be denominated as the *sono-esfera digital* (digital sonosphere). This digital sonosphere opens new horizons for creativity, not only in the transmission of radio messages, but also in the transmission of audio messages. The concept of a digital sonosphere envisions the configuration of a new space for the creation and reception of audio messages that goes beyond the limits of devices normally associated with this purpose. Technological convergence is liberating the message from the medium and giving rise to a digital sonosphere - an auditory and audible environment that surrounds us like a dynamic and flexible aural interface - a generic acoustic space (Barbeito and Fajula, 2009).

Thinking beyond mere radio advertising and embracing *sound* advertising

Radio has suffered decades of ostracism in the shadow of the omnipresent magic of the image, a situation traceable in large part to the popularity of television. All of the players in advertising have contributed to this state of affairs. Advertisers, who have little knowledge of the medium, consider radio less prestigious than other media and think that investing in radio advertising would be a waste of their money. Media planners could convince them otherwise, but they are equally unfamiliar with the medium, look to television to guarantee larger margins and don't want to spend time educating the client about radio advertising when television advertising sells itself. They may even reach the point of ruling out radio advertising altogether and not even mentioning it as an option to the client.

In spite of the fact that radio has a significant level of penetration in Spain (56.9%, ranking second after television), and although the crisis has actually improved its position relative to other media in terms of media spending, it continues to come in fourth when market shares of all advertising media are compared. According to Infoadex, radio advertising expenditure totalled 548.5 million in 2010, a mere 9.4% of the national total spent on conventional media advertising.

These data reflect the paradox of radio's status in the advertising sector. On one hand, it's appreciated for its almost unlimited capacity for expression; on the other hand, it is perceived to have failed to fully exploit this capacity. Radio's drawbacks, such as its inability to incorporate imagery, its rigid format and its low profit margins - not to mention creative professionals' own lack of knowledge of the language of radio - have led them to concede it merely complementary roles in advertising campaigns. Nevertheless, radio has also been defended for the advantages the medium offers, such as its capacity to evoke sound images, strong power of suggestion, credibility, penetration and coverage. This type of tit-for-tat discourse on radio advertising is nothing new and shows no sign of improving in the near future. 'Analysts and pundits have continued to pound radio for its lack of creativity in both recently published literature on the subject and in relevant forums that have taken up radio advertising issues. This lack of creativity is habitually blamed on the fact that despite its high level of penetration (...), radio is used only as a complementary media in advertising campaigns and that campaigns continue to be designed specifically for the press and television' (Balsebre *et al.* 2006: 26).

¹ <http://youtu.be/4ba1BqJ4S2M>

The standard procedure for incorporating radio into a multimedia advertising campaign is to lift a voice track of a previously produced television commercial and run it as a radio spot. When a radio advertisement used as a part of a larger campaign is created from scratch, the text almost invariably determines the format. In most cases, sound effects, silence or music are patched in without much thought or not used at all. These practices are examples of a chronic underutilisation of resources that could be used to engage the imagination and emotions of the radio listener. Whereas television images are blatantly explicit, the subtlety of audio messages activates the individual imagination and memory of each listener. Radio advertising has the inherent power to personalise messages: every listener interprets a given radio message through the filter of his or her personal experience, making each contact with an individual listener special and unique.

One of the most frequent excuses that advertising professionals give for not devoting more creativity to radio advertising is the time constraint inherent to radio formats. They claim that a 30-second time slot is insufficient to flesh out an explicative narrative and fall back on the position that the only thing clients want is a short, comprehensive description of what they wish to sell. Radio is thereby robbed of the opportunity to create vivacious mental images and is relegated to the mundane role of providing basic information.

“Radio advertising in Spain needs to be more innovative. The sector needs to experiment with new formats designed to stimulate radio listeners’ senses and emotions and, more importantly, it needs to break with traditional, conservative formulas for transmitting advertising content. Given radio’s unlimited power of suggestion, this should be a relatively easy task. Radio’s wide repertoire of means of expression is capable of recreating images in listeners’ minds through the medium of sound, synching with their motivations, creating an impact, stimulating emotions and sparking sensations that generate positive attitudes towards whatever is being advertised.” (Perona, 2007: 241)

It is possible that the problem is not so much the format itself but how it is utilised. We have traditionally understood advertising formats (for our present purposes radio formats) as being fixed and invariable, a perception that has led to a resistance to new approaches. In radio, formats and the space for creativity they allow for are inextricably bound to specific time slots and a given method of codification, just as traditional newspapers are bound to paper and ink. Two ways of boosting the creativity of radio advertising are emerging: moving beyond humour and ‘slice of life’ gimmicks to reach the listener, and looking for alternative forms of transmitting radio advertising that avoid typical spot and sales pitch formats. New communication technologies could give rise to novel instruments and tools that foster new forms of consumption that are easily exploitable by radio. Internet, mobile phones and other mobile devices such as MP3 and tablets have opened up new possibilities to receive radio messages, which today should be perceived as sound messages. Characteristics such as unidirectionality, sequentiality and ephemerality once restricted the transmission and appeal of radio messages.

“Traditional radio falls into a category of mass communications with audiences of hundreds of thousands of collective listeners. Cyber radio offers the option of individual access freed from a designated time frame. It belongs to the realm of individual communications and stresses the relationship between the content provider and the individual listener. It also provides a means of interactivity, not only between the content provider and the individual consumer but also between consumers, creating virtual user communities” (Cebrián Herreros, 2008: 26).

Radio on demand, downloads, blogs and social networks give users the opportunity to choose, store and share content however, whenever and wherever they please. Anyone can create his or her own completely unique personal audio library.

These technological breakthroughs allow individuals to create their own personal universes of sound - private auditory worlds that seamlessly reflect their requirements and tastes at any given moment. According to Michael Bull, the personalised soundtracks users listen to in their private bubble worlds spark emotions and are capable of modifying users’ perceptions of the outside world and their environments. This is the concept of a personal universe of sound - a privatised ‘sonosphere’ made possible by the digital environment.

Nevertheless, these private sonospheres are not impenetrable. These listeners immersed in their own individual environments may seem to be disconnected, but they are not isolated. This permeability allows us to

develop formulas for reaching different specific advertising targets at any time and in any location as an insider in the listener's space: as ambient sound, from the macro-sonosphere, or in his or her individual sonosphere. It can open the doors wide open for the creation of new radio advertising formats. It is our belief that the digital sonosphere represents fertile territory for a new wave of novel and innovative audio advertising.

The digital sonosphere displaces radio as the sole transmitter of audio advertisements and gives any device with Internet connection the status of being a media for transmitting information or sound-based advertising messages. In the digital sonosphere, the message is separate from the medium. The idea - in reality, an idea-concept - will be able to adopt different forms according to the media utilised for its transmission. Furthermore, the message itself will 'seek out' the best mechanisms to reach and impact a target audience. The digital sonosphere will free the message from its submission to the medium and accentuate the singularity of what it transmits. The message will find its way to the listeners wherever they are. However, we must familiarise ourselves with the audience in order to know the parameters around which this sonosphere will be constructed. It was to discover these parameters that the Publi-radio research group set out to gain insight into how young people configure their 'auditory bubbles', how their media habits differ from the habits of prior generations and how 'digital natives' incorporate the latest technology into their daily listening practices. These questions and others have formed the agenda of an I+D+i project undertaken by the Publi-radio research group under the title 'La sono-esfera digital como nuevo entorno de recepción de mensajes sonoros entre los jóvenes. Estudio de los hábitos de escucha para el desarrollo de nuevos formatos de publicidad institucional' (The Digital Sonosphere as a New Space to Communicate with Young People: A Study of Listener Habits for the Development of new PSA Formats CSO2009-12236) funded by the Spanish Ministry for Science and Innovation.

Although we are still engaged in the first phase of this research project, we have been able to draw some conclusions regarding the concept of a digital sonosphere, including its principal characteristics and how new media that operate within its paradigms are delivering advertising messages to young audiences. We considered three variables while developing the term *sono-esfera digital* (digital sonosphere) to describe the new aural space in which young people move: the scenario created by the convergence of digital media, the multiplicity of devices that can be used to receive audio messages and that have broken radio's monopoly as the sole transmitter and receiver of messages composed exclusively of aural content, and young people's consumption habits related to new media.

During the first phase of research, two focus groups were convened to identify the new media that made up the digital sonosphere and their principal characteristics. The feedback provided by these groups will be used during the second phase, which will include a survey designed to generate quantitative data to complement the qualitative data obtained in the first phase.²

The voices behind the statistics provide valuable insight into these three objects of our study. The extracts from material gathered from the second focus group provided below illustrate these young people's opinions concerning media and reveal their strong desire for a different approach to radio advertising. When comparing television and radio advertising, they think television advertising spots and campaigns are more creative than radio spots and campaigns.

'Radio advertising has to change radically—now.'

'I believe that if there was more creative and out-of-the-box thinking going on (in reference to creativity in radio advertising) it would be enough, because advertising is also meant to entertain.'

'I like the kind of advertising that grabs you right from the beginning'

'There are television commercials that make you want to sit and watch them because they're really cool, like ads for Coca-Cola, for example. They grab your attention and you end up watching them. This type of advertising

² The first focus group was convened in May 2010 and was comprised of university students between the ages of 20 and 23. This served as a preliminary trial to establish key concepts related to the digital sonosphere that would be used when a second focus group was convened in October 2010.

doesn't bother you. I suppose that if radio ran this type of advertising—creativity-wise—it would pay off because good advertising would catch people's attention.'

It's also interesting to note what these young people perceive as the reasons for the low production quality of radio advertising. Among other factors, they blame advertising agencies' lack of interest in this type of advertising:

'It can't be that difficult. There are a lot of creative professionals in Spain. I think that radio is definitely underrated. No client (advertiser) walks into an agency and says, "I want to advertise on the radio".'

The participants in the focus group also complained that the same kind of message was used over and over again to promote almost any kind of product. They pointed out that this cookie cutter approach to advertising resulted in a glut of undifferentiated, boring spots that all sounded the same.

'I think the worst thing about advertising is that often they take the attitude: "It's okay to use the same format for Danacol, Danone, Actimel or any other brand of yoghurt". This strikes me as pathetic. It shows a complete lack of creativity. They don't even bother to think about it.'

Radio advertising's frequent reliance on stereotypes that don't reflect young people's image of themselves is another turn-off for youth audiences; they don't connect with advertising that they can't identify with:

I wish they'd get over their obsession with rap music and that type of thing. You know what I mean? It's annoying. They have the strangest stereotypical ideas about young people. (This comment was in reference to government public service announcement campaigns directed to young audiences.)

The data obtained from these focus groups will be analysed during the second phase of the research project. However, we can broadly state that radio consumption coexists with other forms of media consumption brought about by the introduction of mobile technology, that mobile technology (which offers portability and accommodates users' predilection for multitasking) is fostering new habits of consumption, and that the intrinsic characteristics of mobile phones and the wide range of listening possibilities they offer have made them the devices *par excellence* of the digital sonosphere. The results of the first phase of the project also clearly indicate that listeners consider current radio advertising to be uncreative. Such criticism implies that radio advertising is also poorly received by its audience—a status quo that is not apt to change unless new advertising formulas are developed for radio or changes are made in the way that advertising messages are produced for this medium.

Conclusions

Creativity is the heart and soul of advertising work and its differentiating asset. With advertising's adoption of 'scientific' criteria in the 1970s, its role has been increasingly undervalued. Nevertheless, the nascent digital sonosphere, which provides a new environment for the creation and reception of communications messages, will give creativity a chance to prove its worth.

Creativity is what builds brand value, differentiates a product or services from others in the market and gives it a unique personality, and enables the articulation of a dialogue and emotional ties between the brand and consumers. Whereas conventional media have transmitted one-dimensional brand images directed at mass audiences, the new digital environment permits individuals to appropriate a brand and what it represents. In the new digital paradigm, there are as many images of a brand as there are consumers receiving the advertising message that promotes it. As the number of mobile reception devices increases, so do the possibilities for advertising messages to reach and engage a greater number of consumers anytime and anywhere.

Advertising has become a battle of perceptions; it must go beyond positioning the brand in the consumers' minds to create emotional bonds between the brand and consumers. Needless to say, sound is a protagonist in the territory of human emotions. The semantic and aesthetic values of music, the nonverbal traits that are a part of the aesthetics of phonetic expression (rhythm, timbre, intensity, tone, etc.), sound effects, and

silence facilitate the generation of sound images; well employed, they can make a positive contribution to the creative process and enhance brand recall. In short, they construct a brand's personality and link it to given values - factors basic to its survival and brand life.

The emergence of the digital sonosphere furthers the objectives of creativity. Its arrival marks the configuration of a new creative landscape that can be very fertile for the growth of new advertising formats that employ sound. Furthermore, the individuality that this new environment inherently fosters is enabling users to create their own individual universes of sound, intensifying and radicalising the personalisation of the type of messages they receive.

It became clear during the preliminary phase of this research on youth media habits and the digital sonosphere carried out by the Publi-radio research group that the advertising sector has not taken advantage of the characteristics of the new media environment to create new formulas for advertising that employs sound as a medium. The shift from radio advertising to 'sound' advertising has been merely rhetorical - a case of old wine in new bottles. The form and content of radio advertising remain unchanged. Radio advertising has been traditionally resistant to change and sound advertising seems to be heading down the same road.

The study also revealed that young people place a high value on creativity and view it as an essential element of messages directed to them. It is therefore clear that the advertising sector must embrace creativity and develop new communications formats and formulas that will break the vicious downward cycle that is progressively leaving advertising using sound as a medium on the sidelines of the advertising game.

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Advertising characteristics and strategies in the prime time sports broadcasts: the final of the Spanish King's Cup and two radio shows in play

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Abstract:

This paper presents a case study of two Spanish sports shows that have created their own advertising style: *Carrusel Deportivo*, which is broadcasted by Cadena SER, and *Tiempo de Juego*, which is broadcasted by Cadena COPE. Using voice abilities for expressive purposes and inserting advertisements throughout the show, these programs allow exploring new formats and advertising strategies within Spanish talk radio stations. The competition between these two show and thereby the use of different advertising techniques is highlighted in the prime time football matches. Therefore, it is interesting to conduct a study to characterize the kinds of advertising employed in these two sports radio shows during a prime time sports broadcasting: the final match of the Spanish Cup: Real Madrid-Barcelona.

Keywords: sports broadcast; radio shows, advertising, narration style.

Radio and Advertising

Radio is no longer considered the main media for advertising, due to the impact of media such as television or cinema. The lack of wide bibliography and studies regarding radio advertising reflects this situation. But radio is still a medium with various advantages for advertisers. So, the problem is not the radio as a medium, but the lack of strategic planning in an advertising format. The radio programming includes two types of messages, informative and advertising, but presented in an autonomous and independent way. However, listeners receive both messages as a part of the same act of listening. If these ads lack quality, the listeners' perception of radio broadcasting will also be affected. In that sense, it is easy to verify that, when the ads are well integrated in a radio program, listeners do not have a negative perception of them, and they even provide some comments about the advertisements. Therefore, this paper presents a case study on two Spanish sports shows that have created their own advertising style.

Sports have been present throughout the history of radio since its beginnings (Alcoba, 2005; Díaz, 1997), and nowadays, sports broadcasting is one of the main offers in Spanish talk radio stations. This is even more remarkable during the weekend, when programming includes the long sports show known as *carrusel*, linked to the daily development of the Spanish National Football League. *Carrusel Deportivo*, which is broadcasted by Cadena SER, was the pioneer in 1954 and now remains on the top of the audience rankings, with 1,254,000

listeners on Saturday and 1,236,000 listeners on Sunday. The second position is occupied by *Tiempo de Juego*, which is broadcasted by Cadena COPE, with 777,000 listeners on Saturdays and 895,000 listeners on Sundays¹.

The structure of these shows is determined by the live broadcasting of the main matches, keeping an eye on the rest of the results (Blanco, 2001; Pacheco, 2009). The main characteristics of these shows are the dynamism, the personality and the charisma of the narrator; the free style speaking and the participation of an experienced team that includes professionals and collaborators (Herrero, 2010). As a part of this team, there is usually a role for a kind of *showman* who basically deals with an important part of the entertainment speech, often related to the advertising of the show. Specifically, this role is developed by Juanma Ortega in *Carrusel Deportivo*, and by Pepe Domingo Castaño in *Tiempo de Juego*. Using voice abilities for expressive purposes and inserting advertisements throughout the show, these programs allow exploring new formats and advertising strategies within Spanish speaking radio stations (Rodero, 2008). For instance, they have managed to make Spanish radio listeners repeat phrases of the different ads frequently. In these two cases, advertising, far from creating a negative perception, contributes globally to the positive image of the show and, therefore, establishes a close connection with the listener.

The competition between these two shows and, thereby, the use of different advertising techniques is emphasized in the prime time football matches. Therefore, it is interesting to conduct a study to characterize the kinds of advertising used in these two sports radio shows during the final match of the Spanish Cup: Real Madrid-Barcelona. The analysis of the study has three objectives: to determine the advertising characteristics in these sports broadcasts (the global volume of the ads, the advertiser categories, and the narration styles used), to identify and establish the creative strategies used in the broadcast (structure and form of the ads), and to compare the advertising characteristics and strategies between them.

Method

In order to carry out this research, we first recorded live the final broadcasts that the two analyzed shows made on the King's Cup: *Carrusel Deportivo*, broadcasted by Cadena SER and *Tiempo de Juego*, broadcasted by Cadena COPE. We must point out that the registered final duration exceeded the 90 minutes of a usual match, since it ended with the extra time. Therefore, we finally recorded 120 minutes per show. Then, we selected the recorded pieces corresponding to the advertising messages of each show. We observed 15 advertising sections for Cadena SER, and 13 advertising insertions for Cadena COPE. Once we selected the advertising, we proceeded to analyze its characteristics. In a first section of general characteristics, we analyzed: the global volume of the ads, which established the total amount of advertising insertions during the match in both shows, and the time and point of the match in which they had broadcasted them; the advertiser categories, which allowed to know the type of advertiser and the product of each ad, and the narration styles they used, which recorded both the format for each advertisement and the amount, the type (voice-over, expert or character) and the gender of the broadcasters. In the next section, we carried out an analysis of the structure of the ads, which established both the narration style (informative, dramatized or mixed) and the internal structure of each advertising insertion and its connection to the match, and the form of ads, which studied the use of the sound effects and the music of each ad. At the same time, we carried out a comparison between the two analyzed shows, in order to establish the differences in the advertising strategies that both stations used.

¹ According to EGM, the organization that measures the audience in Spain (June 2011).

Results

1. Advertising characteristics in these sports broadcasts

1.1. Global volume of the ads

The conservatism that rules the radio advertising programming has forced the medium to suggest a closed outline of advertising sections. Most of the Spanish radio stations do not experiment much or at all with new formats and, frequently, we assume that the radio is quite an unattractive medium, regarding resources for advertisers opposite the power of television. "However, radio itself is reluctant to experiment with other formats than the traditional ones and, mainly, the commercial breaks, since they might alter the prevailing programming structures of the main stations significantly. Those stations tend to concentrate the various advertising insertions in perfectly defined sections" (Perona & Barbeito, 2008). That lack of innovation in the advertising sections of the main stations of the Spanish radio can also be observed in the analysis carried out in this research. Thus, when it comes to the global volume of the breaks inserted in each programme, data show that the amount is very similar in both of them: 37 breaks between both programmes, 19 breaks in *Carrusel Deportivo* and 18 breaks in *Tiempo de Juego*. Besides, the distribution of the advertising insertions is also very similar, since both of them broadcasted eight in the second half, and one in the extra time.

Ad Insertions	Carrusel Deportivo	Tiempo de Juego	TOTAL
First time	10	9	23
Second time	8	8	17
Extra time	1	1	3
TOTAL:	19	18	37

Table 1. Global volume of the ads

That ultra-conservative and uniform nature is, precisely, what makes the advertising offer of both stations analyzed in this research so similar that seems to be the same station. "This ultra-conservative outlook that characterizes the current structural model of the Spanish radio, mainly the general radio, which manages the greatest advertising investment and defines the institutional image of the medium, works finally for the advertising sector as a mirror where the complexity of the problems is synthesized in an image very unattractive image full of flaws" (Balsebre et al., 2006: 21-22). Therefore, maybe the advertising agents are right when they say that the unresolved matter of the radio is programming, as the radio has basically positioned itself as an informative-journalistic medium that does not get on well with advertising. However, the situation described in this research, and analyzed by several researchers, is not new at all, since the conventional Spanish radio became, in the late seventies, and especially during the eighties, the informative medium par excellence, ruled by a programming model that still stands. The effects of such model have been hugely amplified by a great conservatism in the programming of the big operators, where risk and innovation have no place. This reality has been proven by other reports, such as the Perona research (2007) which analyzed 500 advertising insertions in the main Spanish general radio stations, and concludes that "however, the innovation demanded for this medium conflicts with the reality of a radio that, according to the analysis of around 500 advertising insertions, keeps betting on the traditional formulas and seems to be stuck in a complementary role that reinforces the campaigns regarding other media, such as the television and the press" (Perona, 2007).

1.2. Advertiser categories: SER and COPE

However, there is something that the agents that control advertising in this medium must assume in order to overcome the existing immobilism: the radio mainly distinguishes itself from the rest of the mass media for its purely audible nature and its easiness to divide. Due to the great diversification that the radio stations have experimented in the last few years, determining the profile of the usual listeners of some programmes, or even stations, is easy and beneficial when it comes to addressing a campaign to a very specific audience. This characteristic is particularly useful if the advertised product or service is exclusively addressed towards a certain social group or very specific places, which turns the radio into a good medium for local businesses and, at the same time, also for great campaigns addressed towards a very specific target. In both radio programmes, most of the products, if not all of them, are addressed to a male audience, a trend that keeps the coherence regarding the categories used in other football shows. In a detailed analysis of the data, we can see that the main category is the one regarding cars. Both stations coincide with four breaks per show. Cadena SER advertises the Opel car brand four times, and COPE advertises Seat twice, and Renault and Euromaster once. Once again, the car sector is stereotyped as a product which only interests men. Also in our analysis, data show identification between the target of the product and the objective audience of the football shows.

Product	Carrusel Deportivo	Tiempo de Juego	TOTAL
Awards	4	5	9
Beverages	1	2	3
Books	1	0	1
Car	4	4	8
Education	1	0	1
Financial	1	0	1
Footwear	2	0	2
Hair	2	1	3
Insurance	1	3	4
Media	1	2	3
Snacks	0	1	1
Solidarity	1	0	1

Table 2. Advertiser categories

Finally, we must point out the coincidence among the products advertised in both programmes. The same way we showed before that the immobilism of the advertising sector in the radio provokes equal sections in the various general stations; the analysis of the products shows the same conclusion. Apparently, that illusion in the selection of the advertisers in each station is not accidental. It would seem that one of the reasons to invest in the radio is that the competence does it. "Thus, investments do not obey strategic criteria, but what we call *the effect of being there*. In fact, advertising in the Internet started the same way. It is true that this kind of investment is usually a waste of money, but it forces the medium to grow, to evolve and to reorientate itself" (Barbeito & Fajula, 2005). That effect of being there has given way to new stages in the Internet and, even if they are two different media, it might be a first step to make the radio progress. No doubt, the overcoming of that stage involves reaching a turning point where most of the great advertisers bet on the radio, which will not happen if they do not see the radio as a profitable medium, when it comes to advertising; but it will not be profitable if it keeps the current formats. "In short, we have reached a point where we have a resourceful bidirectionality: the advertiser believes that the radio has lost its prestige and that investing money on it is a waste, since it does not know the medium at all" (Barbeito & Fajula, 2005). The effect of being there described by these authors is also reflected in this research. Even though most of the products advertised in a station have their equivalent in the competence, there is a particularly unusual case: brands Floïd and Verti, which participate in the advertising programming as

hair tonics; two equal products with different brands, inserted in both stations. Besides the effect of being there, data show again an identification of the purchasing target of the product with the objective audience of the programme, which would be a middle-age man, interested in mid-range cars and his aesthetics (concretely, hair problems).

1.3. Narration Styles: Ad formats

To date, academicians have established various categories regarding radio advertising formats (López i Cao, 1999; Alonso, 2004; Barbeito & Fajula, 2005). However, these classifications share their main features and they are easy to use in the categorization of the advertising formats that appear in the analyzed sport broadcasts. In the analysis, we detect the presence of both advertising formats usually used in the Spanish radio: the commercial break and the mention. Both appear, and often, in both radio shows.

Since this format is based on the interruption of the show, the break will be a previously recorded brief commercial message, with a usually careful production that presents sound resources and staging elements (Alonso, 2004). However, due to the fact that it usually has nothing to do with the programming where it is inserted, it is unattractive to the listener (Perona, 2007). Contrary to this sense of interruption in the programming, the mention takes place when one of the presenters of the show inserts a brand, live, in a more or less spontaneous way and, therefore, he/she acts as an advisor. There is a similar proportion of formats in both shows. Both stations combine the presence of mentions and breaks in almost 50 %. That is how it is in *Tiempo de Juego*, where we detected nine breaks and nine mentions. In *Carrusel Deportivo*, the break percentage is a little bit higher, with eight mentions and eleven breaks.

Format	Carrusel Deportivo	Tiempo de Juego	TOTAL
Break	11	9	20
Mention	8	9	17
TOTAL:	19	18	37

Table 3. Ad format

Throughout a significant part of the history of the radio and to date, the break has been considered the main format of the radio. This fact is clearly shown in the research on advertising formats in the Spanish radio prime time (Perona, 2007). Under the name of 'The empire of the commercial break', the research revealed that 79% of the total time (351 units) that made up the sample was filled with breaks, and that the mention only occupied 2.1% (13 units) of the time. In the analyzed sport broadcasts, we can observe that the break has lost its monopoly and that, even if it tops the rank regarding the amount of insertions, the mention format is not far behind (20 breaks opposite 17 mentions). Therefore, the conclusion is that, at least in the radio sport broadcasts with a significant audience, the break does not have the empire and the monopoly mentioned in that research anymore.

1.4. Narration Styles: Broadcasters

Broadcasting is an essential element of the radio advertising, since the voice of the broadcaster supports the creative idea (Rodero, 2004). The type of broadcaster is chosen depending on the format. Thus, in the mentions, there is usually a showman in the same show that pays attention to the content, in order to act as a link between whatever the listeners are following and the advertising message. In the case of the analyzed shows,

these roles belong, mainly, to Pepe Domingo Castaño in *Tiempo de Juego* and Juanma Ortega in *Carrusel Deportivo*, both with characteristic and peculiar voices, which are very well known by the Spanish audience and participate in each broadcast. The main objective is a more prescriptive performance than with the break format. If we compare both shows, we can see that, in *Carrusel Deportivo*, the amount of mentions with more than one broadcaster is considerably higher than in *Tiempo de Juego*: in this case, Pepe Domingo Castaño broadcasts five mentions alone, and is helped by other broadcasters in the remaining four. In *Carrusel Deportivo*, Juanma Ortega broadcasts just one mention alone, opposite seven mentions broadcasted with other colleagues. We have already said that the format favours a different kind of broadcaster. In the case of the radio break, there are external broadcasters that do not belong to the radio show, or broadcasters that perform a role: 10 out of the 11 breaks in *Carrusel Deportivo* show an external broadcaster, while only one has a broadcaster from the show. With regard to *Tiempo de Juego*, we must say that six out of nine breaks have an external broadcaster; in two of the cases, one of the broadcasters of the show puts his voice and, in just one break, the broadcasters perform a role.

If we take into account all the data in the sample as shown in the following chart, we can see that, in the combination of both programmes, the amount of advertising messages with a showman of the programme or an external broadcaster is quite balanced: 19 opposite 17. On the contrary, just one commercial break presents a broadcaster or broadcasters performing roles.

If we observe each show, we can see that, in *Carrusel Deportivo*, ten of the advertising messages have broadcasters that do not belong to the show, while nine of them present a broadcaster of the same show. In the case of *Tiempo de Juego* in Cadena COPE, ten messages are broadcasted by a presenter of the same show, while seven of them have a broadcaster that does not participate in the sports broadcast. Just one commercial message has broadcasters-characters.

Show	Broadcasters quantity	Type of presentation			TOTAL	
		Internal broadcaster	External broadcaster	Character	Male	Both
	1	1	3	0	4	0
Carrusel Deportivo	2	6	7	0	11	2
	3	2	0	0	2	0
Tiempo de Juego	1	6	1	0	7	0
	2	4	6	0	10	0
	3	0	0	1	0	1
TOTAL:		19	17	1	34	3

Table 4. Broadcasters

The advertising broadcasters in both sports shows are mainly men, and the appearance of female broadcasters is extraordinary. In all the advertising messages of both programmes, there is just one female voice that appears three times and is always combined with a male voice, opposite 34 male broadcasts. If we break down this data according to the show, we see that, in *Carrusel Deportivo*, we have 17 male broadcasts and only two of those commercial breaks have female broadcasters, always accompanied by a male broadcaster. With regard to *Tiempo de Juego*, we must say that the proportion is similar. The 17 advertising messages of that programme have male broadcasts and only one of them shows the presence of a female broadcaster, which does not appear alone, but accompanied by a male voice. Therefore, we can conclude that there is an almost exclusive preponderance of male voices in both of the analyzed sports shows. These are distributed between broadcasts by the presenters of the show or external broadcasts. Besides, we must add that the role of the character in the advertising broadcast of the analyzed cases is almost residual.

2. Creative strategies used in the broadcast

2.1. Structure of the ads

Next, we will review three aspects regarding the structure of the analyzed ads, where we will identify the most usual narrative style; the internal structure of each break and if they are or are not integrated in the broadcasting line of the match. That will let us identify more closely the current kind of speech in the Spanish sports radio so, later, we will be able to identify the global similarities and differences. The following chart summarizes the data of the whole analysis of this section, which we will describe next:

Show	Narrative Style	Internal Structure				Connection with match	
		D-S	F-S	W-S	E-S	YES	NO
Carrusel Deportivo	Informative	0	0	0	11	5	6
	Dramatic	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Mixed	0	4	2	2	4	4
Tiempo de Juego	Informative	2	5	1	3	4	7
	Dramatic	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Mixed	1	1	4	0	5	1
TOTAL:		3	11	7	16	18	19

Table 5. Structure of Ads

D-S: deficiency-solution, F-S: fictitious situation-solution, W-S: warning-solution, E-S: exposal of information-solution.

Following the analysis of the advertising used in both radio stations, we have detected that the main narrative style is informative, and they just inform about the characteristics of the product. Carrusel Deportivo uses it significantly in 11 out of 19 advertisements, and Tiempo de Juego uses it in 11 out of 18. We also observed that the dramatic style is only used in one advertisement in Tiempo de *Juego*, and there is a mixed version in eight advertisements of *Carrusel Deportivo* and in six of *Tiempo de Juego*. That shows that this advertising is too attached to the informative style to be broadcasted in a football broadcast, where they could innovate, amuse and offer a less rational advertising, in keeping with the time of leisure of the listener.

On the other hand, these ads show an internal structure that we have classified in four categories, following previous reports by other authors (Betés, 2002; Rodero, Alonso & Fuentes, 2004). They all suggest the close as a solution, since it is the most common type of conclusion for radio advertising, which origin comes from the literary account: "In the structure of the Thematic Universe – semantic dimension of the advertising account, we can observe some kind of parallelism where the initial situation of deficiency is solved by a final situation of

satisfaction and the solution of that deficiency" (Betés, 2002:157). In this sample, we can see that the most frequent is E-S: exposal of information -solution, in 16 out of 37 advertisements, in keeping with the most of them, which are informative and, particularly, in *Carrusel Deportivo* with 13 of them. In those, we frequently hear a series of facts with no big effects or warnings, followed by the name of the brand and its slogan. Then, with 11 advertisements, we find the F-S structure: the fictitious situation-solution where it is possible to find greater creativity in the message with the recreation of a particular situation that might be related to the listener. *Tiempo de Juego* uses it more often, in all the narrative styles. The W-S structure: warning-solution is used in seven advertisements, most of them by Cadena Cope, which uses surprise, a scream or an apparently incoherent word as a resource in the beginning. The most unusual advertising structure is the D-S: deficiency-solution structure, which is only used in three advertisements in *Tiempo de Juego*. In this structure, we can identify, from the beginning, the type of speech that emphasizes the negative attributes that can be immediately solved with the product.

Finally, we must point out that 50 % of the ads are presented independently of the show, that is, they are previously recorded ads. And only 18 of them – 9 in each broadcast -, are presented connected, as live advertising by the broadcasters of the shows. None of the stations develop dramatic structures, perhaps because the broadcasters do not have theatrical but commercial and/or vocal qualities. That would be the case of Pepe Domingo Castaño, whose work in *Tiempo de Juego* and, previously, in *Carrusel Deportivo* is specialized in making mentions attractive, or 'singing' the ads and making the minimum sport comments.

2.2. Music and Sound Effects

Regarding the sound effects they use in both radio shows and, specifically, the use of music and sound effects in the analyzed radio advertising, data show that it is a poor and not too creative use that keeps in line with the general trend for the use of these elements in the Spanish radio advertising.

The sound effects represent one of the most important elements of the radio language when we want to produce a creative sound product. In that sense, several authors have proven that the use of those resources in the radio and, therefore, in the radio advertising, helps increase the attention of the listener (Potter et al., 1997) and, specially, the power to create mental pictures in the audience (Miller & Marks, 1992; Potter & Choi, 2006; Bolls, 2002; Rodero, in press). Since these two factors favour a positive attitude towards the brand, its application is recommended in radio ads. But far from following this recommendation, the analysis of the advertising in these radio shows indicates that most of the ads (86%) lack sound effects, opposite the 14% that use them.

These data do not surprise us if we take into account that the structure this ads mostly use is informative, that is, a structure that, due to its nature, does not favour the use of sound resources. When it comes to the shows, the advertising in *Tiempo de Juego* is the one using the most sound effects, even if it is only in four ads, opposite the two ads in *Carrusel Deportivo*; which, therefore, is very scant. Almost every time they have used sound effects, they have used just one for an advertising insertion, except one time, when they used it inside a *Carrusel Deportivo* ad.

In those advertisements made up with these resources, the sound effects have a functional purpose, as well as a descriptive purpose, to a lesser degree. They have used them five times in a functional way, emphasizing the content of the text, but the atmosphere did not require it. Thus, three of the ads use the sound of an alarm clock and the sound of a cock, because the slogan chosen by the advertiser contains 'wake up'. Another one of them uses the sound of a car because they mention that word, and the last one uses a honk, because that is the gift offered by the advertised product. We have only registered one descriptive sound effect of a car in the commercial break of a vehicle. The following chart summarizes these data:

Show	Quantity	Sound Effects Function			TOTAL
		No	Functional	Descriptive	
	0	17	0	0	17
Carrusel Deportivo	1	0	1	0	1
	2	0	0	1	1
Tiempo de Juego	0	14	0	0	14
	1	0	4	0	4
TOTAL:		31	5	1	7

Table 6. Sound Effects

In conclusion, we can state that the use of sound effects in the advertising we have analyzed is very limited and simple. First, we must point out their short amount with only six ads with sound effects. But we must also say that the ads that use them do it in a very rudimentary and even unprofessional way. Far away from creativity, they include a sound effect just because they mention a certain word that we can associate with a sound, but the context or the atmosphere does not work.

Opposite to the sound effect situation, music is widely used in radio advertising, due to its evocative power that stimulates emotions. In fact, there are many authors that emphasize the benefits of using music in advertising, in order to promote the association with the brand or to create positive attitudes towards it, through the stimulation of different sensations (Janata et al., 2007). Maybe for such reason or just to produce livelier ads (Allan, 2007), music is widely used in advertising and the cases we are analyzing are not an exception. 93% of the analyzed ads has music, opposite the 7% that does not use this element of the radio language.

All the ads in *Carrusel Deportivo* except one use music. In the case of *Tiempo de Juego*, all of them use music but two. They usually put one song or melody in each break, even if they have combined two songs in six ads: one to present the data and the other one in the resolution. Half of the time, the music has been used functionally, that is, ornately; followed by a descriptive use (20%), illustrating the atmosphere or the action; subjectively (6.7%) to create a state of mind, and narratively (6.7%) to structure the ad. That means that the melodies have been used with all the possible functions, thanks to their mainstream use but, following the general trend in advertising, the mainstream music is ornamental. Thus, we verified that, in most of the ads, there is a minimum or no connection between the music and the brand or the product. They just place a background melody in order to make them livelier, but they do not aim a specific purpose, and they do not complement the message.

Finally, regarding the type of music, most of it is instrumental (37.2%); therefore, it is neutral music that should be unknown to the listener. That shows that it works more as an accompaniment than with a specific purpose. On the contrary, there is a type of music that can favour and promote the image of the brand, since a melody previously linked to a brand has been used in 27.9% of the cases. The following category has been the music of fashionable bands with lyrics. This kind of music has been used in 14% of the cases, in the background,

behind the voice with the consequent interference between the speaking voice and the singing voice. With the smallest figures (around 9%), there is the use of music that the broadcaster of the show sings, and the instrumental modern music.

Show	Function						Type				TOTAL
	No	Functional	Descriptive	Subjective	Narrative	Lyric Hit	Intrumental Hit	Instrumental	Adsong	Sung	
Carrusel Deportivo	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	0	16	0	0	0	4	0	8	4	0	16
	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
Tiempo de Juego	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	0	3	6	1	2	1	0	6	2	2	12
	0	0	2	2	0	0	1	0	1	2	4
	3	21	8	3	2	6	1	15	7	4	37

Table 7. Music

Even if the use of music in the analyzed radio advertising is more abundant than in the case of sound effects, we cannot conclude that its use is appropriate. Far from making the most of the potential of the music applied to the changes of attitude towards the brand, these ads just place a melody, a neutral melody in most of the cases, as a background mattress during the message, therefore eliminating any kind of sound contrast. The ads that keep a singing music hit that competes with the verbal message of the broadcaster (which is not recommended for the effectiveness of the advertisement) are more limited, but still are present. When music is used that way, it becomes a noise in the message that makes it difficult to understand the content broadcasted on words (Rodero, 2008). However, we have observed an original touch in some of the ads of *Tiempo de Juego*, in which the broadcaster sings the text of the ad, instead of enunciating it. This resource works well with the audience when it comes to its attention but, mostly, its memory. For such reason, the listeners of this show frequently sing the songs of the product later, thereby, increasing the fame of the advertiser.

Discussion

The sports shows are currently one of the main slots in the Spanish talk radio stations and they accumulate significant ratings. Within the sports radio, the *carrusel* format is a traditional show with many followers. First and foremost, the *carrusel* is a narration that involves telling a story: the one happening in a football field. It is also the narration of a dynamic event and broadcasted live. If we consider that all the elements of the broadcast belong to the narration, then, we should expect some coherence and cohesion with the content and its form. However, this analysis has shown that the advertising of the *carrusel* is far from keeping that principle.

Broadly speaking, the advertising insertions in *Carrusel Deportivo* and in *Tiempo de juego* reflect the immobilism that characterizes the radio advertising in Spain, previously suggested in various academic reports. Regarding the first section of the research on the general characteristics of advertising in these two slots, the

similarity between both shows in the analyzed aspects reflects the burden of routine in the preparation, the creation and the production of the insertions. In that sense, we can observe that the dynamics of a mainly informative radio also affect those products which, due to their characteristics, offer an opportunity for experimentation and greater creativity. The narrative freedom of a sports broadcast does not involve a greater risk in the type of advertising, not even when the content to be broadcasted is a final and, besides, a game between two long time rivals like Real Madrid - FC Barcelona.

With regard to the categories of the advertisers, the research shows an obvious standardization of the connection between the content (a football match) and a certain target audience (male). Even though we have said that there could be the so-called effect of 'being there', in this case, the type of advertisers is not surprising at all. These brands see the broadcast of a Madrid-Barça as a good way to reach their potential clients.

One of the singularities revealed in this research is the balance between the commercial break and the mention as advertising formats they use in both shows. That is a characteristic that differentiates the sports radio and, especially, the *carrusel* from the rest of the programming, where the break practically monopolizes the insertions. This trend might have two factors. On the one hand, the mention is a format that fits formally with the style and the dynamic of a sports broadcast. On the other hand, it is a resource with a great potential in the hands of the 'presenter', a professional role that only has a place in a *carrusel* kind of show. His function goes beyond being the advisor of the advertised product, since he is a professional that contributes to the construction of a certain style of radio advertising. The personality and the ability of the 'presenter' is a very important factor, so his selection is one of the key decisions in the radio stations, in order to promote the *carrusel* slot.

It is regarding the broadcasters where we can appreciate some differences between both shows. In *Tiempo de Juego*, the personality and the experience of Pepe Domingo Castaño, with a long career, explain him taking most of the mentions alone, while in *Carrusel Deportivo*, this advertising format is presented in a more collective way, with other voices that help the 'presenter' Juanma Ortega, who, coming from the music radio, has not been in a *carrusel* kind of programme too long. Besides, in the case of the breaks, we must point out that, in *Carrusel Deportivo* by Cadena SER, we find more external broadcasters while, in *Tiempo de Juego*, most of the insertions are starred by the voices of the programme. The same way it happens with the presenters, the current team of this show at COPE also has more years of experience (many seasons at SER) in this kind of programme, and such experience provides good knowledge of the format and the style, both narrative and advertising.

The second section of analyzed elements, referring the creative strategies they use, shows that the style of the insertions also reflects an advertising that is closely connected to the informative style, in order to be broadcasted in a football broadcast, where it is possible to innovate, amuse, and offer a less rational advertising, in keeping with the time of leisure of the listener. However, we must emphasize the differences in the internal structure of the ads. The E-S (exposure of information-solution) dimension prevails in *Carrusel Deportivo*; such structure matches an advertising that follows the guidelines of an informative radio. On the contrary, we have detected that *Tiempo de Juego* bets on structures that offer more creative possibilities to attract the attention of the listeners and connect with them, such as the F-S (fictitious situation-solution) or W-S (warning-solution) formulas. Therefore, in this area, the show at COPE presents a less conservative trend than the show at SER.

The use of sound resources and music is also limited. As generally detected with the radio advertising in Spain, we have detected an underestimation of those elements in the radio language. The sound effects are limited, and their use is not imaginative enough. In the case of music, more than trying to create an association with the product or stimulating emotions that favour a positive image of the brand, it just involves creating a happy and cheerful state of mind with lively background music. That underutilization minimizes the imaginative and creative power of the ads.

In short, this research emphasizes that, except some already explained details, advertising in the *carrusel* kind of show expresses the immobilism and the limited creativity that characterizes advertising in the Spanish talk

radio. Nevertheless, in this case, the analysis was only about the advertising insertions in a certain broadcast (the final match of the King's Cup). For future research, there would be a possibility to observe the narration of other sports events, or the same shows longer, in order to have a better perspective.

On the other hand, it might be interesting to make an analysis of the radio advertising in the broadcast of significant sports events for the audience in various countries, and to compare the advertising characteristics and the creative strategies. That would allow us to face the state of the radio advertising in Spain together with the advertising in other markets, a comparison that might be useful for the sector. Besides, it would be necessary to deal with the factors that determine the current nature of the radio advertising in Spain. For such reason, future research on the production routines of the advertising creative departments of the main stations might be useful, in order to be able to understand, not only the nature of the radio advertising in Spain, but also the reasons.

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Description and analysis of advertising used in Argentinean radio prime time

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Abstract:

Radio advertising in Argentina has been adapted to the changing needs of radio. This paper aims to describe and analyze the advertisement formats used in the four leading prime time programs in Argentina. The methodology is a content analysis that is applied to a sample of four programs each one with duration of four hours (ranging from 9 AM to 1 PM, Monday through Friday) for two weeks in October 2010. Therefore, the sample amounts to 160 hours of programming, 40 for each program. Sponsorships are least used, while the advertising segments are prevalent in all programs. The advertising segments are very different in length for the AM vs. FM. The "mention" has become increasingly common in prime time. The speaker's role is essential to the "selling" of products or services and his function becomes more important when programs incorporate dialogue sections to include brand mentions with time for humorous banter. The terms of prime time advertising on Argentinean radio have changed in recent years in order to adapt to the current needs of radio: programming criteria, use of ss, variety of content and voices and interaction with the listener.

Keywords: advertising radio, radio prime time, radio formats

This paper seeks to understand how to use advertising on radio prime time in Argentina: quantity and variety in the use of advertising segments, sponsorship and brand mentions (or live readings), as well as their duration and distribution at different times. We analyze the behavior of four leading programs: *Hola Chiche*, *El Oro y el Moro*, *Cuál es?* and *Terapia Despareja*.

This study is part of a wider investigation that also analyses the use of themes, sections, genres, voices and music of these programs. Prime time means a time slot that accumulates the largest audience. In Argentina prime time is between 9 AM and 1 PM. This sample includes 10 airings of each program, equivalent to 40 hours per program and 160 hours analyzed. Advertising segments are a series of ads that the station schedules at specific time and involve a pause for the program. Brand mentions are assumed by the speaker, who reads the ad text, mentions a brand and/or recommends a product or service. The sponsorship means a company is interested in a block, section or the whole program. The four programs are shows with leading speakers, which provide identity and style, shared with specialized journalists in sports, politics, economics, health and music. *Hola Chiche* y *El Oro y el Moro* are AM programs. *Hola Chiche* was introduced in 2009 at Radio Mitre, one of the oldest and most traditional radio stations in Argentina. Its speaker, Chiche Gelblung, has had a long career in radio and TV. *El Oro y el Moro* has run for 12 years in the morning on Radio 10, and has been the highest-rated program on the Argentinean radio. *Cuál es?* is on FM and has been the flagship program for Rock & Pop for over twenty years.

Specialized in rock, *Cuál es?* remains the leader among FM shows. *Terapia Despareja* was started three years ago at Pop Radio, a relatively new FM station.

Since the beginning of broadcasting, Argentina adopted a commercial model, supported by advertising. Always far away from the European public service model, Argentina opted instead for the “service of public interest”, achieved in most of Latin American countries. Although there were periods when Argentina nationalized radio, for more than ninety years private capital has prevailed, financed primarily through advertising. The advertising use on radio prime time evolves with the new interests and demands of the audience, rhythm proposed by shows and the strength of the speaker. Although radio advertising still uses traditional formats such as advertising segments and sponsorships, and the ads are still using redundant, catchy melodies or pitching voices, advertising changes and evolves as radio does.

Five trends in the use of advertising on Argentinean radio prime time are:

Advertising segments are the most used advertising format on prime time, followed by brand mentions and sponsorship

When tabulating the number of advertising segments, brand mentions and sponsorship accumulated by the four programs reviewed, it reveals that the advertising segments are the most commonly used advertising format in prime time, as shown in Figure 1.

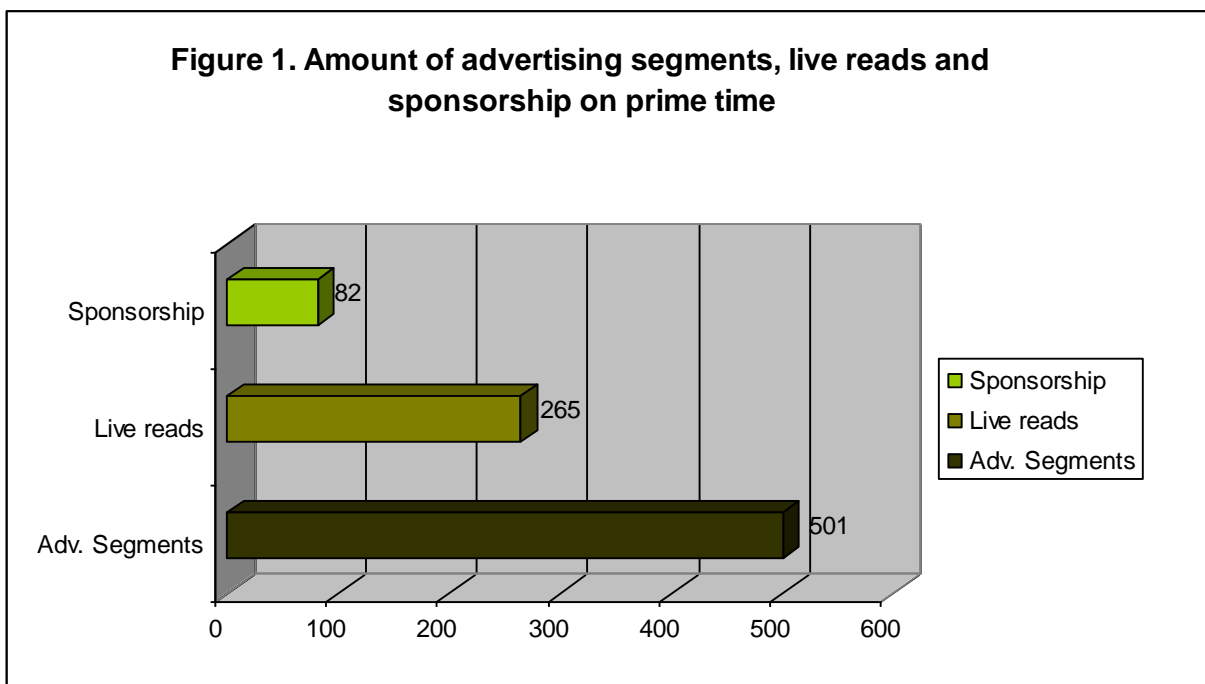


Figure 1: Amount of advertising segments, live reads and sponsorship on prime time

The four programs had a total of: 501 advertising segments, 265 brand mentions and 82 sponsorships. Brand mentions were three times more than sponsorships, a very important advertising format in the radio history. It is noteworthy that, the second format most used is the one that does not interfere with the continuity of the program, holding the speaker’s presence, adding a perceived endorsement to the live read. It comes without interrupting the flow of the program, a strategy that prevents the disconnection of the listener and which is reinforced by the presence of the speaker, recommending the products or services. When analyzing the use of

advertising format, we discover that all programs except for *Cuál es?* use the advertising segments first, followed by the brand mentions and then sponsorships. *Cuál es?* prefers sponsorship to brand mentions, as shown in Figure 2.

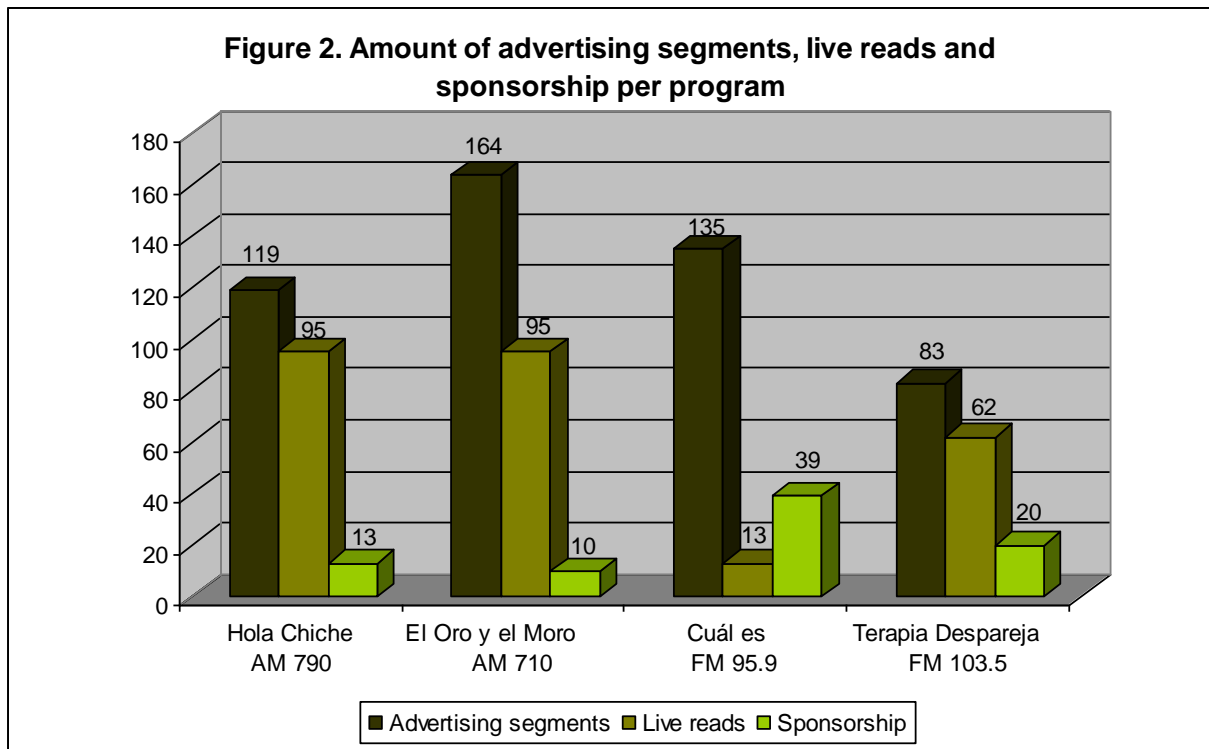


Figure 2: Amount of advertising segments live reads and sponsorship per program

Cuál es? uses 135 advertising segments, 13 brand mentions and 39 sponsorships. *El Oro y el Moro* uses the most advertising segments: 164, followed by *Cuál es?* with 135, *Hola Chiche* with 119 and *Terapia Despareja* with 83. As for brand mentions, the two AM programs use the same amount 95, followed by *Terapia Despareja* with 62 and *Cuál es?* with 13.

Band (AM or FM) establishes differences in the use of brand mentions and sponsorships

The band does not determine the number of advertising segments. Each program individually, on either AM or FM, orders its ads on advertising segments, determining the amount and duration. While different uses of advertising segments were not observed between AM and FM, differences do appear when analyzing the number of brand mentions and sponsorships. Figure 2 also shows that *Hola Chiche* and *El Oro y el Moro* use most brand mentions and more often than FM programs. These findings are consistent with type of programming proposed by AM and FM. AM has less aesthetic care, where brand mentions are used easily and frequently. By contrast, FM aims for advertising to be coherent, orderly and thorough air treatment. For example, *Terapia Despareja* programs their brand mentions at the end of blocks. *Cuál es?* uses them less often, and when it does, it is to promote products related to topics of interest to the program and its listeners: music shows, album releases, among others. As for sponsorship, FM uses them more frequently than AM. *Cuál es?* stands out specifically, with 39 sponsorships. This is because it is the program that has sections more clearly identified, with artists to open and close each one, and several of them with its title. Many of these sections are sponsored by a brand that has relation with the

content. FM uses more sections, clearly identified, so it's a common marketing strategy to sell these placeholders. AM works with a continuity approach only interrupted by advertising segments and news services; sponsorships are usually used to open or close the programs when the specialized journalists' interventions are sold.

Nearly 70% of prime time advertising is scheduled between 11 and 13

The distribution of advertising in different hours shows an upward trend between 9 and 13. The hour with less advertising segments is 9 am, as shown Figure 3.

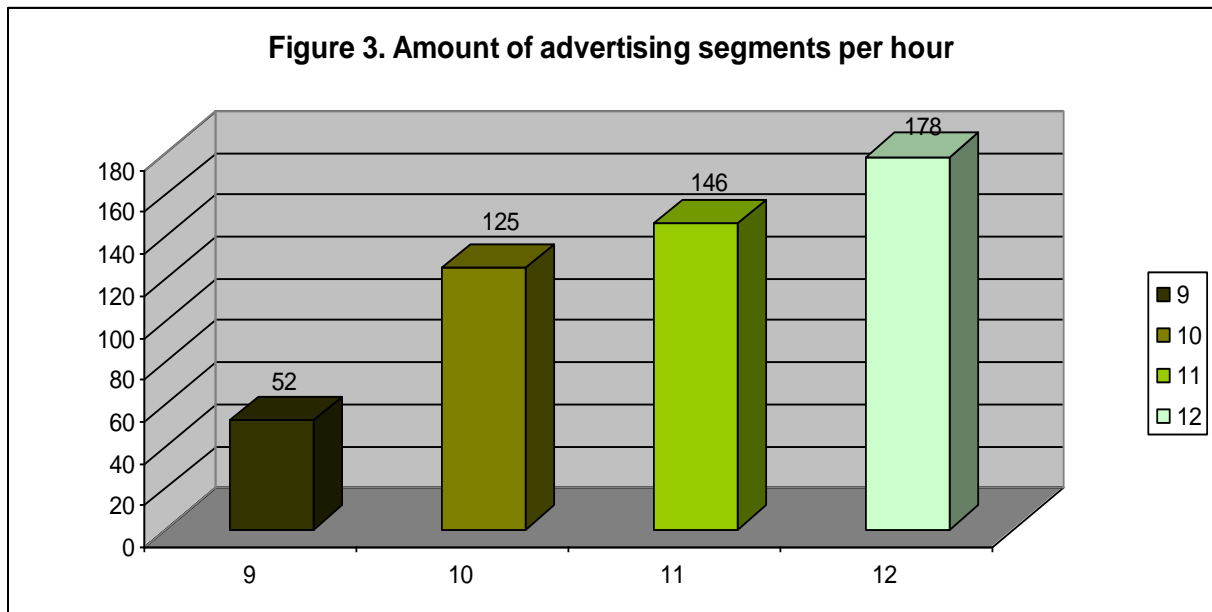


Figure 3: Amount of advertising segments per hour

The first hour accumulates 52 advertising segments, 125 in the hour between 10 and 11, and the third and fourth hour use 146 and 178 respectively. These results show that advertising segments increase strongly from 10 am and reach their peak in the last hour, from 12 to 13 am. Almost 65% of prime time advertising segments are scheduled between 11 and 13. Figure 4 confirms the upward trend in the scheduling of advertising in prime time.

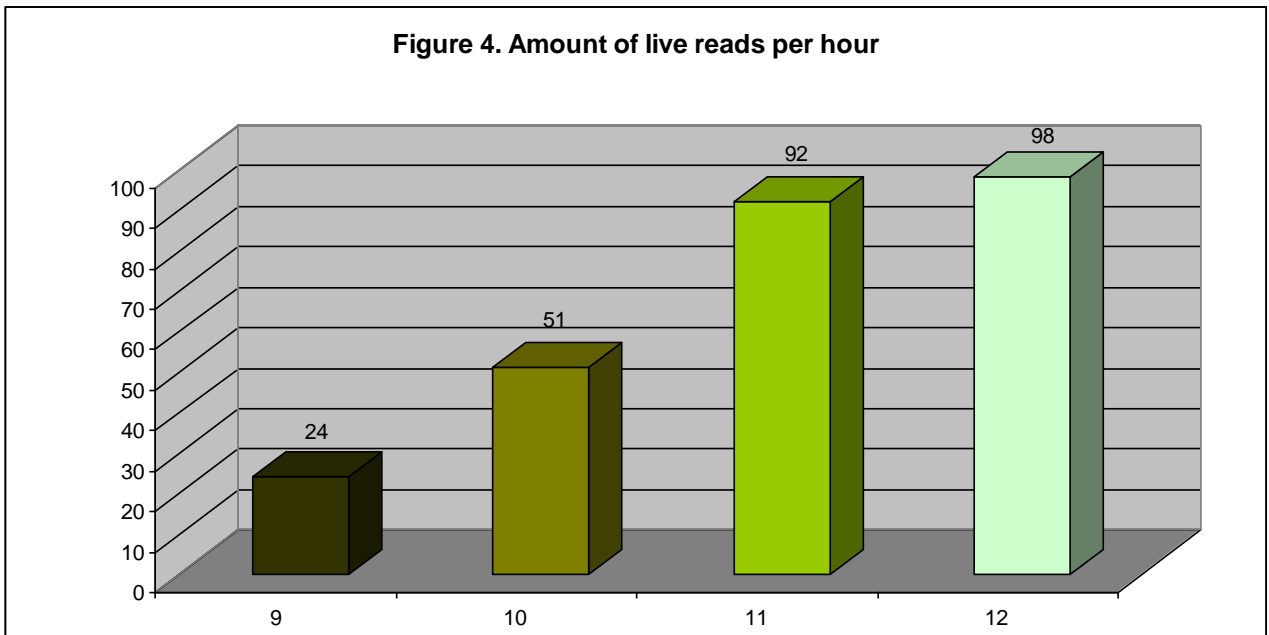


Figure 4: Amount of live reads per hour

There are only 24 brand mentions at 9 am and 51 between 10 and 11. From 11 am on, the number of mentions increased: 92 in the range of 11 to 12 and 98 in the last hour. If we consider the amount of advertising segments and brand mentions the four stations program between 11 and 13, they reach 514 promotional pieces; therefore 67% of total advertising each program accumulates is in the form of advertising segments and brand mentions. The sponsorship is the least used advertising format and as we can see in Figure 5.

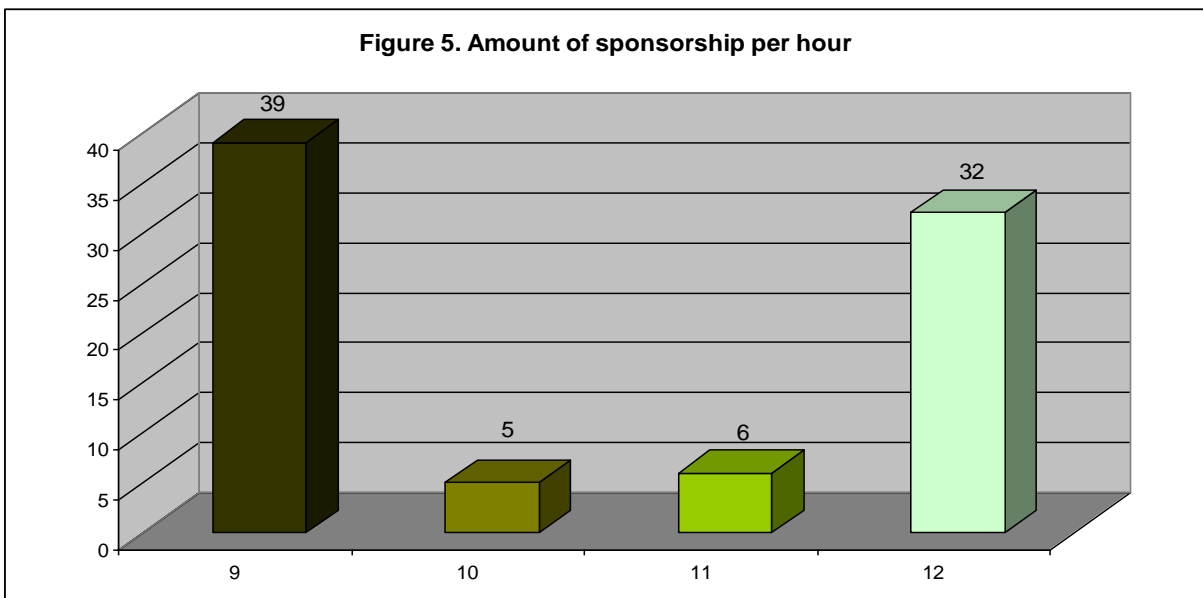


Figure 5: Amount of sponsorship per hour

The programs tend to use them in the opening or closing. Therefore, it is the only format with a different behavior, it doesn't grow between 9 and 13 but it has two "peaks", at the beginning and at the end of the

program. Advertising on prime time is mainly concentrated on the last two hours, and during the first two hours (9-10 and 10-11) the programs spend more time on other genres: news, opinion, fiction and entertainment.

FM is more regular than AM in the distribution of advertising pieces

As we already mentioned, about 70% of prime time advertising is scheduled between 11 and 13. AM concentrates advertising in the last two hours while FM, is more regular in distribution of advertising, as we can see in Figure 6.

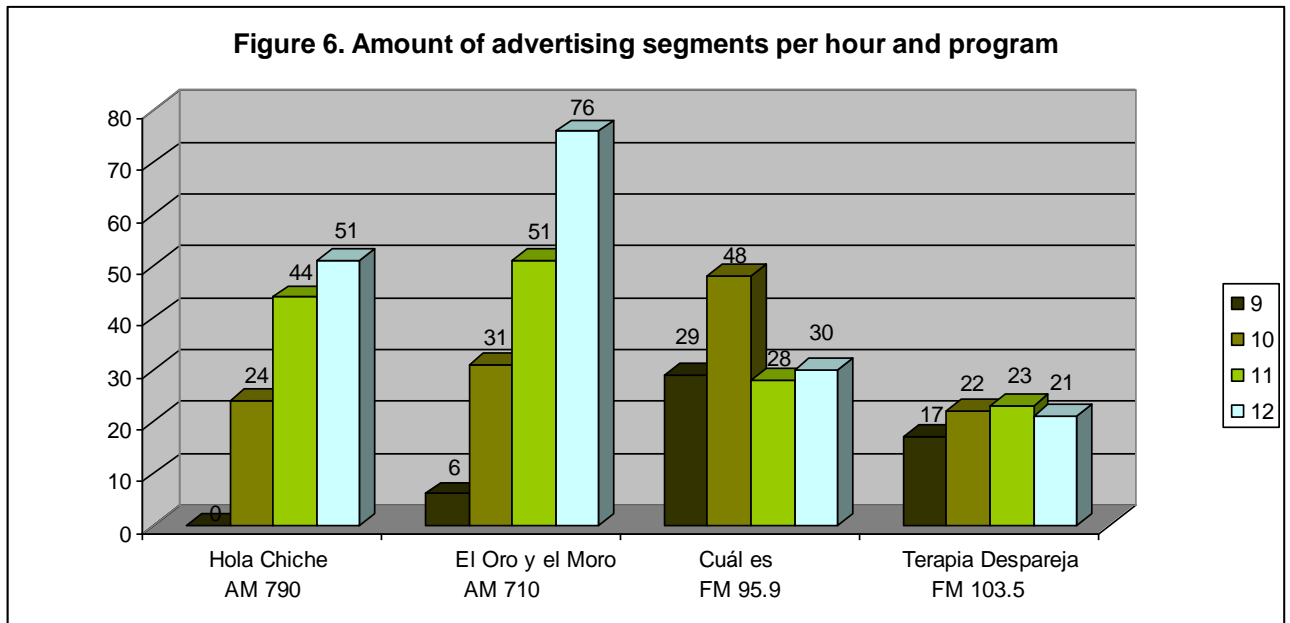


Figure 6: Amount of advertising segments per hour and program

AM goes from less to more, increases progressively since 9 to 13 am. FM maintains a balance between the hours, except for 10 am in *Cuál es?*, when the advertising segment increased. *Hola Chiche* does not usually schedule advertising segments in the first hour, when they take time on the “pase”, the chat room between *Hola Chiche* and the previous program. *El Oro y el Moro* shows a significant “jump” in the amount advertising segments in the last hour, taking great advantage over other programs at the same time. *Terapia Despareja* has a regular behavior; with almost the same amount frequency at all hours except for the first one, which usually programs less advertising segments. As seen in Figure 7, the programs that share band have similar criteria in distribution of brand mentions per hour. Although each program has its own style in programming brand mentions, AM has less regular distribution.

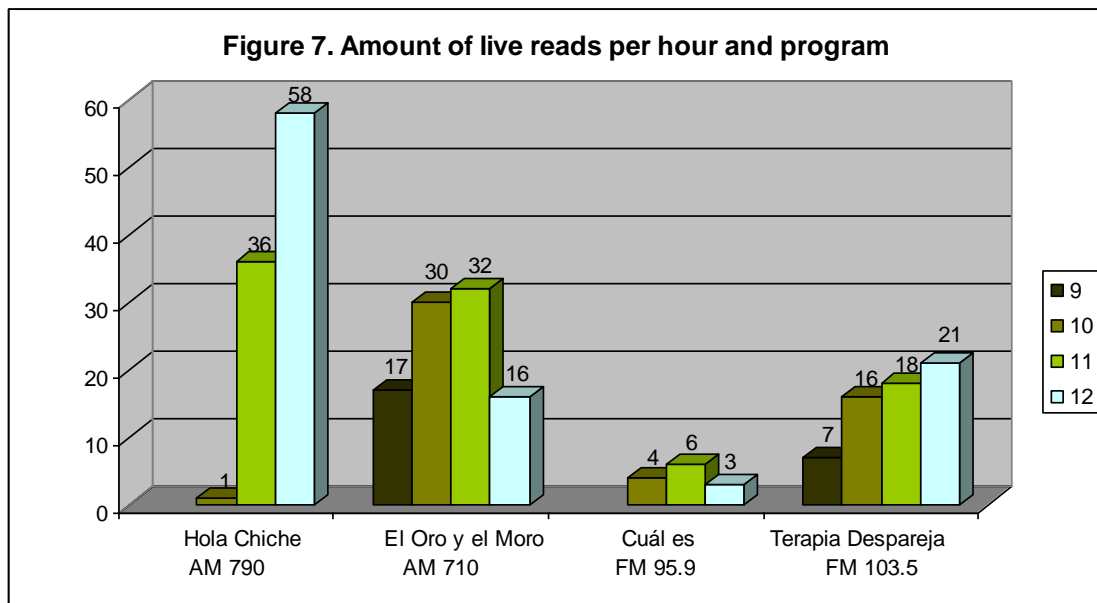


Figure 7: Amount of live reads per hour and program

Hola Chiche does not program adds on the first hour and *El Oro y el Moro* double them on the intermediate hours (10 to 11 and 11 to 12). In contrast, FM shows more balance in brand mentions distribution per hour. *Terapia Depareja* increases the amount of brand mentions in a progressive way, especially after 10 am, with a maximum difference of three brand mentions from one hour to another. Again, these results confirm FM as more organized. AM, however, tends to be more chaotic and improvised, especially because of the importance of current information on its style.

Accumulating more advertising pieces does not mean more advertising time

The amount of advertising segments of each program does not necessarily match with the amount of advertising time, as we can see in Figure 8.

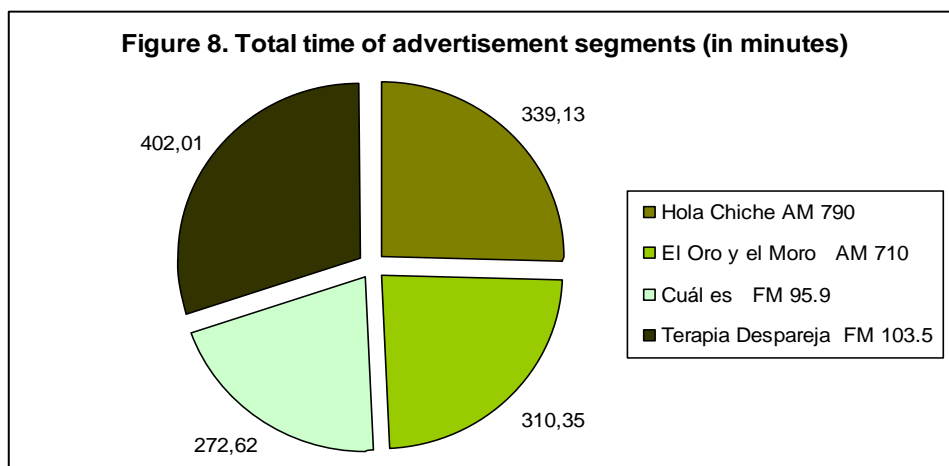


Figure 8: Total time of advertisements segments (in minutes)

Terapia Despareja is the program with least amount of advertising segments but also the one with the greatest advertising time invested in its format: 402 minutes or about seven hours. *Hola Chiche* is the second, with more than five hours of advertising segments, followed by *El Oro y el Moro* with just over five hours. Therefore the program with the highest number of advertising segments ranks third in amount of time used. Last show *Cuál es?* has four and a half hours. Results demonstrate that programs with fewer advertising segments use more advertising time, what means that their advertising segments are longer. There are similar findings for brand mentions, as shown in Figure 9.

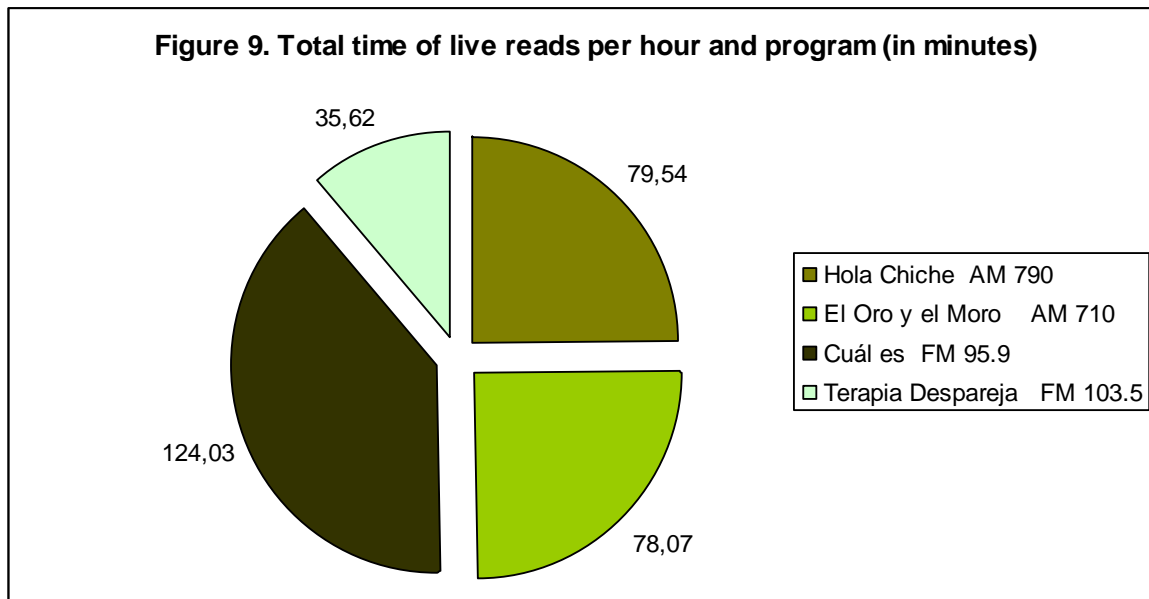


Figure 9: Total time of live reads per hour and program (in minutes)

Cuál es? accumulates the least number of brand mentions but is the one which spends the most time on them, with more than two hours invested on brand mentions. Behind it, *Hola Chiche* and *El Oro y el Moro* take 80 minutes and *Terapia Despareja* is the least with more than 35 minutes. This happens because *Cuál es?* executes very few brand mentions each with a long duration. Their brand mentions are always related to Rock & Pop business. There are less brand mentions because advertising is concentrated in fewer hands. Rock & Pop has major advertisers, provides a great deal of money and has a strong place in programming allowing them to concentrate advertising in fewer hands. By contrast, AM has less concern about what, how and when to advertise. *Terapia Despareja* is between the two styles described above, using more brand mentions than *Cuál es?*, but more brief and ordered than AM.

Advertising in prime time is abundant, especially in AM, where programming depends on what is currently happening. AM shows are built as they are made, with the latest news as dominant criterion. Though, advertising is not always emitted in times ruled by the commercial department, but inserted into the spaces the speakers find in heterogeneity of contents. The first two hours use more time for reports and interviews, so most of advertising is focused on the last two hours. FM uses a more homogeneous distribution of advertising and respects more pre set times.

All programs use brand mentions, a format that increased greatly in recent years. They facilitate the use of advertising without using a pause. They all include a recommendation from the speaker, who assumes first person promotion. Prime time uses few sponsorships, which is more common on FM. Driven by the amount of

advertising and the today's listener profile, active, dispersed, programs schedule ads to fit their times and rhythms.

The advertising segments are uneven in duration; some programs divide them into two and the speaker talks in between, sometimes used to separate pieces of an acting or report. Brand mentions also adapt to the program and integrate into it: involving the speaker, the humorist, introducing gags, using identifying music or inviting the listener to interact through a website, blog or social network. Programs also advertise brands through contests to seek interaction with the listener while using an advertising strategy.

Finally, the programs use all resources to prevent advertising from taking over the program and discouraging the audience. To achieve this, programs use all of the advertising tactics they know.

Chapter 4 | Non-Linear discourse and new language practices



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Radio - the forgotten medium for users' creative mental interaction and co-production

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Abstract:

Twenty five years ago the Swedish Educational Broadcasting Company (UR)² was in the process of ceasing production of radio programmes for children. There were two main reasons expressed; firstly, the broadcasting role model BBC had recently given up their educational radio programming for children and secondly, the use of radio programmes (or tapes) in schools in Sweden had decreased in favour of television or video use. Surveys of teachers' attitudes towards radio usage in education revealed that teachers expected a lack of listening abilities in children, unless audio was accompanied by pictures. As a researcher of UR I made a reception study of children's listening experiences, which illustrated the abilities among 8-9 year old children to create mental images through listening to radio programmes. After their listening, children were pleased about their experiences and advocated an increased usage of radio programmes in school. The benefits of radio or audio and its absence of any pre-produced pictures are rarely acknowledged. Today, as a university lecturer teaching journalism students in a programme for journalism and media production (including radio, television and web) I find that radio is often neglected among the various media mentioned in media theory literature. When radio is brought up it is commonly referred to in relation to music. The special affordances of radio/audio narratives are seldom expressed. In this paper I will elaborate these affordances in relation to children's listening experiences and to interviews with teachers.

Keywords: children, identification, listening experiences, mental imagery, radio

A lot has been written about radio, but not much about experiences of its listeners. Researchers, such as Andrew Crisell (1984, 1996) claims that radio is much more limited than other electronic media, addressing radio's "blindness" and not so much potential benefits of radio's "freedom" from pre-produced images and visual distractions. Other authors highlight radio's invisibility as one of its strengths, providing food for listeners' imagination (e.g. Shingler & Wieringa, 1998; Wilby & Conroy, 1994). However, they do not base their arguments on empirical research on listeners' creation of mental images while listening. Rather, there seems to exist a common sense idea that radio not only provides opportunities for listeners to create their own images, but also requires special imagination skills. This is implicit in teachers' expressed reasons for not using radio in school, when they claim that "today's" children's are not able to make their own mental images. Children are assumed "too spoiled by television, film and video to be satisfied with audio alone". (This was before the IT-revolution.)

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"They have no imagination anymore", "they cannot make their own mental images", "they are too unfocused to be concentrated" say teachers (Forsslund 1983). On the contrary, children appear to be both focused and creative when given the chance according to an ethnographically inspired reception study in 1986, presented further down. Ten years later, in 1995/96, I ran a project for UR (The Swedish Educational Broadcasting Company) titled "Educational radio for children in a multimedia environment". The aim was to enhance radio programming, improving adaption of educational programmes to their target groups and to increase the usage of radio programmes in school. About 40 teachers and their students, aged between 10 and 13 (grades 4-6), acted as "contact classes" in most of the 25 "local radio regions" in Sweden. The teachers had no recent experience of using radio in the classroom, when they tried "their" regional school radio series during the autumn semester in 1995. The programme topics dealt with local current affairs, local nature and culture etc., all being compulsory topics that extend the curriculum but often fall in between time scheduled subjects (Forsslund 1991). Using programmes every week during a period of 15 weeks, teachers responded to weekly questionnaires together with their students, providing the regional radio producers with feedback on their programmes. The questionnaires were later analysed and producers and teachers were interviewed in the spring of 1996, revealing experiences like this surprised expression by one of the teachers:

It was beyond all expectations! I could never believe the kids would appreciate listening to radio that much! I thought it should be boring to solely listen, without watching pictures.

Initially, many of the teachers did not have positive expectations on school radio and of their students' listening capabilities. As the project moved on, their view changed and they soon became engaged in using the radio programmes. Although most teachers in this project used audio cassettes, received free of charge from their local Media centre (nowadays programmes are recorded on DVD), quite a few teachers considered pedagogic advantages in listening directly to the broadcast at 9.45 every Friday morning (Forsslund 1996):

It makes the children listen more concentrated, they know they must listen very carefully, because you can't go back if you miss something.

It is more exciting! Maybe you hear a bit of the news first, and then there is this programme aimed at us! It feels so real, of current interest.

According to teachers who tried radio in 1995, the main benefits of using it as a pedagogic medium in school were development of listening skills, development of concentration, development of reflective thought and development of creative imagination. Remarkably many of the teachers had initially claimed that they now had the toughest and roughest class of school children ever. Pupils were perceived as restless and unfocused and teachers expressed concern about the numerous new demands attached to the teaching profession. In this stressful and troubled environment, teachers found radio programme listening to be a peacemaker that provided opportunity for reflection, a kind of active rest, where listeners could enter into themselves for a while and create their own mental images.

What is mental imagery – and how can it be researched?

Imagery has been defined in various ways in literature, often within different psychological disciplines.. Alan Richardson (1983:15) suggests: "Mental imagery refers to (1) all those quasi-sensory or quasi-perceptual experiences of which (2) we are self consciously aware and which (3) exist for us in the absence of those stimulus conditions that are known to produce their genuine sensory or perceptual counterparts." A more recent reference is Catherine Rush Thompson (2011), who suggests the use of guided mental imagery in order to promote learning, healing and movement in clinical health care. In line with Richardson she defines mental imagery as a quasi-perceptual experience, which "resembles a perceptual experience, occurs in the absence of the actual

external stimuli, can be induced through listening and has many variations in meaning". Thus it is possible to mentally view images that are not physically present to us, and these mental images can be evoked by listening. If Richardson is right, the imagining human being is aware (or can be aware) of her mental images, and these might therefore be possible to explore through reflective conversation. These kinds of studies, however, seems to be nonexistent in favour of various kinds of "objective" psychometric quantitative studies.

According to Alan Paivio (1991) mental images are generated from information in long-term memory. Many writers, he claims, have emphasized the importance of having a rich store of information in memory in order to do creative work. In that case it would not be a good idea to use children - with their relatively small amount of experiences - as research subjects when trying to explore mental images evoked by radio listening. On the other hand, in researching reception of radio listening, it might be an advantage that listeners are not possessors of a large amount of background experiences, as they might more easily stick to their comprehensive interpretation of the radio programme, upon sharing their experiences after listening. According to Richardson (1983: 34), relaxation facilitates the emergence of images into awareness. We relax when we feel safe and secure. This implies that both the listening situation when mental images are expected to form and interviews afterwards should take place in an environment where listeners feel relaxed and secure.

Previous research on children's radio reception

Studies on radio reception are often related to media comparisons between radio/audio or books and TV/video or still pictures. Nowadays these kinds of media comparisons include internet, as Hesham Mesbah's (2006) experimental study of listening to different versions of radio news among older students, researching comprehension but not mental images. Among the studies of mental imagery is Patricia Marks Greenfield research presented in her book *Mind and Media* (1984). She assumes that listening children lack visual images after listening to radio or tape, while having them after watching television (1984:72). Laurene Meringoff (1982) compared reception of a film drama performance with reception of an audio *description* of the "same" story, which to me cannot be seen as comparable. Researchers did not use comparable formats as they did not dramatize the audio version. They did not consider the formative power of sound dramatization when making an audio version of the film drama. Wayne C. Booth (1961) stresses the distinction between "showing" and "telling". Drama and dramatic narration in radio esthetics are enhanced as sounds and voices are used to "show" the scenery and create atmospheres and characters (cf. Shingler & Wieringa, 1998). Other media comparison researchers found that radio stimulates children's imagination more than television, when they asked children to make up their own endings to stories they saw or heard (Patricia Greenfield, 1982; Greenfield & Beagles-Roos, 1988).

It is more demanding to listen to a story than to watch it on film or television, according to Gavriel Salomon (1983). His theory of Amount of Invested Mental Effort (AIME) suggests that different subjects, presented differently in different media design requires different amount of mental effort in reception. A higher amount of invested effort would be a pedagogic advantage, as it indicates a deeper elaborating in reception, which in turn is assumed to enhance cognition and memory. AIME is related to users' preconceptions of the medium, which could imply that a radio programme in school would be expected to demand a higher amount of mental effort than radio listening at home, maybe regardless of its being the same programme. Attitudes to school and listening habits might be contributing factors.

A case study of children's listening experiences

The aim of the case study I will subsequently draw my arguments from was to find out how listeners create meaning and mental images from audio information. Are they able to construct mental images out of a picture-less presentation? Previous research about children's listening and mental imagery is mainly about correct recall,

measured in experiments, while children's free interpretations and experiences of radio listening seems to be more or less unexplored.

My basic theoretic assumption is that listeners make their own interpretations of a radio programme - if the presentation includes something they can relate to, something familiar. The encounter between the radio programme and the listener is regarded as a meaning making process within a cultural context. This meaning making process is influenced by a variety of factors, such as the radio programme topic, design and the socio cultural variations in children like age, gender, previous experiences, knowledge and cultural dispositions. Since the current study concerns a school radio programme, intended to be used in school, the school culture is also an important factor.

Methodology, sample of informants and of radio programme, listening context and interviewers

As I have not found research on children's own experiences of their radio reception, another aim of the study was related to methodological questions. Theoretically and methodologically I wanted to regard the listeners as cooperating subjects, not as objects of research. Individual semi-structured interviews were used, trying to make the child feel comfortable as a co-researcher, reflecting as much as possible about her or his experiences of the programme in a conversation like situation.

Since this was the first case study of a quite difficult research subject, mental imagery, I found it important to make the study as basic as possible concerning the choice of test programme and of informants. As listeners were asked to be able to put into words their experiences and mental images evoked by a radio programme, I chose informants one year older than the programme's target group. The cooperative teacher of my 9 year old son's class chose one programme she thought would be appreciated by children, among three programmes which I myself by introspection had found rich of evoking mental images. The programmes were part of the school radio series Bokhörnan (Book Corner), aimed at encouraging school children to read, by presenting in radio a piece of a story, which would make listeners curious enough to feel they themselves have to read the rest of the story in the book. The duration of the radio programme is 15 minutes, comprising of a sound dramatised narration read by the author of the book and short inserted clips of the programme presenter and his interviews with the author.

I wanted the children to enjoy this first programme and the research situation, as they might go on examine other programmes later. In order to make the 14 children feel as comfortable as possible to share their listening experiences, interviewers were chosen that were known by the children as classmates' mothers, (myself and another mother, at that time studying psychology), and a special education teacher. The three of us were listening together with the children and their teacher in the classroom. The class teacher told the children that we should talk about the programme with them afterwards. This might have made them invest more mental effort in the listening process (Salomon 1983).

After listening in the classroom, which is the normal listening situation, the 14 children were interviewed individually by us, the three interviewers in separate rooms. While waiting for the interview in the classroom the children were writing about the radio story, to keep it fresh in mind. An interview guide with open questions was used and children were told that nothing could be right or wrong, as we wanted to know about their individual listening experiences, which are always right. Questions and follow-up questions were like: When do you think it happened? Have you seen something like this before? Where was that? How did it look? How did she feel? What will happen next? Questions like "what did it look like" were met quite naturally, without questioning the fact that there were no pictures presented. The interviews were recorded and later transcribed and analysed. The children who wanted could try the tape recorder and listen to their own voices, which was appreciated by the children. After the interview the children would choose to continue writing or make drawings related to their listening experiences.

Since children encountered the programme with different previous experiences of media, school and other socio cultural factors, questionnaires were delivered by the class teacher a week before the programme test. The aim was to get some background knowledge about the children’s media preferences and attitudes to school, to use as a potential resource in the interpretation of the interviews and listener’s writings about the programme. The children knew that the teacher would never see their responses, as she immediately put the questionnaires into an envelope, sealed it and gave it to me.

Results

The classroom is quiet and still. 14 pupils are concentrated listening, sitting at their desks in a semi circle. Their paintings of water colour and ink on paper and cloth decorate the walls. Crumpled trolls, flying birds, picture stones. The sun is shining in through the tall, old windows. The sea is shimmering beyond rooftops. On the tape recorder the audiotape is rattling round and round. Loudspeakers on the wall – but you must make an effort to hear.

The story is about Majken, a girl who runs away from home early in the morning while her family is asleep. She wants to visit her best friend Sven-Olof in the hospital in town. The story is composed of clips from the first half of the book, chosen to show five critical incidents: 1. The first is that Majken must not be seen or heard when she leaves, but happens to make a noise; 2. She tries to sneak up on the milk truck; 3. Majken is found on the truck; 4. At the hospital she is mistakenly thought to be a patient by a nurse and is subjected to a blood test; 5. The last critical stage is when Majken finds out that her friend is not sad, the way she had imagined, when she came to comfort him. Through an open door Majken happens to get a glance of Sven-Olof happily laughing together with a beautiful girl patient. Majken gets a strange feeling, which she has never felt before. It feels like being beaten, but inside. It hurts terribly. “There we leave Majken on the threshold to Sven-Olof”, says the programme presenter. “She is sad, standing there in all her misery. What happens next, you will have to read in the book, “Majken en dag i Maj” (Majken, one day in May).

Two boys in the front cannot sit still. They look at each other, turn around, one finds something on floor, the other crawls under the desk. They do not seem to be listening at all. When another teacher knocks on the door and the class teacher hurries to ask her come back later, these boys closest to the door look as they are the most bothered pupils. In the individual interviews, however, one of them, Erik, was able to retell his interpretation of the story and describe his mental images very well.

➔ This is our first lesson: we cannot tell if children are listening or not only by observing them.

There is no description in the programme of Majken’s home, apart from statements that suggest there is a front door which Majken “opens slowly”, wet grass outside and a water barrel at the corner of the building. However, Erik knows what it looks like. He describes an overview image, which he narrows into a closer detailed description of the stairs to the front door:

It was a fence like this here [he draws with his finger on the table] and a gate here and a house there which was white with green trim and quite high stone stairs in front of the door. And a black handrail of steel with sticks like this.

Nor are there any descriptions of Majken’s mother, apart from a statement that she is often ill. Maria creates a picture of her, as a woman sitting in a black rocking chair, with a blanket over her knees.

➔ Listeners create mental images beyond what is told in the radio programme

As Wolfgang Iser (1985) suggests, readers/listeners fill empty spaces in the literary text. When creating his mental picture of Majken's house, Erik uses his experience of his grandparents' country house: "It resembles it a little", he says. Maria uses her memory of the picture of the cover of a book she had recently read, when she sees Majken's mother in a rocking chair.

→ **Listeners form their images based on their own direct experiences or indirect experiences of other media.**

In another picture Maria uses her prior visual memories of different places and mixes them into a new picture as she imagines the story taking place in Lummelunda, with a factory chimney that looks like the one in the sugar factory in Roma, another place on the same island where this research takes place.

→ **Mental images may also be converged by a combination of material based on listeners' previous experiences.**

Sometimes listeners don't know where their mental images come from.

"I just imagine" says a boy.

→ **Listeners' images can be close to the story, created mostly out of what they heard.**

She was standing outside the house and the door was not completely closed. Here is the house and here was that hedge where she sneaked like this. And here is that barrel and the ball she kicked, says Louise.

→ **Mental images may be created and recalled differently**

Above Louise's shows an entire scene by gestures. In the interview, as she recalls her imagination of the scenery, she describes a frozen picture, which might have been formed as moving images while listening. What is created during listening is not likely to be exactly the same as what is expressed in the interview.

→ **Mental images may be created in multiple modalities, as static stills or as a series of stills like a comic strip, or as moving images like a film.**

Malin describes the environment as a still picture

It was pretty close to a shop, one of those small ones. And you could see a barn. And the milk truck roughly opposite. And quite far away was the milk shop, says Malin and found it reminding her a bit about the small island Fårö.

Linda constructs her images as still pictures in a series like a comic strip, without movements:

It was a barn that the farmer was inside. He heard the car [...] And then the farmer stands outside the barn".

Lars' description begins with a still picture and continues with a moving image of a man coming out.

It was quite a big barn. Red, with black roof. Tin roof. A farmer is coming out."

→ **Mental images can be film-like including kind of kinesthetic feeling**

This is found in Nina's and Erik's experiences. The programme sound effects of an old truck engine, increasingly louder (coming closer) and then fading away, might have helped to invoke these images, which have no reference in the reading.

*The gravel road changes to asphalt over the railway, when they are heading town," says Erik
I saw from the front kind of a milk truck, in which she sat and it bobbed and bounced, says Nina.*

→ **Imagined sound experiences may also be mentally created.**

Bertil heard an angry man shout in a special dialect, which made him think that the story took place in the south of Sweden. Is this a conclusion because of the narrator's accent?, the interviewer asked. "No Oskar, when he said something", Bertil answered, thus having heard a man in the dramatic reading carried out by a woman. His mental construction of this sound was probably assisted by the narrator's change of articulation into a louder and more energetic voice.

→ **Comprehension seems to be important for constructing mental images**

If the listener cannot make sense of parts of the story, then it is hard to create mental images out of these parts:

When she sits there, I cannot see it, because it says that she sat, but that tarp cannot be as high whatsoever.

Erik did not notice this part of the story: "There is a large tarp slung over the boxes. Below it will be good to hide." Bertil wanted more details of a dramatic event at the hospital: "Now we will have a little blood test here, says the nurse hasty, and before Majken get time to protest, she got a hold of a finger and stuck. A big bright red drop of blood comes out of Majken's finger."

I wonder what the thing looked like, which was used to get blood, I could not see it.

→ **New material are constructed to make sense of the story**

A listener, who missed part of the story, creates a mental image, beyond what is told, which helps her to make sense of the story. That is what Nina is doing when she says the ground was covered "by gravel instead of grass", a conclusion she drew to explain the noise problem when Majken kicked the ball. Nina did not notice the narrator saying Majken kicked the ball at a water barrel, which was roaring and rattling.

→ **It may be easier to create a mental image than to draw it on paper.**

You should only see her looking in through the door... maybe crying... see that she becomes disappointed, and then she sees them sitting there laughing. The door is not so open so those inside can see her, but she can see in.

In the interview Nina has a clear mental image of what she would see as a cover picture of the book.

I cannot draw the pictures I am thinking.

Identification and empathy

The arts allow identification, empathy and sharing lives with mediated characters, and it is through our emotions we know what is good or bad, that is to make a moral stance, according to Veronica Stoeihel (1994). Jonathan Cohen (2001) claims that while identification with media characters is widely discussed in media research, it has not been carefully conceptualized or rigorously tested in empirical audience studies. In his overview of media research involving identification, Cohen suggests identification with media characters may be defined as an imaginative process invoked as a response to characters presented within mediated texts. Identification is fleeting and varies in intensity, a sensation felt intermittently during exposure to a media message. According to Diana Fuss, referred to in Martina Ladendorf (2008), identification is a process linked to the human's own identity. It is a way to relate to others, to incorporate something of the other's identity. Identification is not only with characters you like and wish to be like. Fuss in Ladendorf (2008) describes different kinds of

disidentifications with media characters that audience members dislike. Disidentification as well as identification may be part of one's own continuously identity work.

Identification processes might be like unconscious fantasies, which are not accessed by interviewing, according to Fuss (in Ladendorf 2008). The interview questions and conversations about Majken's feelings and how the listener felt while listening in the current case study, however, showed to be fruitful. Some listeners prefer writing, which may reveal identification as we will see below.

→ **Listeners may identify or disidentify in their emotional involvement with the main character when they don't like the behaviour of the protagonist.**

She should have told about her plans, says Malin.

She could have gone to the hospital on patients' visiting times, says Johan.

You don't do that, says Erik.

I would never have done that, says Lars.

→ **Both girls and boys may identify with a female main character in a radio programme.**

Not only characters of same sex are subject to identification. Both girls and boys identified with Majken or had empathic feelings for her. Some listeners show they are aware of this identification, others do not. Some reflect over their identification:

In the end, it was just as me too, that I was Majken and stood there and was sad. And only saw them sitting talking. Lump in the throat. Sting in the head" says Maria.

I was thinking about how it would feel to be the same person as she, says Linda.

If I was going to do that [as Majken], I would probably go back indoors again. And regret what I had planned to do" says Louise.

Niklas did not say anything in the interview that could be interpreted as his identification with Majken. In his writing, however, this is clearly revealed, when he changes perspective from third person to first person, from "she" to "I":

She left with the milk truck. But when it stopped at a farm and a farmer jumped up on the truck platform and pulled back the tarp I sat there shivering. What are you doing here? I could not get a sound out of my mouth, and then came the chauffeur and shouted: What the hell are you doing here. I only shivered and shivered more and more. In the end I could squeeze out a word.

In addition to interviews, writing is here shown to be a useful instrument to reveal identification. As we prefer to express ourselves in different modalities, in different situations, the research subjects should be able to express themselves according to their own preferences. If we want to regard the child listeners as subjects rather than objects of research, interpretations of children's drawings should be accompanied by conversation, not to draw too far-reaching conclusions.

The programme design

Some listeners faced problems when trying to make sense of the programme because of its design. The presenter's inserted interviews with the author, who is also the narrator of the story, were interspersed with the story. In the first insert the programme presenter talks about another book about Majken, which includes a story of lingonberry jam in the snow, thought to be blood. In the next interview insert, the author says: "That stuff about the blood spot in the snow is absolutely true." This was confusing for some listeners, who tried to link this with the story: She went with that truck. But I don't understand the spot of jam. Quite a few listeners thought the story

must have taken place during winter, because of that blood spot in the snow, in spite of the title of the book mentioned in the programme, Majken one day in May.

In their evaluations of the programme many listeners said they had preferred the story, without inserts. The producer's ambition was to invite listeners to the author as well and learn how she makes up her stories. This ambition did not work the way it was designed in the radio programme. What could have facilitated discrimination of information in the interviews from the narration is the fact that different grammatical tenses are used. The narration uses mostly present tense, the interviews past tense.

How can listeners' forming of visual images be assisted?

This was a question in Richard Palmer's book *School Broadcasting in Britain*, from 1947, calling for research, which probably had never been realised. The suggestions included sound effects and dramatized narration, both being features used in the Majken programme. Early school broadcasters also suggested to "begin with a bang so as to reduce the warming up phase to a minimum". The Majken-programme starts in media res: "When Majken slowly opens the front door..." The clips from the book about Majken are chosen to show the most dramatic situations and omit long text passages about Majken's thoughts and emotions.

A quite recent article by Ebbe Grunwald and Jørgen Lauridsen (2007) on image-evoking language in journalism suggests that figurative everyday language ("linguistic exposures"), descriptive and concrete language, including rhetorical measures such as metaphorical and metonymical expressions, will increase recognition and comprehension and invoke images in readers' minds. The researchers studied how and to what extent these techniques are used by journalists, but not in relation to readers' experiences. Drawing on Grunwald's and Lauridsen's assumption I can conclude that the language of the Majken story is mostly concrete and comprises of everyday expressions, including a swear word, when the narrator expressed Oskar's exclamation when he found Majken on the truck: "What the hell!" This expression, banned in a school context, surprised child listeners and was explicitly appreciated by some, who smilingly imitated it in the interviews. Other listeners revised the expression in a "milder" way, in Swedish "för sjutton gubbar"; "for 17 guys!"

In sum

In this study all the 9 year old children in one way or another proved that they were able to describe their recollection of their mental images constructed while listening. In their creative listening experiences children constructed mental images of different modalities, and drew conclusions beyond the radio presentation. Listeners became involved in the story and showed empathy for the main character and even identified with her. The listeners' creation of mental images can be regarded as a mental interactive co-production of the radio programme.

Discussion

Teachers' prejudices about radio as a pedagogic medium and about children's abilities, wishes and needs seem to be the major obstacle to the use of educational radio (or audio discs) in school. This is evident from interview studies with teachers as well as with students. The case study shows examples of mental image modalities created by 9- and some 8- year old school children while listening to a dramatized narration in radio. The result cannot be generalized to any listener of any programme in any context, which was not the aim of the study. What can be concluded is that children are able to be capable and creative radio listeners and that producers and researchers ought to talk to children rather than listen to adults' prejudices about children's abilities of radio listening.

Methods for researching mental images, listening circumstances and interview situation seem to be of great importance to make children co-researchers, who want to find out about their own mental processing while listening. Of course we cannot capture listeners' direct listening experiences, but indeed their recollection of their experiences in individual interviews. Mental images created while listening, may be further elaborated in interaction with the interviewer. To improve further research I had therefore added the following question in the interview guide: "Is this what you see now? Was it the same during listening?"

Most children appreciated our interest for their mental images and thoughts and were very cooperative as co-researchers. There were however differences in styles in interviews carried out by a teacher compared to non-teachers. (Even in another study with another teacher.) The teacher placed many questions in a short time and got short answers from her interviewees. This might be the manifestation of a mutual problem; children knowing the interviewer as a teacher and that teaching often comprises of many short questions which teachers already know the answer to. In the instruction to interviewers I tried to make clear that there is no right or wrong in this study – the listener is always right of her or his listening experiences. It might be a good idea to include child interview training in teacher education, making teachers listening to children. According to Richardson (1983: 34), relaxation facilitates the emergence of images into awareness, which implies that both the listening situation when mental images are supposed to be created and the interview afterwards must be conditions where the listeners feel relaxed and secure. This does not seem to be the case for Lars, one of the boys who did not sit still and who became most disturbed during listening. Unlike Erik he could tell only a few pieces of his listening experiences, and he told the interviewer that during listening he had been thinking about who might be the one to interview him. Thus it could be assumed that he was not relaxed enough and therefore could not listen focused enough to be able to create mental images.

When comparing their different mental images, listeners understand that they have a great role in shaping and constructing the programme through their own interpretation. They learn that "texts" are interpreted differently by different human beings. *Aha, my programme is different to yours!*, one of my interviewees exclaimed happily, when she realized her own important role while adding her own picture dimension to the programme.

Why do young listeners become so happy when they understand they make half the radio programme themselves? Maybe this is an effect of listeners using their previous experiences in their interpretation and that would imply that knowledge and experiences of their past are acknowledged. This might be one reason why also teenagers of grade eight, who disliked almost everything in school, was so concentrated and happily listening to radio dramas or narrations, according to teacher interviews in an earlier project (Forsslund, 1984).

Programme design seems to be very important for listeners to be able to make meaning of the programme content. As a former radio producer I know it is regarded unprofessional not to provide varieties by using different inserts in a programme, even if we produce an elaborate sound dramatized narration. I think we have to take into account the listeners' opportunities to make sense of our programme and learn more from listeners than from professional colleagues when evaluating programmes.

Why should radio drama or literature imagery be important in human development?

The American philosopher Martha Nussbaum emphasizes imagination to improve development of compassion and civic responsibility:

"Literary imagination develops compassion, and if compassion is essential for civic responsibility, then we have good reason to teach works that promote the types of compassionate understanding we want and need."
(1997/2003: 99)

Apart from the development of important human characteristics as compassion and empathy, mental images evoked by educational radio, relating to listeners' previous knowledge and experiences can be assumed to

acknowledge the listener as a knowledge creating human being. This acknowledgement could encourage students to continue learning for life.

In Australia for instance, creation of mental images is assumed to be an important method to enhance children's reading comprehension: "Explicit teaching of mental imagery using the senses improves listening comprehension and oral retell of Grade 1 students"³. Moreover, radio programmes are good for dyslectics, teachers have claimed (Forsslund 1996). One teacher noticed a surprisingly high level of retention of information after a very long time, which he supposed had to do with the high amount of mental effort that listening demands. This notion supports Salomon's theory on mental effort (1983).

Listening is one of the basic skills that should be taught in school, but is often neglected. Maybe it is even more important in today's media climate, where people use social media to talk about themselves more than listening to others.

In my current research project 2011⁴, shadowing new multimedia journalists in their work, I find radio/audio on the web to be paying a short visit and finally ceasing, because it is assessed as demanding too much effort of editing in relation to the few cliques of audio clips on the web. When audio was there, it was accompanied by pictures. The new journalists were educated as multi-journalists with experiences of producing radio, television, print and web. Some of them work at local public service radio stations, making news, culture programmes and talk shows. They appreciate the special benefits of radio or audio, with sound atmosphere and voices offering feelings of fear, anger, happiness etc, making the news more intense and inviting listeners to a deeper understanding or empathy. However those journalists working in paper or media companies mainly on the web, with possibilities to use video and audio apart from texts and pictures, prefer video or sound accompanied by photos. As it is easy to present pictures on the web, it is assumed to be an extra service to users. Of course pictures are of great value in journalism about news and current affairs and other subjects that are new to the listeners. Nevertheless, it can also eliminate listeners' imagination and as in television, viewers may focus the presenter rather than the information. That is what interviewed teachers argue, after using school radio in 1995. It is easier to listen to what people say, when you do not need to pay attention to how they look (Forsslund, 1996).

Radio may contribute to saving the art of storytelling (I do not mean storytelling as a means of advertising). For current affairs or educational programmes compelling stories may well put facts into a context, making them easier to understand. In my study about the history of Swedish school radio (Forsslund 2002) I was surprised to find programmes in the 1940s and 50s about difficult subjects such as for instance the invention of the nuclear bomb presented in a fascinating drama format. And for young school children there was a programme teaching dental health care in the format of a dramatized fairy tale about a king who loved sweets and did not know how to brush his teeth. These types of edutainment programmes offer listeners indirect learning through committed or joyful listening. The benefits of edutainment were also found by Solange Davin (2003) in a television reception study, where viewers perceived medical soap operas as being quality entertainment as well as efficient pedagogic tools, because they allowed identification (and repetition) which enhanced their learning.

Educational radio in school or university functions as a social medium where listeners simultaneously get information together, compared to text reading. Individual interpretations can be discussed, comprehension problems may be solved and meaning makings and understandings might be enhanced. This kind of use was included in the instructions of school radio methodology in classrooms in the 1940s and 50s when school radio had its golden age.

There are a lot of questions for further research on the importance of radio in human life, except for use in school. If children have access to radio programmes of good quality, they might become happy adult listeners.

³ http://online.edfac.unimelb.edu.au/LiteracyResearch/pub/teaching_strategies/AMullan_TS.pdf.

⁴ On the threshold of a profession. Becoming journalists in new media realities.

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Only Half the Story: Radio Drama, Online Audio and Transmedia Storytelling

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Abstract:

Online audio drama creates the potential not just for new forms and patterns of listening (on-demand and audience controlled) or for revised methods of plot structuring (with series stacking allowing for the use of extended narrative arcs) but of a complete re-creation of the listening experience as being part of an act of transmedia storytelling – one in which the narrative spins out of the fictive realm and overlays the 'lived' experience of the listener.

This paper will discuss the opportunities that have been opened up for writers and producers of radio drama through the development of online and downloadable audio. It will discuss the use of both social media tools and diverse media platforms in the construction of story in which the membrane between the real and fictive has become permeable. It will focus on the author's ongoing work on *The Flickerman* a piece of applied creative research that began as an attempt to explore the possibilities offered to writers by working outside conventional radio networks, and has developed into a piece of as-live, collaborative, open-source story telling.

Keywords: radio drama, audio drama, transmedia, fourth wall, augmented narrative

Digital technologies have democratised the processes by which radio drama may be produced and distributed. There is now a growing body of participant producers working without formalised studios and reaching their audience directly through podcast and online audio distribution platforms. This has created the potential for a shift in the locus of creative production of radio drama away from traditional large-scale broadcasters, removing the creative constraints applied by their multifarious systems of commissioning and scheduling. The Internet offers writers and producers of radio drama almost limitless creative freedom, the potential for which has yet to be fully realised. "Audio Drama", "Pod-Drama" or "Podiobooks" – the form has yet to settle upon a coherent identity is still defined by the sensibility of the amateur and by the tropes of fan fiction. What online audio offers is the opportunity for creative practitioners to hone their craft and engage with new forms of transmedia storytelling. Online audio drama creates the potential not just for new forms and patterns of listening (on-demand and audience controlled) or for revised methods of plot structuring (with series stacking allowing for the use of extended narrative arcs) but of a complete re-creation of the listening experience as a form of augmented narrative – one in which the story spins out of the fictive realm and overlays the 'lived' experience of the listener.

This paper will explore the potential offered by this new creative form to writers and producers of radio drama. It is derived from a piece of extended research that I have recently completed for the Society of Authors in the United Kingdom (as part of a PhD in Creative Writing at Bath Spa University) that examined the influences that

the last two decades of changes to the commissioning processes at the BBC have had on the work of radio writers. It also details a research as practice case study, the online audio project *The Flickerman*, that I wrote and produced between 2008 and 2010. I have worked as a radio writer for the BBC since 1996, as well as a Sound Designer at the New York theatre company the Wooster Group and as an independent producer of audio and interactive art. *The Flickerman* was developed as a response to my research. It began as an attempt to explore the possibilities offered to writers by working outside conventional radio networks, and has developed into a piece of as-live, collaborative, open-source story telling.

Beyond the BBC

Ten years ago the online distribution of radio drama appeared to offer the perfect means for radio writers to reach new audiences directly. In his 1999 book *Radio Drama*, Tim Crook identified Internet distribution as having exciting potential for radio writers: "Young writers who have experienced the brunt of exclusion and denial of opportunity in BBC licence fuelled radio drama since the late 1980s have been given the opportunity to send and receive communication on a level not seen since the introduction of the telephone" (Crook, 1999: 41). In Crook's view was a method of distribution that offers an open and democratic platform on which artists and producers can broadcast their work, unrestricted by the "oligopolies that operate in so many national broadcasting systems" (Crook, 1999: 43). Previously producers had to operate within the strictures of the BBC's schedules and systems of commissioning. Now it appeared that they could create work unhindered by systems of commissioning, scheduling considerations, pitches or of any of the labyrinthine processes involved in producing work for a network broadcaster, and in particular for the BBC.

Such is the dominance of the BBC in the production and broadcast of radio drama that for the past sixty years it has held a virtual monopoly over the form's conceptual development¹. Radio drama is produced and broadcast by other radio networks throughout the English speaking world. There are weekly drama shows on national networks such as RTE (Ireland), ABC National Radio (Australia), CBC (Canada) and RNZ National (New Zealand). There have been occasions when the fulcrum of creativity in the form has shifted to other countries, for instance America's pre-1945 'Golden Age of Radio' or the German 'Neu Horspiel' movement of the 1970s, but the scale and consistency with which the BBC has been producing and broadcasting plays has channelled and shaped the form. The BBC is by far the most prolific drama broadcaster in the world, airing 650 hours of work in 2009, with a total of 200 single plays (source Howe, interview 2009). Furthermore the BBC's output, across Radios 3, 4 and 7, is heard by an average of 6.5 million people per week, with a typical Afternoon Play garnering audiences of 900,000 (source, Benedictus, 2010).

There is no compunction that the BBC should broadcast radio drama, it is not a requirement of its continued operation that it maintains this esoteric and comparatively expensive art form.² The corporation is supported by a licence fee, the existence of which is justified in part through the maintenance of audience share for all its broadcast network. Radio drama has to fulfil a defined role within the schedules of the BBC's radio stations and the corporation has to ensure that it serves a purpose and it serves an audience. This is done through a very tight set of controls and monitors on its output. This is an environment in which producers do not develop ideas from which broadcasters may construct a schedule. Rather the broadcaster creates a schedule in response to the patterns of their audience's listening, and then programming is produced to fit into it. The more pragmatic of independent producers see their role as being not to sell programme ideas to the BBC but to sell the network controllers "scheduling solutions" (Starkay, 2004: 305).

¹ David Hendy describes the small team of producers who work in the BBC Radio Drama Department as "the only pool of practitioners of their craft in Britain and the largest concentration in the English-speaking world" (Hendy, 2005: 174)

² The typical cost of a radio drama is £24,000 per hour which is 20 times greater than the average cost of an hour of an hour of music broadcasting on BBC Radio 1 (source BBC, *Annual Report and Accounts, 2008-2009*).

The BBC issues writers and producers with commissioning guidelines that detail the time, audience and expected content of a particular programming slot. Writers and producers are encouraged to incorporate this scree of demographic data into their creative process, allowing for little scope for experimentation or diversity in the works that they create. This predictability of output is part of the nature of contemporary, highly scheduled radio listening. Each and every project has to be the subject of a 'hard-sell' and most writers' reputation or track record counts for little. When every commission is a fresh start it is hard for a writer to build on previous successes and to have the confidence to try out different or potentially risky ideas (Wyatt, interview 2008). Giving creative practitioners the freedom to try out ideas is essential to the development of both the writer's personal practice and to the development of the form. The American sociologist Richard Sennett observed that workers' productivity increased when they had the opportunity to make mistakes, repeatedly, and so learn from them. Writers also need to be able to take risks, try out ideas, experiment with approaches and most of all they need to fail. This is not something that the radio writer has been able to do, because in radio drama there has been no Fringe, no off-off-Broadway where they can develop their craft or new stylistic approaches³. Until the emergence of online audio distribution in the past ten years there has been nowhere else of note for radio writers to produce work with access to sizeable audiences and the potential for fiscal support.⁴

The development of online applications such as iTunes, iLike or Soundcloud offers producers and writers the opportunity to upload audio, with few restrictions, that can then be downloaded by users who will pay either a minimal charge, or nothing ("freecasting"). Theoretically this form of user-generated downloadable audio offers its producers access to global audiences. Chris Anderson in *The Long Tail* (2006) describes how although a particular artistic product may be niche in its interests, the global reach offered by the Internet means that there will always be an audience for it: "This is not just a quantitative change, but a qualitative one, too. Bringing niches within reach reveals latent demand for non-commercial content. Then, as demand shifts towards the niches, the economics of providing them improve further, and so on, creating a positive feedback loop that will transform entire industries – and the culture – for decades to come" (Anderson, 2006: 26).

Fred Greenhalgh runs radiodramarevival.com, an American based review site that is one of the focal points for the international audio drama scene, he describes an emergent form with a great deal of 'guts' but not a lot of 'polish'. Dominated by amateur producers and micro-production companies producing genre works the scene is characterised by a proliferation of fan-fiction derived from popular television or film franchises. The size of audiences tends to be comparable with those of community radio, with successful producers of podiobooks (audio books distributed for free in a podcast format) reaching approximately 15,000 (source Greenhalgh, interview, 2011). In the past twelve-months there have been cases of series gaining an audience beyond the confines of the 'audio drama' scene, and appealing to the fan-base of a particular genre of work. The post-apocalyptic zombie survival epic *We're Alive* has had over 4.5 million downloads but, tellingly, has had to sign to a conventional audiobook publisher, Blackstone Audiobooks, to fund further iterations of the series. There are few professional producers and those that do exist have gained their reputation by producing works in other media and forms.

At this point it does not appear possible for online audio drama to be financially self-sustaining. "The problem is that, comparatively speaking, audio drama is expensive to produce, there's little dollar payout from

³ BBC Radio 4 Drama Commissioning Editor Jeremy Howe characterises the output of BBC Radio 4 as being intended for a mass, mainstream audience: "this isn't a fringe theatre where you can put on anything you like. This is a broadcast network... where we are playing to an audience of, in The Friday Play, which is our smallest slot, a mere 350,000 people to the Woman's Hour drama, where you're playing to way in excess of a million people" (Howe, interview 2009).

⁴ The UK's community radio network offers writers access to broadcast audiences but no little logistical or financial support. A lack of funding for programming is common throughout the community sector. Andrew Mailing is manager of the Brighton based station Radio Reverb 87.7FM: "We're very open to receiving drama material, but the fact is we are offered very little. I think the main problem is the cost and difficulty of producing radio drama, it is not something that can be done well without access to resources, skills and money. In my experience the routes to gaining funding for projects are very very limited" (Mailing, interview 2009).

premium production and historically the audience has been lost. This is the whole "long tail" concept of the web. Radio drama is long tail. It is a niche. It can grow as a niche, but it's never going to be for your average mainstream net-user" (Greenhalgh, interview 2009). Writers and producers can operate with total freedom, and they can have access to a global audience, but the caveat to this is that this it is not an audience that will pay for their product. Independent radio producer and writer Dirk Maggs has spent four years trying to set up an Internet model of distribution of radio drama for his production company "Perfectly Normal". He has yet to find any investment for such a project because "as soon as you put a writer and actors in the equation, people do not want to invest in radio...it's just too expensive... Between 2004 to 2007, we were in numerous 'Dragon's Den' situations, saying, "Listen, we can make wonderful sounding drama, put it on the net and people will buy it and we can show you figures that would ensure that in five years we get into profit", and they say, "Well, how much do you want to us to invest? 250,000 pounds? Forget it. Where's our return on our investment?"" (Maggs, interview 2009).

One problem is the sheer quantity of material that is being released onto the Internet. One of the most important tasks an online producer has to undertake is that of marketing and signposting their output so that any potential audience can find it in the increasing mass of productions that are available. Dirk Maggs highlights the BBC's expansion into the Internet as having considerably undermined the potential for independent or commercial production companies to source funding for online projects. "(The BBC) have been producing work and then streaming it for a week after broadcast, and there is more and more podcast material appearing on iTunes from the BBC. I would think that probably in five years the BBC would be coming to the Society of Authors and Writers Guilds looking for the writer to actually let material out on an iTunes, as a download for nominal money.⁵ There's not much point in independent companies trying to compete. I'm not the world's greatest businessman, but it just seems to me that the market is pretty flooded with quality products. The BBC soaks up the oxygen and it's very tricky. I'm not criticising the BBC. It's doing the job it's been told to do, and it's doing it really well" (Maggs, interview 2009).

Despite Maggs' assertions the BBC itself seems to be reticent about embracing the full-potential of downloadable audio drama: "The licence fee model for the BBC may or may not last, but while it is there it's going to be interesting to see how the BBC could fund radio drama activity which was purely for non-commercial download" (Mortimer, interview 2008).⁶ For all the success of the BBC's iPlayer, that allows programming to be streamed on-demand for a week after broadcast, the corporation is committed to a traditional model of scheduled broadcasting for the foreseeable future. Commissioning will continue to be dictated by the requirements of the schedule and the needs and expectations of an audience that engages with a broadcast at a particular time of day. Some works may be made available for download (and have been) dependent on the negotiation of the applicable rights, but online distribution will not automatically become the de-facto platform for the broadcast of radio drama. "We'll still have scheduled programmes for another quarter of a century, because of the demographic, because radio is a personal pleasure and because, though you can shift time, your capacity to listen is finite. Radio is built into your life" (Reynolds, interview 2008).

What few people have identified is the fact that downloadable audio drama provides the potential for a different way of listening and, in turn, a different way of telling stories. The audience for downloadable audio is able to choose when to listen, and how it listens, thus creating the possibility for the generation of entirely new forms of *audio* drama.

⁵ In Spring 2011 The BBC and The Writers Guild began to draw up an agreement that would allow the work of radio drama writers that has been produced by the BBC to be available via download. At the time of writing the specific details of this agreement have yet to be announced (source, interview David Hunter 2011).

⁶ Since 2007 the BBC has run "Audiotheque" (www.audiotheque.com), a project dedicated to "creative audio", which it defines as "innovative, original audio with some kind of narrative" (Mortimer, interview 2008). This may combine elements of fiction, documentary or may be entirely free of dialogue. "As long as it's fresh and different from standard radio drama. It also needs to be under three minutes long" (Lichtig, 2007).

Beyond Radio

Both audio drama and radio drama are realised in sound but for radio what really matters is not sound, it is the act of *broadcast*. Gregory Whitehead describes radiophony as the “autonomous, electrified play of bodies unknown to each other” (Whitehead, 1992: 262), a precise and direct communication with a listener at a particular moment in time. This is why ‘live’ radio is so appealing, because you as ‘listener’, know that there is someone out there talking to you at that precise moment, what Neumark describes as “a whole affective or emotional microclimate and locus of encounter where listeners feel themselves to be part of a listening community” (Neumark, 2006: 213). Online audio is narrow casting and private, an intimate and controlled experience. By working in this form the producer loses the sense of dynamic openness that exists in broadcasting, but the listener gains a sense of control that is realised through their relationship to the finished product.

The audience to a downloaded audio piece has the freedom to choose when and where to listen. It still cannot be assumed that they will be focusing on the work in a manner that the writer may wish, listening may still be a secondary activity, but they will be able to control their sonic environment. If the phone rings, a nappy needs changing or the boss enters their office, they need only take a temporarily break from the narrative, the pause button can be pushed and the story resumed at a more convenient moment. This should allow for more intricate plotting, it can certainly allow for longer-form drama and sequentially developing serials: “It’s an interesting thing that the younger, online audience expects something that is more adventurous, which is more fragmented, where actually storytelling is more complicated” (Canny, interview 2008).

The received wisdom of how best to generate content for the Web is to assume that your audience has a zero attention span, you must work in as short a form as possible: “I still think there is the opportunity for audio to find a niche on the web, audio drama in short form, but nobody has quite done it yet. I might be wrong, the generation that watch YouTube daily might not get the notion of something that doesn’t have pictures... it’s something which we have got to work on” (Mortimer, interview 2008). The listener to audio drama does not necessarily have to be seated in front of a computer; they can take their audio and listen to it wherever they choose. If they are listening to a series they may return to collect further episodes as and when they wish. The popularity of audiobooks and of long-run TV series that feature extended narrative arcs demonstrate that there is a willingness for audiences to engage with a narrative experience over large periods of time. HBO’s *The Wire* and *Deadwood* series, NBC’s *The West Wing* and AMC’s *Breaking Bad* all feature intricately plotted story lines that are developed over an entire series (or in the case of *The Wire*, five series). The success of this form of narrative has been associated with a growth in the sale of DVD series box sets and on-demand broadcasting that allows the audience to choose the pattern and timing of their viewing.

The single drama is a necessity of radio broadcasting because of the unpredictability of the audience’s listening patterns. Radio programming is used as the background accompaniment to daily activities and has to fit in around them rather than vice versa. The BBC stipulates that series should be episodic or stand-alone: “Groups of single plays on a theme, or in response to an event or anniversary, will be placed, but the essential criterion is that each play will be free-standing” (BBC Radio 4 Commissioning Guidelines, 1999: 35). Radio Drama Commissioning Editor Jeremy Howe is aware of how limiting this can be and of the benefits of what he terms “series stacking”⁷: “I’ve spent so long trying to get series stacking. We wanted to get series stacking up for Smiley but it’s quite difficult, we’ve got 20 hours of programming there and though it’s not totally narrative driven you do want to hear it from the first one. If you hear number 3 of *The Spy Who Came In From the Cold* and you’ve enjoyed it, you want to hear episodes 1 and 2” (Howe, interview 2009).

Without a schedule considerations about which slot a piece fits into can be dispensed with. If a piece is no longer associated with a particular time of day then there are no listening patterns for the producer or writer to

⁷ Making available multiple episodes of a series at one time, instituted for TV series defined as being “those with a distinct run, with a beginning and end and a narrative arc and those which are landmark series with exceptionally high impact” (BBC Trust, 2007).

consider. Audiences should be able to find the work they want and listen to it when they want. The challenge that faces the network providers, the suppliers or aggregators (as broadcast institutions and online suppliers are termed by Chris Anderson) is to make the right work visible to the right people in a manner that makes the opportunity to listen an attractive one. A particular demographic will be inevitably drawn to Internet listening, but the writer does not *have* to write for this or any prescribed audience. Furthermore it must be recognised that this audience may not feel any particular allegiance to radio or audio drama as a form. They will be receiving work via multiflex devices and the distinctions between media and between the status of producer and audience will be blurred. This presents the writer, the artist and the constructor of narrative with an enticing set of creative possibilities. This is one possibility of extending narrative beyond the expectations of pre-determined forms and for the creation of a transmedial form of story telling. Furthermore there is a clear and explicit invitation to break the *Fourth Wall* and to begin to tell stories that seamlessly mesh with the audience's empirical experience of the world.

The Flickerman

Facebook Instant Messenger – 15th February 2010

Laura MS: Hey Cornelius you can crash at mine if you need a place.

Cornelius Zane-Grey: You do know I've got a girlfriend?

Laura MS: Of course I've heard all three episodes.

Cornelius Zane-Grey: Well then, I don't think I should take up your offer.

Laura MS: Get over her, Cornelius I mean she as good as tried to kill you.

Cornelius Zane-Grey: She did nothing of the sort.

Laura MS: Well that's the way a lot of people see it.

In 2008 I began working on *The Flickerman*, an on going creative project that began as an attempt to explore the possibilities offered to writers and producers by working outside conventional radio networks. A sci-fi conspiracy thriller, *The Flickerman* concerns Cornelius Zane-Grey and the trials and adventures he faces after learning that his life is being monitored, recorded and posted onto the Internet. As I told Cornelius' story it became apparent that it was not suited to the confines of terrestrial broadcasting, and the possibilities and freedoms offered by online distribution became enticing, and, as I came to realise, a necessity. *The Flickerman* was a response to 15 years of producing work for the BBC and of working within the strictures of their commissioning systems. It grew into something that, because of its structure and content, would be difficult for the BBC to commission and, quite possibly, not legal for them to broadcast.

I wrote *The Flickerman* by appropriating, referencing and re-contextualising materials that have been uploaded to the Internet by the public, via Web 2.0 technologies, and in the first episodes of the series to the web-site Flickr. Contributors to Flickr, who number in their millions, upload private photographs and 'tag' them with words or phrases so that they can be found and viewed by any Internet user. I developed a writing methodology of using these tags to gather a series of random images that I would then incorporate into a narrative. This story and the associated images would be part of multi-episode story-arc, the details of which I had plotted in advance. My intention was to write in a fashion that did not demand that the audience be online and viewing the photographs as they listened, descriptions would serve to re-contextualise the pictures for those viewing them and to realise and describe them for those who were not.

This technique allowed for a huge amount of creative freedom. I knew what was going to happen to my characters on a macro-level, but had no idea of what events would take them from one plot-point to another, until I had found the next set of images for each episode. I could shuffle the order of the pictures, drop some out, find new ones where necessary, but a picture would always have to be there, they would guide the narrative and

determine the events, mood and pace of each episode. A problem with the project as far as the BBC was concerned was my referencing of imagery without asking the owner's consent. Legally this is an area of some uncertainty because the photographs are not appropriated, they are not lifted from Flickr and used elsewhere, I simply directed the audience to look at them, and told them how to interpret their content. The subtleties of the debate, concerning the legal status of this process is not something that I believed the BBC would be willing to become engaged in.⁸

I decided to produce and record the series at my own expense and use my own initiative to find routes to broadcast the series. A combination of Internet distribution, via download, and transmission on community radio emerged as the most appropriate (and achievable) methodology for delivering *The Flickerman* to an audience. What working on these platforms presents the author with is access to the most precious commodity in broadcasting, time. When writing *The Flickerman* I was no longer governed by the strictures of a schedule or of a network's perception of what its audience listening span would be. I could play with time, I could divide it up as I wished, I could use repetition as a device, I could cut scenes quickly or slowly, I could even waste time. As long as the listener was drawn in, as long as they wanted to listen to my narrator, I could write to any tempo that I chose. I developed the story across nine episodes, each of 45-minutes, with the intention that they would be produced in three series, all episodes would be made permanently available, allowing the listener to pick-up the story from the very beginning at any juncture.

It was my intention to draw the audience gradually into the story of Cornelius Zane-Grey. I did not wish to be directly explicit about what was happening to him from the outset. The first twenty minutes of the piece would give little indication of the drama that would follow or of what genre the piece fell into. Tim Crook advises the radio writer that "the key to beginning well in drama is to create a dramatic moment of arrival... drop your listener into a high moment of significant drama... give your listeners a rush at the beginning and whoosh them through the rapids" (Crook, 1999: 158). With reflection the Flickerman's opening scene, which consisted of a mildly hallucinating drunk wandering home from a party worrying about his girlfriend, did not possess the "rush" and "whoosh" that is required to draw an audience in. An online audience has a great deal of control over how they choose to experience audio drama, they can choose when to listen, where to listen and of course they can choose not to listen. Feedback from early listeners suggested that while they were intrigued, few completed the first 45-minute episode.⁹ During the production and post-production phase of the project I became conscious of the absence of the support and resources that is part of the experience of working for the BBC. *The Flickerman* involved over 20 actors, musicians, sound recordists, producers, script editors and web designers; all of whom were working on the project for no fee. The logistics of recording acting sessions, booking studios, picking-up and dropping-off cast members, liaising with composers, sourcing location recording equipment, delivering audio material to episode producers, designing and loading up the project website and mastering the final episodes had to be co-ordinated without administrative support or any realistic budget.

During this period I had made a series of enquiries about locating funding for the project from public bodies (including the Arts Council, Artangel and the Performing Rights Society) but there was little desire on their part to support a radio drama. Partly as a response to this situation, I began to expand the narrative from its being entirely based on audio. The project website became the hub for an array of links to Web applications through which Cornelius' story would be told. I wrote a prequel blog that detailed the events that led up the first three episodes (back dating the entries across two years), I used Google Maps to highlight locations featured in those

⁸ Early in its development, the project was discussed with a BBC producer. He was initially interested, he asked: "Oh so you put the images up on the Internet yourself?" they asked. "No" I replied. "Ah, so you ask people's permission." "No" "So you just use them without telling them what you're doing." "Yes." "Oh goodness, well the BBC could never do that".

⁹ Time and budgetary demands did not allow the opening scenes to be re-written and recorded, instead I shot a short 'guerrilla' style film and loaded it to the project website that would serve as a condensed introduction for the online audience.

episodes and created Facebook identities that would allow the audience to interact with the major characters. I sowed clues as to what was happening to Cornelius, created sub-plots and hinted at forthcoming events and characters. I generated this material in order to augment the listening experience, extend it beyond the end of each 45-minute episode, but it was not made an essential part of the story. Requiring that the audience access this material would exclude huge numbers of potential listeners who have neither the time or the inclination to trawl the Internet in order to assemble the component parts of an oblique narrative. The audio episodes and the unfolding of the story were kept at the centre of the project.

The Flickerman web-site was launched in February 2009, and the series was broadcast on Resonance 104.4FM in London on the 15th, 16th and 17th April, 2009. The radio broadcasts were reviewed in The Guardian newspaper on the 22nd April 2009, with the reviewer Zoe Williams describing the project in the following terms:

Last week (Resonance FM) did something “radical and groundbreaking” (their words) or “new and amazing” (mine). Maybe this kind of thing happens on experimental art radio all the time; it never happens on Radio 4. Flickerman was a classic drama serial. The acting was good and bad, the writing sometimes brilliant, never awful. It had a quality of fashionable compulsiveness... in which the author knows that “plot” and “whodunit” and “pace” are very old-fashioned, but puts them in ironically; because they are so self-aware, there is no pressure on these devices to succeed and, for that reason, I think, they are bizarrely successful... It spins texture into what would otherwise be a standard paranoia-conceit... it all makes you feel involved. This is what people hope to create when they say “interactive” but I’ve never seen it work. It is a strange and exhilarating project (Williams, 2009).

A positive review in a national newspaper represented an enormous act of affirmation by a recognised arbiter of taste. At a time of transition, what new media work needs to succeed is the acceptance and recognition of the old media, particularly where the power brokers and curators of the creative industries are concerned. In the weeks that followed I was called in to the BBC to discuss developing further projects for the corporation, the series was run on WFUM (New York), Radio Reverb (Brighton), Chicago Public Radio and KPFA (Berkeley, California). In July 2009 ABC National in Australia commissioned a fourth episode of *The Flickerman*, with the entire series to be broadcast on their weekly Sunday drama slot, “Airplay” throughout January 2010. There was no formalised process by which an offer was made, and to do so would not have been possible because the form and content of the new episode will not be apparent until six weeks prior to transmission.¹⁰

Cornelius Zane-Grey Facebook Wall: 20.09.09

Sarah: Dude, you really ought to change your passwords.

Cornelius Z-G: That’s slightly ominous... what do you mean by that?

Sarah: Listen, I don’t want to get involved in all this, but I don’t want to see you get hurt either. Someone is hacking your fb and email, or at least was while you were gone.

Cornelius Z-G: I’m not sure I should trust you... I’ll ask Travis what to do...

Sarah: For fuck’s sake Cornelius, who do you think is messing with your accounts?!? Listen, all I know is I thought I was IMing you a couple weeks ago, but it was actually Travis logged into your account... he said he was ‘poking around’ in your files.

Cornelius: I find this hard to credit... he’s a friend.

Sarah: Oh grow up will you!

The characters in *The Flickerman* know that their lives are being dramatised, they know that the traumatic and terrifying experiences they are undergoing are being packaged and produced and reduced to a piece of entertainment. When ABC National Radio funded the fourth episode of the radio series they asked the audience to submit photographic evidence that would help Cornelius locate his estranged partner Lucinda Lamb. This appeal to the listening public garnered a huge response in terms of images, film clips and a wide range of stories, sightings and observations. These narrative shards could have been incorporated into the final story, unfortunately

¹⁰ It has been decided that the new episode will use imagery and material supplied by members of the public that has been submitted to ABC specifically for that purpose, thus circumventing the legal concerns raised by my use of materials found on Flickr.

Cornelius 'became aware' of this process and was convinced that it was another part of the conspiracy against him. He rejected the audience's claims, accusing each and every member of his audience of lying to him. The audience cannot contribute to the telling of his story because as far as he is concerned it is not a story, it is really happening.¹¹ It is his life and if you want proof then you can contact him, or the people who have taken pictures of him or look at the news stories he has been involved in. You are not directly invited to contact him, he may not even be in the mood to respond and not everything you say will directly affect the events that surround his life. *The Flickerman* is an interactive narrative where the characters, just like real people, don't always want to interact, and when they do they can be moody, charming, manipulative, bitter, scheming or flirtatious. They are never predictable and their realm of correspondence is not limited to a particular application or forum, it extends across the Internet. The immediacy of online writing allows macro-level issues and events to be woven into the unfolding of Cornelius' story; if it snows in the 'real world', if the stock market collapses or a new technology becomes available then the same things happen in *The Flickerman* and will have an impact. Local stories and more trivial incidents are amalgamated into the very fabric of the drama and seamlessly become part of the flow of the narrative.¹²

The Flickerman fluidly blends the real and the imagined; it is played out in the edgelands of Internet and aims to create confusion about its intentions and identity. Audiences to the series appear to know, at an instinctive level, that they are engaging with a work of fiction, but the invasive quality of the work is disturbing and disorientating. Theories have grown online about what *The Flickerman* really is, not concerned with the in-world plot but the source and production of the project itself. There are claims that it is a piece of corporate sponsorship, that it is Apple funded viral marketing, an elaborate recruitment campaign for the Australian secret services or that it is an extended piece of applied creative research developed to explore the possibilities of creating a fiction in the realm where RL and virtual space meet. Cornelius Zane-Grey, of course, would deny all these theories.

www.dreadcentral.com - forums – topic: "Drawing Blood" (06.02.10)

(Dreadcentral is a horror fan-site and on this thread the members are discussing the sharing of T-Shirt designs and fan art. Hooklam and Dudley are characters who have been searching for Cornelius since January 2010).

arandomthought: Any chance on a shirt spawn in your style?

YouGetNoArt4FreeFanBoys: Yeah right and can I also get a design of Dudley Moore spitting the work "Spam" at Spike from the Goons with that asswipe skill for the i_phone Apps who wrote the lines for Cornelius Flickerman standing in the BG rubbing his hands in glee?

HooklamandDudley: CZG? What do you know anything about where to find that filthy wasteral... you know something about Mr Cornelius Zane-G don't you? Go on... out with it boy... where is he?

YouGetNoArt4FreeFanBoys: ... you want to know where he is? Simple. Like all co-funding and apps sponsored PUTAS, he's waiting for his check to be signed by the FlickrTwats and their co-pimps in the 'cross-platform' R&D depts. that have conned Mr. Jobs and the various "I dealerships" into thinking it was all a good idea.

Online distribution and the Internet's "Long Tail" open up possible avenues for writers who wish to explore other approaches to radio drama. Initially the case of *The Flickerman* appears to present new and exciting modes for the dissemination of radio drama, but the reality is that this is not a sustainable model of production. At the moment online audio drama will remain a niche form, away from public consciousness and from sources of

¹¹ This facade extends to interviews with the press I have carried out. For instance when I stated in *The Age* newspaper in Melbourne that Cornelius was my creation he responded with a tirade of abuse posted on his web site.

¹² Cornelius' prequel blog details his fraught working relationship with a Dutch artist and their attempt to create installation piece that involves floating a 3 meter plastic Lego Man across the English channel. Their scheme ends in failure, with the figurine washing up on a local beach the next day, an incident is detailed on the BBC's website and various other online media sources. The blog was written after the event and the entries backdated to give the impression that they were created in the days leading to the news story. This has caused debate in *The Flickerman* community about who exactly was responsible for the incident and its meaning.

funding. What it can offer is a forum for writers to develop their craft; to, trial ideas, experiments and make mistakes without fear of their reputation being damaged. This new generation of online audio drama writers and producers has yet to present itself or be recognised by the BBC, which remains the only realistic source of funding for radio drama. For the radio dramatist all roads eventually lead to the BBC, there is no other choice. The Internet and its associated digital and mobile technologies offer so many other creative opportunities that there is no need to feel that any particular project should be locked into one form.

It is not possible to predict what paradigms of production and distribution for Internet and digital media producers will emerge in the next decade. It is a mistake to attempt to do so.

The creative industries are in a state of flux, and may continue to be so as a culture of contingency becomes the norm. Change has been the subject of philosophical meditation throughout human history. The Greek philosopher Heraclitus observed, "No man ever steps in the same river twice, for it's not the same river and he's not the same man". The BBC offers the creative practitioners a shelter from the ever flowing tides of change, but only a few are allowed to access and they must practice in accordance with a stringent set of rules. For those who are not willing or able to do so the only realistic choice is to embrace change and to see what unexpected shores its waters carry them to.

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Formal or informal 'you'? 'Você' or 'Tu'? How the radio listener has been treated in the past decade in Portugal

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Abstract:

Until 1998, the formal 'you' ('você') was the consensual way of treatment in radio broadcasting. The first radiostation ever to treat its listeners in an informal 'you' ('tu') was Mega FM, which was founded in 1998. Mega FM's target, at that time, was young adults, mainly students, and treating them in an informal way was a strategy in order to improve proximity and intimacy with the radio listener. After that, competitors that arose

(Best Rock, Cidade FM) started using the same strategy, creating a new paradigm in the radio market: stations aiming at youngsters would be informal and use 'tu'; stations targeting adults would be formal and use 'você'. This phenomenon was the status quo during the whole first decade of the century.

However, nowadays there seems to be a growing tendency of informality in social patterns. Since the end of 2010, RFM – the leader in radio audience, which target is 25-45 years old – has changed its positioning in the way of treating radio listeners and it is now treating them with the informal you ('tu'). The way of treatment has changed but not the target; therefore, this might reveal a few social tendencies that can predict the future. Radio broadcasting seems to be following a tendency of informality, which is not happening in media competitors such as press or TV. This tendency might be explained by social patterns: life expectancy has been increasing so exponentially that people become older much later in time; also youth and beauty are extremely valued and have become a goal to the majority of people, thus making them appreciate the fact that the environment around them makes them feel young. However, there are also commercial reasons behind this tendency: day by day, companies have been communicating their brands in a much more innovative and fresher way, many times using an informal tone of voice in advertising. Therefore, the informal treatment in radio broadcasting also creates coherency between information and entertainment contents and advertising. In this communication, the main goal will be to understand this new paradigm that has been developed in the past years about the way radio stations treat their audience, try to explain its causes and how this tendency will evolve in the future. The two case studies mentioned (Mega FM and RFM) will be introduced more deeply and the social analysis of the radio listener will also take place.

Keywords: radio; listeners; audience

Introduction

Radio is a tribal drum, has McLuhan mentioned back in the 50's. Sixty years later, we could now say that radio is 'a tribal orchestra'. Therefore, when we reflect on radio evolution, we have to understand what sort of

¹ r/com – renascença comunicação multimédia

'instruments' have grouped with traditional radio transmission, in order to make it evolve the way it did in contemporary times.

Digital broadcasting, Internet, podcast and Facebook have changed post-modern ways of listening to radio. Radio is not an exclusive belonging of hertzian waves anymore. All these new ways of relating to the radio as a medium have also changed the way listeners perceive it and relate to it – thus, radio content.

The Portuguese language and culture is characterized by certain specificities that are naturally exported into the radio universe. Communication and radio language particularly, are social extensions of human relationships. Therefore, the way people relate between themselves is also reflected in the way radio players relate to their listeners.

In this paper, in order to understand how radio has evolved in terms of narrative formalization, I would consider important to go through ways of treatment towards radio listeners in the last decade. For this reason, I will start my analysis in 1998, an year of breakthrough due to the creation of Mega FM, the first radio station in Portugal to treat radio listeners by the informal 'you' ('tu'). Afterwards, I will focus on the evolution of marketing strategies, showing how brands have been demanding the change on the way radio stations direct to their listeners in the 00's. Afterwards, I will focus on the case-study RFM, which has in 2010 changed their way of treating listeners.

Moreover, the Spanish have long been informalizing their way of treating the radio listener. Spanish media have long been more informal than their Portuguese peer. Spanish cultural patterns are more colloquial, laidback and rooted to daily life. The Portuguese radio industry participants were perceived as opinion-leaders. This status has slowly been dissipating; therefore, radio stations have positioned themselves among listeners as 'peers' instead of the old 'leaders'.

For all the reasons mentioned above, I believe that this theme will be important to the understanding of radio evolution in the last decade. How, when and why listeners are treated nowadays in a less formal tone by radio stations are topics that I am willing to address in the next few pages. As it is a very recent tendency, I believe this is the first formal research on the theme of treatment in radio audience. This tendency might even anticipate a change in the radio paradigm, so I am willing to make some predictions on how radio will evolve in what concerns the future of ways of treatment.

As a tribal orchestra itself, radio is most of all a human system that aims at connecting to people in an engaging and fruitful way, almost as a love relationship: if you love me you should be faithful to me, and if I love you I should do my best to deserve your love. So stations do need the faithfulness of their listeners and definitely do listeners demand more and more quality from stations, so that they are not seduced by other competitors in the market.

And is the seduction game not a market itself too?

The radio panorama in the 90's

In the 90's, the radio panorama suffered many changes that helped it to develop in the post-modernist frame of mass communication. The crescent digitalization in technical structures of broadcasting and the raise of internet as a source of information (and also itself as a radio player) have changed the way presenters communicate with their listeners.

In the 90's in Portugal, the radio market spread and developed. New radio stations were created, directing themselves to an even more specific target, segmenting the radio market more and more. The growing importance of marketing strategies in the contents of radio stations also marked a deep change in the tone of voice used to communicate.

Moreover, in 1998 a new radio station was founded, which revolutionised the way presenters communicated with their listeners: Mega FM. The first radio station that treated listeners by an informal 'you' ('tu') was about to reinvent communication in radio in Portugal.

Mega FM, the third radio station belonging to the historic Renascença Radio group, targeted youngsters in the age range 18-29 years old. This radio group, which included Renascença (market leader by that time; very popular among mature adults and seniors, due to its connection to the Catholic church) and RFM (second most popular station in the country; very good acceptability among the 30-45 years old), lacked the young adults fringe, which was somehow directing audience to competitor stations (such as Energia, XFM, Rádio Cidade and others). In addition, in terms of marketing strategy, the young adults segment was growing in terms of commercial attractiveness.

When Mega FM was created, it struck the market as the first radio station to treat its listeners in an unusual colloquial tone of voice. The informal 'you' ('tu') was a breakthrough in the history of radio evolution in Portugal, as it opened the door to other stations to informalize and communicate in a more youthful tone. Mega FM can be classified as belonging to the Specialist Music/Youth Oriented format, classification made by Ofcom (2005)². Its naming refers to colloquial language used by youngsters; 'mega' means 'great', 'huge', which is a positive connotation, creating empathy and identification links with the target.

Rádio Cidade, back in the beginning of the decade, already treated its listeners in a much colloquial tone of voice, however, as the presenters used to speak Brazilian Portuguese, they used 'você', the pronoun that represents the informal 'you' in Brazil but the formal one in Portugal. Therefore, Rádio Cidade was already innovating in the area of contents and style back in the beginning of the 90's but was not yet using the informal 'you'. This step ahead was made by Mega FM and this could explain part of its huge success among the target right after its launch in the radio market.

In the years that followed Mega FM's creation, a few competitors entered the hertzian spectrum following this vanguard movement, reacting to its quick approach to the young target. All these competitors took part in the same radio format as Mega FM, that is, Specialist Music/Youth Oriented format.

Best Rock FM first and later Cidade FM (taking the brand name of old Rádio Cidade) were launched by competitor Media Capital in order to break the crescent and broadened audience fringes that Grupo Renascença was aiming at. These two radio stations acted mimetically, also treating their audience by the informal 'you' and bringing new songs and fresh contents to their programming.

In terms of radio audience, Mega FM soon became the leader in radio audience among students in Lisbon, city where its first mast was grounded. Antena 3, the public service radio station aimed at youngsters, kept its leadership in the target nationwide, thanks to its almost 30 masts. Antena 3 treats its listeners as a group, meaning that it used the 2nd person plural ('vocês'), and this was one of the weaknesses that mostly allowed Mega FM to make the difference in this market segment – as we will verify later on in the next chapters of this paper.

From mass-media, radio stepped on to become a 'self-media', due to the increasing interactivity. This mutation reinforced its status of companionship in people's daily life. Since the 90's, radio contents depend much more on the dichotomy radio players – radio listeners/consumers/users.

The radio panorama in the 00's

The 90's ended with the growing audience of Mega FM, bringing a breakthrough in the radio market with the laid-back attitude of its presenters and the freshness of its play-list Antena 3 started to lose the race and then Best Rock was created in 2003 by Media Capital, the second greatest player in the radio market.

² In <http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/market-data-research/market-data/communications-market-reports/cm05>, last consulted on 12/09/2011.

In the 90's, radio professionals were confronted with the slowdown of a phenomenon that dominated the radio market in the 80's: 'pirate radios'. In the 90's, the radio market became more commercial and profit searching itself. The spreading of digital information technologies changed the way radio professionals relate to the media and, consequently, the listener.

The growing importance of the digital happened to individualize communication in a deeper way. With online media streaming, each listener related to the station in its own PC, therefore, in a more individual experience. The radio starts to move towards the listener, and not the opposite as it used to be. The listener acquires a double role: listener-user.

RFM, the radio station leader of audience in Portugal, is a paradigmatic example of how radio has evolved in the last decade in Portugal. It belongs to the Chart Led Mainstream category, which means that its format aims at pleasing an audience that is fond of contemporary music hits, thus a broad target, from young adults onwards.

RFM has made a strategic decision in 2010 that changed radically its way of communicating with listeners. It started to treat listeners by the informal 'you' ('tu'), becoming the first adult radio station in Portugal to radicalise the tone-of-voice. Music appears to match this informal way of treatment, because nowadays mainstream music successes are mostly included in the pop/rock/dance styles, and the majority of them do sound light and youthful.

This strategy of informalization follows a social tendency that has been growing in the past years. Listeners need to feel identified with the radio station (and consequently the brand) to develop loyalty, therefore, they will obviously feel more into a station that represents their relationships with the world (family, friends, workmates, people that normally treat them using the 'tu').

Altogether, in this decade radio performs a metamorphosis, becoming a 'self-media' alongside the status of 'mass-media'. This tendency grew along the following decade. In the beginning of 21st century, internet audience started to be measured as well, becoming another socio-economical indicator of the radio market panorama.

Nowadays, interactivity with the listener is growing day-by-day, especially thanks to social networks. The reinforcement of the presence of the listener in one of the radio station's platform (Facebook and Twitter mostly) increases pressure of response from the radio's side to meet listeners' wishes and wills. The listener enters the private sphere and this one becomes more imposing than the public sphere itself. Therefore, we might conclude that radio is suffering at the end of the 00's and beginning of the 10's another metamorphosis: from 'self-media' to 'own-media'. Just as we own a Facebook profile page, we believe that we can also own rights to participate in radio programming.

But what are the main reasons for this growing proximity, and therefore, informality in radio communication?

The reasons are mainly three: economical, socio-cultural and strategic. In the socio-cultural perspective, we can argue that radio communication has gone informal due to the growth of life expectancy and the latter age of certain traditional practices, such as getting married, having children or buying a flat (what we used to do by mid-20's, we are now leaving it for the 30's).

Socially and culturally, the rejuvenation of cultural practices make individuals feel younger until a later age. It is popular now to claim that the 30's are the new 20's, therefore, making young adults believe that they can still live according to younger patterns than the ones that ruled the previous generation.

Finally, in a more marketing strategy point of view, the commercial positioning of brands these days is fresher, cooler and thus younger. Youth is a goal itself (in a sort of Peter Pan complex), therefore, also for brands it is important to perform in a younger tone-of-voice. Radio has been adapting to these commercial standards; so, informality is more consistent with today's marketing and advertising practices.

'The advertiser is a resource for survival but the listener is the reason why the station exists', said Herreros (1995). For this reason, radio should not follow blindly the advertising tendencies, however, it can adapt to the consumption society that advertising reflects.

According to Cordeiro (2010), 'the undeniable transformations that result from digital, multimedia and interactivity reinforce the distinctive character of radio: interactivity with the audience, indirect access to events, constantly up to date information and individual companionship on people's daily life.'

Actually, due to the multiple platforms that radio is using for broadcasting, individuals can listen to radio in different stages of their daily life: during their personal hygiene, through a waterproof shower radio; going to work on the car's radio player; online at work, using a media player and watching the whole thing with a webcam; at lunch break via an application on their smart-phones; at the afternoon coffee break on YouTube or Facebook; before falling asleep, using the 'timer' mode of their Hi-Fi systems.

However, the step further is to stop listening to radio and starting to experience radio, as it is now spread as an octopus through different platforms that promote alternative experiences. Can emotivity lead the future of radio?

The emotion in formal and informal "you"

As mentioned before in this paper, radio is nowadays a complex media network, connecting itself to other forms of communication, trying to search for the components that it lacks in other platforms (such as internet and social networks).

Let us take Flemming's (2002) statement as a starting point: 'identity reflects on all the sound environment of the station, whose elements must relate in a coherent way to create the station's sound distinction or style'. Upgrading McLuhan's theory *radio is a tribal drum*; we could claim that radio is in 2011 'a tribal orchestra'. Each instrument, in its own simple complexity, contributes to the whole in a homogenised miscellaneous blend. Each instrument, connected to the others, brings more to the symphony than it would if it acted alone – a holistic result that makes the orchestra more than the addition of its instruments. In the same way, radio becomes more than the sum of its components.

In a tribal orchestra, we would probably be presented with instruments such as the guitar, djembe, rattles, rainstick, kashaka, kora, xylophone, flute, trumpet and so on. Each of these instruments can be symbolically associated to the main individual elements that take part in the broadcasting process, like voice, music, jingles, news, ads and competitions.

The element music (and the play-list that is nowadays associated to it in major radio stations) could be represented by the guitar, as it is one of the basic instruments to compose a song; in addition, the quality of a guitar sample much depends on who is playing, and it can vary from a simple sample to great creative riffs. Rattles could be a metaphor for jingles, as they are constantly setting the rhythm of the song; also, they happen to be there all the time and many listeners do not even mind they are there. News could be associated to trumpet, which sound is shrill, thus creating impact and a breakthrough in the flow of the moment. Advertising might be identified with the typical tribal instrument 'djembe' (the skin-covered drum, played with bare hands), as it can be annoying and tiring when it happens to be too long, taking the melody over control. Competitions could be a xylophone: catchy, harmonious and sweet. Finally, the voice – the element that mostly brings meaning and soul to radio – may be disguised as a 'rainstick' (a long, hollow tube partially filled with small pebbles or beans which sound resembles the rain).

This tribal orchestra can symbolically resemble radio elements and how they relate one with another.

Naturally, in this orchestra such as in radio, the element voice-'rainstick' is the one that excels, meaning that it is the element that can create emotion among listeners and make them feel intimately related to the station and its brand.

Following the metaphor of the tribal orchestra, we can assume that emotion in radio mainly comes across the voice element. The presenter's personality is highly relevant in the listeners' development of loyalty process. Their feeling of identification towards the station is mostly related to the way DJ's present themselves to listeners, the contents (relevant or not to the target) that they wonder about on air and the attitude that the station passes along. Naturally, the element 'music' is extremely essential on the way the station as a brand is recognized but the role of the presenter concerns three different elements: tone-of-voice, content and way of treatment. And the attitude also comes across through (in)formality.

Tone-of-voice is the first contact one has with the person who is speaking. An agreeable tone-of-voice is half way to a pleasant approach towards listeners. However, it is the content that will make the listener decide whether to keep up listening that radio station or to move on.

Therefore, content is mainly what defines the perception of the presenter and its engagement to the audience.

Moreover, the way of treatment defines what the target's frontier is. In English speaking countries, this element is not taken into account, as the target's frontier might well be defined by content and tone-of-voice only. However, in Latin languages such as Portuguese, there are two ways of treatment: the informal 'you' ('tu') and the formal 'you' (você). Generally, the first is more related to proximity and intimacy, while the second adds more elegance and uniqueness to the speech.

Every moment of radio should be relevant to the listener, argued Flemming and emotion on music, words or news will certainly make one unforgettable.

Tendencies in radio treatment

Future is always unpredictable, especially to media, which are closely dependent from the unstable social interactions and the constantly evolving technologies.

The future of radio is possibly based on customization. By customization in radio I mean the adaptation of radio contents to the listeners' requests and tastes, through the establishment of a direct and interactive relationship with them. Knowing exactly and intimately what are the listeners' wishes is actually a conquer from the digital (internet, e-mail, social networks, online market studies) and consequently from the 00's.

From intense interactivity to total domain of radio contents by the ones who are consuming is perhaps a likely step. Individual control of the mass-media, in order to meet the listeners' preferences, leads to the dissolution of the frontier of intimacy, which has been crossed before by social networks. The target's control of the media will deeply transform its identity, turning the mass-media of the 20th century into the private media of the new millennium.

The social networks' phenomenon will probably stabilize in the next few years but it will surely maintain its function of instrumentation in the bi-nominal radio/listener. The reinforcement of interactivity will help the ontological transformation of radio from the 'self-media' that it has become in the last decade into the 'ownmedia' that it is transforming itself into nowadays.

Meeting people's wishes has become radio's greatest goal. If in the past, listeners would listen to what radio was playing, today radio plays the music that their target desires to listen. Pleasing the audience is a task that nowadays takes market studies, online surveys, sms requests and Facebook questionnaires. As interactivity has become easier, quicker and cheaper, radio is becoming more and more malleable to consumer preferences. Achieving listeners' development of loyalty is a DJ's, presenter's, producer's and director's duty.

As Cordeiro (2011) mentioned, 'Radio will use all its diffusion channels that support sound or adapt to radio communication. Ultimately, we will assist to the definite change of the concept of audience.' Radio as a mass-media will become more passive and flexible, and the audience will take radio production over control.

Thus, we will attend a radio e-evolution: again, an exchange of paradigm where the digital is the channel through which radio will become more instrumentalized and less independent from strategic consumer command.

In addition, the decade of the 10's will be apparently absorbed by the worldwide economical crash of the end of the 00's, obsessed by recovering from it and regaining commercial attractiveness. Competitiveness will be tougher than ever and stations will fight over commercial opportunities and the attention of listeners.

Only the future can tell but one thing is certain: the attractiveness of entering the private sphere will overcome the duty of protecting the public sphere. The private sphere is naturally related to the

informalization of language and communication, as the action on the web and social networks are clearly less strict, as they float in the virtual sphere too. Cyberspace has been implementing modifications in the way people relate to each other, so the dichotomy radio/listener is also included in this tendency of informalization.

Conclusion

By analysing radio language in the past decade in Portugal, we recognize that there was an evolution in the way professionals are treating radio listeners, and it has evolved towards a more informal way of treatment.

This tendency of informalization was partially influenced by internet and its proximity values and practices; therefore, in the past decade a 'radio language e-evolution' occurred.

Until 1998, the formal 'you' ('você') was the consensual way of treatment in radio broadcasting. The first radio station ever to treat its listeners in an informal 'you' ('tu') was Mega FM, which was founded in 1998. Mega FM's target, at that time, was young adults, mainly students, and treating them in an informal way was a strategy in order to improve proximity and intimacy with the radio listener. After that, competitors that arose (Best Rock, Cidade FM) started using the same strategy, creating a new paradigm in the radio market: stations aiming at youngsters would be informal and use 'tu' and stations targeting adults would be formal and use 'você'. This phenomenon was the *status quo* during the whole first decade of the century.

However, nowadays there seems to be a growing tendency of informality in the social patterns. Since the end of last year, RFM – leader in radio audiences, which target is 25-45 years old – has changed its positioning in the way of treating radio listeners and is now treating them by the informal you ('tu'). The treatment has been changed but not the target, therefore, this might reveal a few social tendencies that can guess the future. Radio broadcasting seems to be following a tendency of informality, which is not happening in media competitors such as press or TV.

This tendency might be explained by social patterns: life expectancy has been increasing so exponentially that people become older much later in time; also youth and beauty are extremely valued, and have become a goal to the majority of people, thus making them appreciate a surrounding environment that makes them feel young.

However, there are also commercial reasons behind this tendency: day by day, companies have been communicating their brands in a much more innovative and fresher way, many times using an informal tone of voice in advertising. Therefore, the informal treatment in radio broadcasting also creates coherency between information and entertainment contents and advertising.

The new platforms where a 'radio experience' can be obtained have naturally transformed the perception of the radio listener in the past decade. A new paradigm has been developing in the past years about the way radio stations treat their audience and also the way brands treat their consumers. This tendency is to follow a Spanish cultural habit, which is informality in communication (both mass-media and other media).

As Cordeiro (2010) mentioned, in the future 'the mass diffusion will tend to restrict itself, from broadcasting to narrowcasting'. Nuclear audience, target segmentation, content individualization and intimacy relationships are concepts that tend to prevail in the way radio is communicating with people nowadays.

The adaptation of radio to the new patterns of technological communication in media consumption has obliged it to become more flexible to tendencies. If in the past, radio was the one responsible for changes in the way communication was performed, today radio follows tendencies created by individuals exchanging experiences in social networks, where socio-cultural connections are less strict and formal.

The 'own-media' paradigm will probably grow throughout the new millennium, thus replacing the 'self-media' which had already made 'mass-media' collapse.

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Democratic barricades: the presence of radio in the resistance to the 1964 military coup

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Abstract:

This text articulates two great discussions within the history of this country: the discussions about the circumstances prior to the military coup and the role of the radio media in the political context of the conflict. Individually, each of these aspects will allow us a reflection over different points of view here articulated in a sociocultural approach; We have, thus, organized this discussion based on two main themes: we will start with the “*Campanha da Legalidade*” (Campaign for Legality), occasion which congregates both themes, and then we will discuss both the historical context of the 1964 military coup and the role of the radio media and its strong social and political presence.

Keywords: Brazil radio; Brazilian culture; radio and culture; history of media

The Radio in Brazil – A brief history

The radio in Brazil was born under the frameworks of politics and our intention is to reflect on the connection between this media and the national political context. This article therefore intends to reflect on the role, or use, of the radio media by the Brazilian politicians, with a special analysis of the context prior to the military coup. In 1922, in Rio de Janeiro, the first official radio transmission presents the speech of Epiácio Pessoa, Brazil’s President at the time. It would still take a few years for the radio to become a media of strong social and political articulation, in spite of being used by Julio Prestes when he was running for President. The slowness of the radio diffusion is due to a course of popular dissemination of this media which needed, first of all, to make radio equipment cheaper and to implement a type of programming aimed to the masses. In 1931, with the decree n. 20.047, radio broadcasting becomes, legally, an activity of national interest and the first great impulse towards its dissemination happens with Getúlio Vargas, in 1932, who creates a legal order for the use of publicity within this media, thus changing its economic structure, which allowed for the medium to be redefined in terms of its search for a broader audience and popular programming. Many studies point at its role during Getúlio’s government, highlighting, on one hand, the role of radio in the 1932 Revolution and, on the other hand, the political use of this media by the Vargas’s government itself in order to strengthen his governance. It will happen in 1938, when the program ‘Hora do Brasil’ (Brazil’s Hour) was created, with Luiz Jatobá as the broadcaster who, in 1939, with the decree 1949/39, makes the transmission of this program mandatory in all radio stations; later, the Rádio Nacional becomes the federal government’s speaker.

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The 1940's will be known as "the golden years of radio", for the reasons already expressed: strengthening of the publicity, programming aimed to the masses, and tax incentives. In 1941 the radio journalism becomes stronger with the program "Reporte Esso", on Rádio Nacional, broadcasted for 27 years. In 1942, during the dictatorial period of the Vargas's government, Alexandre Marcondes, then Labor Minister was given a weekly program of 10 minutes in 'Hora do Brasil'. Gomes (Gomes, 2005) shows us the important role fulfilled by this program by structuring a continuous dialog between the government and the masses, creating visibility for the Vargas' government, since its main theme was the debate about the labor legislation build by the dictator and aimed, mainly, at the illiterate population. The program, whose title was 'Falando aos Trabalhadores Brasileiros' (Speaking to the Brazilian Workers) intended to clarify the legislation, a purpose which was considered successful considering the number of messages the program would receive from different social spheres, besides the time it remained in production, it was only terminated in July 1945. From this experience, an aspect of interest, as pointed by Alexandre Marcondes himself, in a moment when he self-evaluated his insertion, after fifty lectures given:

" ... the weekly program expressed an experience intended to disseminate in a fast and broad way the government measures in terms of social legislation. Because of the long distances within the national territory and the difficulties in communication, radio was the medium considered most convenient for this project of providing clarification for the workers in the country from north to south." (Gomes, 2005, 212, translated from the Portuguese).

The 'mobility-speed' composition expressed above shows itself as the main theme in the radio media. Most of the political radio programs interacted, at the same time, with the newspaper through the publication of the speeches in articles of different newspapers, integrating, this way, the two main mass media mediums in that context; but it's clear how the radio media had a specific ability for mobilization, which was essential in all moments analyzed. When analyzing the context of 1945 in the so called Movimento Queremista², Jorge Ferreira highlights the importance of radio's specificity. In this matter, the author refers to the masses' struggles for Getúlio Vargas to remain in power, against the movement orchestrated by UDN, through its presidential candidate, Brigadeiro Eduardo Gomes, who, on a certain stage of his electoral campaign, gave a speech about the great mass of the population, which was in favor of his competitor, as a 'malta de desocupados' (a malta of unoccupied people). This phrase intensifies the conflict:

"Malta for the Brigadier, would be the set of workers who took part in the *queremista* rallies, because, in his political perception, they had received money from the Ministry of Labor in order to participate in the demonstrations for Vargas to be kept in power. Borghi referred to the dictionary and read: [Malta – a grouping of wolves, a conglomerate of people of bad resemblance, workers who go through the railways taking their brown bags, brown bag eaters] Brown bag eaters [those who eat their lunches from a brown bag], he thought, was better than malta. With political sensitiveness, it wasn't hard to realize that the term brown bag eater was catchier than malta. On the following day, Borghi mobilized a chain of 150 radio stations. Going straight to the point, he declared: 'The greatest proof that Mister Brigadier is the candidate of the posh people, of the millionaires, of the rich, of the barons, of the people's exploiters is that he declared he doesn't need the vote of the brown bag eaters, those who work, who fight.'" (Ferreira, 2005, p. 81 - underlined by the author - translated from the Portuguese).

In this example, the specificity of the radio media is put; its accessibility (for those who want to make use of it and to reach their target public), its mobility and speed. It would have been unfeasible to articulate, in record time (in this case, the following day) the media diffusion via written press, and it also would not have reached most of the territory, or its target audience, the masses. Still, we must not understand the strong dissemination of radio broadcasting based only on its technical characteristics. In both quoted cases, there's a strong proximity between the radio content and the expectations of the masses in terms of the symbolic acceptance of the worker:

² *Movimento Queremista* was a movement aimed to keep Getúlio Vargas in power. The word "queremista" comes from the verb "querer" (to want) present in the slogan "Queremos Getúlio" (We want Getúlio) used by the movement.

in the first case, the lectures given by Alexandre Marcondes, the purpose is to value the workers by highlighting their rights and, in the second case, in a similar way, the indignation in the face of the kind of treatment given to the worker who needs a brown bag to eat his lunch from. Therefore, we understand that the radio programs focused on national politics seek the continuous and growing recognition of its audience, forming a continuous negotiation of meaning in the construction of a symbolic reference about the workers. The worker could identify a medium which confirmed a desired social condition, making radio an important cultural mediator. All of these characteristics will define the continuous use of politics within radio in the context intended in this article. Such characteristics will also be the mark of the object of analysis here proposed: "the Campaign for Legality". In this short course of the radio history then, we will highlight the context of 1961-63, and this period will be the basis for our comments.

Precedents: The Characters

In August 27, 1961, Mr. Jânio Quadros, then President, renounced power creating one of the biggest political standstills ever lived in this country. That happened because vice-president elect, Mr. João Goulart, represented, for many sectors, the ascension of both the left-wing sectors and the return of a populist logic of governance, as a legitimate successor of Getúlio Vargas. On that, we can make a few brief comments: Like Getúlio, Goulart started his political career in Rio Grande do Sul, coached by Vargas. They came from families which had a long history of friendship and Goulart was very important in Vargas' personal life while helping in the administration of his farms. It's interesting to notice that part of the Brazilian historiography condemns Goulart as a politic leader, accusing him of being indecisive, soft, etc, but there's no doubt about his role as administrator of his assets, having become, on his own merit, one of the greatest farmers in the country. This way, Vargas introduced him to the political life, locally at first, starting as the regional president of the PTB party, becoming a state representative in 1947 and national president of PTB in 1952. His political career grows even greater in 1953, when he becomes the Labor Minister in Vargas' last mandate. It is worth going deeper into this period because here his political conduct and populist fame are defined. Jango, as he became known, had an important role during his time at the Ministry of Labor.

Among the actions taken while in this position, we highlight, based on the debate proposed by Gomes (Gomes, 2007), the abolishing of the so called 'Atestado ideológico' (ideological certificate). This document was issued by the Departamento Estadual da Ordem Política e Social – DEOPS (State Department of Political and Social Order) and certified that the worker who had a position in the union was not a communist; this way, Jango brands to veto to ideological persecution. Along with this decision, he decides on the 'abolishment of the intervention in the union' when a board considered to be left-wing were in charge. Like that, any tendency would have its turn ensured. Such procedures launched a new phase for Goulart's Ministry of Labor (since taking the job in 1953) crowned by 'agreements between parts', where all issues are always negotiated. It allowed an approximation between the union leaders (PT members or communists) and the Ministry of Labor. Such approximation was intensified by the request for union leadership to help supervise the labor legislation. This is considered by the businessmen, conservative politicians and most of the press as an invasive act, referred to, in a negative way, of subversive and communist actions. Another hot issue among businessmen and conservative politicians is the proposal to summon the 'Congresso da Previdência Social' (Congress of Social Security Pension) in August 1953. It proposed that unions should participate in the administration of the autarchies of the Social Security Pension in a triple-sided structure formed by the Estate, businessmen and workers, who would, together, administrate the social security resources. Besides the highlighted aspects, Jango launched a phase where the formality and distance between the Ministry of Labor and the workers were discarded, opening the doors of the Ministry to any worker who wanted an audience with the Minister, any time of the day. We notice, then, that Jango's actions were close to the symbolic reference being built regarding the worker's role. The last act of large

impact during his time at the Ministry of Labor was the proposed raise of the minimum wages, in fact, the propose to double it with 100% raise. The reaction was so intense that Goulart leaves his position, but the raise is announced on May 1, 1954. In this period, Jango defines his personal and political personality, launching a phase of continuous dialog; many are the statements showing that Jango did not establish distinctions among his audience, taking in, indistinctively, politicians, union members and workers, any time of the day and with no pre-scheduling. For that, he's labeled populist, which became an important fact prior to the coup. Before going back to the main theme of this article, a reminder that Jango still is, in the period between 1956 and 1963, twice the most voted Vice-President in the whole of Brazil's political history, considering that, in this period, elections for president and vice-president were distinct.

In 1961, Jango is elected Vice-President of Jânio Quadros with more votes than the President himself and still representing PTB, which as not the same party as Jânio's. Jango was in an official trip to China when Jânio Quadros renounced, what made an internal articulation possible in order to prevent Jango's return to the country. On this subject, we shall also consider a few points. Going back to the historical context previously exposed, but now centered in the lines of construction of the Military corporation itself; this is necessary in order to demonstrate how the insertion of the military in politics had been built gradually, with different contexts of military coups which helps us show that the 1961 coup attempt is a project in construction and not a specific reaction to the context opened after Jânio's renunciation. Martins Filho (Martins Filho, 2008) defends that the unsuccessful coups performed by the Military Corporation, since 1945, were not due to the fragility or the lack of a project, as the civilian sector imagined; it is due indeed to an internal polarity which generates groups in conflict towards its actions. A brief retrospective follows:

The Armed Forces have a direct influence in the decision making processes from 1945, point from which we will retrieve some aspects, on the view of Martins Filho. In 1947, with the instauration of the Cold War, an internal debate takes place and the military pursues an institutional, and not individual, course of action. As a consequence, in 1949, the ESG - Escola Superior de Guerra (Superior School of War) is founded, a project started in 1942 under the command of General Oswaldo Cordeiro de Faria, subordinated to the Estado Maior das Forças Armadas (Mayor Estate of the Armed Forces). The ESG shows approximation to the United States of America - USA, incorporating its theoretical references, being the most important the concept of national security, which generates a reordering in terms of the understanding of the idea of national defense. This amplification incorporates the mobilization of the whole society, that is, defense is not limited to its borders, against a foreign enemy, but the possibility of enemy presence internally. This way, the concerns are turned to the interior enemy, a concept which didn't exist up to that moment. Besides ESG, the Military Corporation organizes itself through the Clube Militar (Military Club), a non-party institution which carries most of the Military Corporation's attitude. This club, however, indicates the presence of different streams within the Corporation, possible to classify in: nationalist, antinationalist, communist, legalist. From those, we highlight the figure of General Lott, who will represent the legalist sectors and will have an important role both in the Juscelino's election of 1956, and the maintenance of Jango in 1961. It will also be important in order not to avoid a complete radicalization within the context of 1955.

We will now provide a brief description of the 1955 Crisis intending to show that Lott's role in the "Campaign for Legality" in 1961 is in accordance with the political posture adopted during the course of his whole career and not on the specific context of Jânio's renunciation. The crisis of 1955 starts with Vargas' suicide; in such circumstances, Café Filho takes up this position for one year, until the elections of 1955. This government, however, is formed by a majority of udenistas³. The only name in the Ministry which does not fit in is General Teixeira Lott, Minister of War. Despite the opposition of the udenistas, the parliamentary elections remain for

³ *Udenista* is a member of the UDN – União Democrática Nacional (National Democratic Union), a conservative party which constituted the opposition to the government of Getúlio Vargas.

03/10/54. PSD is the only party with major number of congressmen (112 to 114) and UDN loses chairs: 84-74. PTB is raised in 5 chairs but it's not the biggest bench. PDS then launches Juscelino Kubitschek as a presidential candidate, and João Goulart as vice. The communist party announces they will support Juscelino. The crisis is up! UDN launches Juarez Távora and the party's discourse remains the same: against fraud, demagoguery and 'dirty practices'. Their main supporter is Carlos Lacerda, who represents it all well in fact.

The Military Club, now presided by Canrobert Pereira da Costa, is pro-UDN. A reminder that, in this period, the Military Club has a majority of udenistas after winning the Chapa Azul in the biannual 1954-56, with 7.145 votes against 2.050 of the Chapa Amarela. His discourse is against 'fooling the population'. It's essential to highlight that, the support profile of this coup, is different from the previous one. Right now, only the far-right-wing pushes the coup. Broad sectors of society (businessmen, students, sectors of the press) are against it. The legality support prevails. But the sectors of the far-right keep on moving. Lacerda creates the first case of the "Carta de Brandi" (Brandi's letter), later proved to be a fraud. In spite of it all, Juscelino wins the elections and the confrontation begins with the attempt to stop him from inaugurating. The greatest win for those opposed to the coup is the verification of the explicitness of the internal disputes within the Armed Forces. Two groups are formed: one in favor of the coup and another one against, in the name of legality. During the dispute, due to the ascension of Carlos Luz as President (who supports Lacerda) the coup supporters are the majority and have a real chance to win. General Teixeira Lott, War Minister, puts his neck on the line when opposes the coup (and gives a speech before General Jurandir Mamede during Vaz's funeral, what breaks the whole hierarchy of the Armed Forces) and virtually loses his position because of his destitution by Carlos Luz. The situation only changes when he, strengthened by the support of the highest ranks of the Army, keeps the discourse of legality and organizes a counter-coup called "Novembrada". Carlos Luz is then dismissed and replaced by Nereu Ramos. A war-state is created, basically a war between sectors of the Armed Forces. The coup supporters are reduced after not getting the support of São Paulo and they have to surrender. The legalists win, a fact that leads us to reinforce some important aspects: first, the presence of a sector within the armed forces with a legalist profile since de 1950's, what takes us to another point, no matter how much the armed forces tried, there was not internal agreement, and this fact will also help us understand the context of 1961. Finally, we highlight the person of Lott, who will keep the same posture during his whole political career and will represent a key piece in the context of 1961.

The context of 1961-63: an ambient of positioning and radicalization

Jânio Quadro's government starts by showing that it will not follow an orthodox model. On that basis, breaks with the automatic alignment with the USA and aims to get closer to Africa, Asia and non-aligned countries such as Egypt and Yugoslavia, causing friction in external politics. Another sensitive issue is the Brazilian position confirming the independence of Cuba against the north-American guidance, in early 1961 and the decoration of Che Guevara in Brazilian soil, by Jânio, with the *Ordem Nacional do Cruzeiro do Sul*⁴. Internally, Jânio lives his first year of government with syndications opened and requested by Jânio himself in order to verify corruption accusations in a clear attempt to politically reach both the Vice-President and his political rivals. In the economic area, there is a great raise in the international debt, public deficit and inflation, worsen by Jânio for sending to the National Congress a Bill intended to control the profit remittance of the foreign companies. Considering this, his renunciation is welcomed, a fact not expected by the President himself, as he thought he would get the support from both Congress and Armed Forces. A new moment of tension then begins: the attempt to halt the ascension of the Vice-President.

⁴ The *Ordem Nacional do Cruzeiro do Sul* is the highest decoration given to a foreign individual by the Brazilian government and is considered an act of international relations.

When a new coup attempt is announced, articulated by sectors of the Armed Forces and politicians of UDN, with the intent to stop the Vice-President from inaugurating since it was João Goulart, pro-legality mobilizations started. We consider this moment to be essential in the analysis of the articulations between the revolutionary and political context and the role of radio as a media filled with specificity:

In the afternoon of August 27, 1961, in Porto Alegre, the employee of Correios e Telégrafos (the mail service) Carlos Guaragna calibrated a ham radio receptor, another one among so many others. João realized that, strangely, in one of the radio lines, someone was transmitting messages in Morse code – something unusual for such equipment. The experience of the professionals made it not hard to realize the anxiety of the operator, reflected on the more and more nervous beats. When João realized that such transmission originated from the HQ of III Army, based in Porto Alegre, he immediately took a pencil and intercepted the message from general Antônio Carlos Murici, from the state's capital, alerted general Orlando Geisel, in Brasília: "I communicate that the III Army has intercepted a message from the Governor, addressed to Dr. Jango, offering troops from Rio Grande to be sent by plane to Brasília, in order to secure his ascension. The governor is arming the population and causing agitations in the countryside. (...) Due to the strong tension it is possible that the smallest incident triggers a civil war, with serious consequences. (...) Repression-operations are ready to be put in place when the moment is appropriate" 1. Casually then, João realized the III Army was monitoring all communications of the Palácio Piratini, headquarters of the state government. Concerned and afraid, João intercepted yet many other messages exchanged between the high rank of the Army. In the evening, one of them in particular made him anxious. From Guanabara, generals had instructed the commander of the III Army, general Machado Lopes: "(...) fortitude and energy is needed from the III Army to stop the strength of the potential rival from growing, as it has all interest in keeping the order so Mr. João Goulart may take up the presidency". (Ferreira, 1997, translated from the Portuguese).

The above transcripts recount the tension started on August 27 after Jânio Quadros's renunciation in August 25. João Carlos Guaragna's report, restored by Ferreira, recovers the atmosphere created in such context; the implied risks of such operation; the profound unpredictability of that moment; the definition of the groups that start moving and, finally, the role of radio in that situation. The first mark of the specificity of radio, implied in the transcripts, is another form of accessibility. In this case, the ability to interact, intercept, possible through the radio waves and not possible on the newspaper or even on television, present in this context, but still with little influence. This small fact may have definitively changed the course of action, as the resistance to the coup was able to mobilize groups and articulate strategies.

Let's start by highlighting the role of Leonel Brizola. Politician for a long time, also brought into politics by Getúlio Vargas, governor of the state of Rio Grande do Sul through the PTB party, brother-in-law of João Goulart. He becomes the main character in the context of 1961 by being the responsible for creating and articulating the "Rede da Legalidade" (The Network of Legality) in order to ensure Jango's ascension. In the circumstances of the above quote, Brizola was already gathering his supporters from the III Army in order to receive Jango in the country and, as we could see, his articulation is intercepted by Jango's opposers, who also begin to gather forces against Jango by putting another coup in action. The image reconstructed by historiography and by the memory of those who participated directly in the scenario of the Network of Legality, is of a movement, started by Brizola, carrying a gun with one hand and a microphone with the other. This image is elucidative so, once again, we can think the radio and its political role.

The use of radio is essential for mobilizing the population, which responds promptly to the appeals of the governor and gathers in great numbers at the main square, in front of Palácio Piratini, articulating against the coup. The weight of this media is so great in that moment, and the above quote shows the reaction put in place: to shut the opposition up. As per statement of Lauro Hagemann⁵, Ezzo reporter for a long time, a recognized

⁵ We have used a audio statement given by Hagemann, available at the website of 50 years of Campaign for Legality (Campanha da Legalidade 50 anos)

radio voice, the Radio Department of the Ministério da Viação e Obras Públicas⁶, mobilized their fiscal agents and ordered them to confiscate the crystals of the radio stations of Rio Grande do Sul in order to halt the mobilization. They confiscate the crystals of the radio stations Farroupilha, Gaucha and Difusora, and forget Guaíba. Homero Simon then suggests to Brizola that he uses Guaíba's transmitters to continue his transmissions. The idea is taken promptly and the radio station is installed in the cellars of Palácio Piratininga and the transmitter is guarded by the Brigade troops, what makes an action from the coup supporters impossible. The "Network of Legality" then starts, with the support of another 15 short and mediumwave radio stations around the country, and also the translation and transmission, via shortwave, to other countries. As per statement of Holmes Aquino⁷, it shows the need for a deep articulation between different radio stations in the use of waves in the country and around the world. In Brazil, helped by the radios of Rio Grande do Sul, they use shortwaves, reaching countries of German, English and Spanish languages in a clearly international network. Because of all of it, Brizola needs to keep continuous transmissions, made through recordings transmitted by Rádio Guaíba in the articulation above described.

The different reports show the hardships faced in order to ensure the transmissions. Erika Kramer, a 23-year-old journalist student at the time, tells⁸ that she spent days at the editorial office living on coffee and sandwiches, in charge of writing the text and broadcasting it in German, since she was fluent in the language. Hagemann, the Esso Reporter of Rio Grande do Sul, in an audio-statement, tells that, by listening to the Network of Legality transmissions, realizes that the official Rádio Guaíba broadcaster cannot be on air 24 hours a day, what causes a series of bad insertions, with unqualified people creating badly written content and the contact with voices incompatible to the needs of radio. For that reason, he realizes he needs to participate and offers himself as a broadcaster. After that, he says, most of the radio broadcasters offer themselves to help, creating an unprecedented fact for radio history: it is the first time the radio broadcasters saw themselves as a class and become aware of the need for mobilization and debate of their civil, political and professional role. The Sindicato dos Radialistas (Radio Broadcasters Union), says Hagemann, is then created in 1963, during the mandate of Leonel Brizola, and the Primeiro Congresso Brasileiro dos Profissionais de Rádio-Difusão⁹ (First Brazilian Congress of Radio Broadcasting Professionals) is organized. This fact shows the articulations between political history and the history of radio in Brazil. It also shows that, this political articulation, which effectively avoids the 1961 coup and ensures the ascension of Vice-President João Goulart needed the support of a media, with specific characteristics such as the radio media: accessibility and mobility so a *bunker* could be assembled in the cellar of the Government's building; mobility and speed to make it possible to form a table of transmissions which could broadcast in the country and abroad, all in record time aiming to mobilize the masses and generate social pressure. Let's observe part of Brizola's speech broadcast by the Rede da Legalidade in August 28, 1961 (translated from the Portuguese):

Since yesterday we have organized a service for receiving news from all over the country. It's a network of ham radio broadcasting in an organized service. We started to receive, here, exchanged messages, even in code and by teletypes, between the III Army and the Ministry of War. I want to give you the more serious information revealed. Yesterday, for example – I will read quickly, because maybe it will cause the destruction of this radio station –, the Minister of War considered that the preservation of order "was only of interest of Governor Brizola". So, is the Army an agent of disorder, soldiers of Brazil?! And another proof of madness! The text says: "fortitude and energy is needed from the III Army to stop the strength of the potential rival from growing". "Am I the enemy, my counterparts?! I am being considered the enemy, my fellowmen, when all we want is order and peace. Like this one, many other radio stations are in contact even in the state of Paraná, and here we are

⁶ This governmental department was responsible for the maintenance and improvement of roads and general constructions for the public sector. At the time, it was also responsible for matters related to the radio stations and radio broadcasting.

⁷ Holmes Aquino was a technician of Rádio Guaíba and his statement is available at the website of 50 years of Campaign for Legality (Campanha da Legalidade 50 anos)

⁸ His statement was presented in the Folha de São Paulo newspaper (section Caderno Ilustríssima) in August 7, 2011, in face of the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Network of Legality.

⁹ At the time, the term "radiodifusão" (radio broadcasting) in Portuguese was written "radio-difusão".

receiving messages on the phone coming from everywhere. More than one hundred people called and confirmed. Look at what General Orlando Geisel says, ordered by Marechal Odílio Denys, to the III Army: "The commander of the III Army must stop the course of action being developed by Governor Brizola"; "the III Army must act with maximum urgency and promptness"; "make all troops of Rio Grande do Sul, that you judge convenient, converge to Porto Alegre"; "The AirForce must perform bombings, if necessary"; "A task-force of the Navy is on its way to Rio Grande", and "let us know what reinforcements you need". General Geisel says more: "I insist that the seriousness of the national situation is a consequence of the situation in Rio Grande do Sul, since the orders sent in order to restrain the actions of Governor Brizola were not yet accomplished" "We will stay here until the end. You can shoot"

We highlight two aspects of this extract. First, the way the role of communication is highlighted. Brizola insists on that fact in other speeches and statements, making clear that the coup would not have been avoided if there wasn't a medium of communication able to become national and international; communication, ensured and maintained by the radio broadcasters made it possible to inform, promote awareness of the citizen role to be fulfilled, the social mobilization which became the essential factor for the movement's victory. All discourses point at this direction: without radio broadcasting, the masses wouldn't have gone out on the streets; they wouldn't have gathered at the main square; they wouldn't have offered themselves in collaboration; national and international force wouldn't have been created, a fact which pressured a great part of the political representatives to join the legality movement.

Here, we highlight the second aspect presented in the discourse and essential for the movement: the mobilization in favor of order and legality; every moment it is highlighted on the various speeches. The movement wants the compliance of the Constitution which ensures the right of ascension of the Vice-President when the President's position is vacant. The far-right groups defend that the vice cannot become President. Again, General Lott, now retired, but still a legalist believer, mobilizes the legalist sectors in favor of the law enforcement. It is the "Campaign for Legality" moving the political scenario. Its role is fundamental, and we will retake it on the following quote:

The good news, however, came from Rio de Janeiro, where Marechal Henrique Teixeira Lott, retired but with great political prestige, distributes, on the night of 25th, a manifest to the Nation. The text says that, in spite of the efforts to restrain the War minister from stopping Goulart's ascension, his plea, he stated, were useless. Lott declared:

"(...) I call all living forces of the country, the forces of production and thought, the students and the intellectuals, the workers and people in general, to take a decisive and energetic stand in respect to the Constitution, in order to fully preserve the Brazilian democracy, yet certain that my comrades from the Armed Forces will know how to behave in accordance to the standards of the legalist tradition which mark their history in the Nation's destiny."

Before being arrested, by orders of Denys, Lott told Brizola to look for some members of the military in Rio Grande do Sul, who would be in favor of a legal end to the crisis, such as Colonel Roberto Osório and Colonel Assis Brasil, the General Pery Belivacqua and the Commander of the First Cavalry, General Oromar Osório. Late afternoon on the same day, the first street protests emerged in Porto Alegre. (Ferreira, 1997, p. 6, translated from the Portuguese)

Such factor reinforces the perception that the military were not formed homogenously and, amongst them, a legalist group always existed, in favor of the formal compliance of the law, a group which, once again, was essential in the given political context. The way the "Network of Legality" worked reinforces, also, the role of cultural mediation established by the radio discourse. Once again, we can see the profound interaction between the discourse and the symbolic universe of the radio listener, but not only in terms of the workers value, but of their citizenship. The audience is called to perform a citizen role and they can identify with such role, because it ensures a social distinction as a citizen and creates a network of solidarity, another strong component of the reference of the popular culture. We can, then, check, that the "Campaign for Legality" can only be victorious through the integration of the different given factors, political, social and cultural factors, realized and stitched together by Brizola through the radio discourse. The power of Jango, however, is not totally ensured. It has to be

negotiated and in that moment it is restricted through the creation of a parliamentary logic, intended to ensure the legality but not the power of this president. Jango returns to Brazil and ascends as President in a parliamentary regime, with Tancredo Neves as Prime-Minister. Despite being in power, the coup is only postponed, and in 1964, the role of radio and all media is changed, especially from 1968 onwards with the censorship, which didn't have a unique procedure. We have noticed, from a scientific research point of view, that a gap exists in this area since there is plenty of academic production on the censorship of the newspaper, but not on the censorship of radio, even because it's impossible to censor the shortwaves. We must consider, also, when we think the radio object, on the impact of television media, mainly from the 1960's. All of these elements show how rich and relevant the object here discussed is, the connections between the radio media and the political conditions in contemporary Brazil.

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Part III :

Audiences

Chapter 5 | New Methods of radio audience research



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Measuring Community Radio Audiences

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Abstract:

For a number of reasons, professional audience measurement as carried out by Public Service and commercial radio broadcasters is inappropriate for Community Radio services. Not only is there the issue of the high costs involved, but more fundamentally, there is also the problem that such approaches are rather 'granular' (with a tendency towards inaccuracy when measuring smaller specialist services). Moreover, professional audience surveys tend to focus only on the quantitative measurement of audience size, rather than on the qualitative elements of audience satisfaction.

This paper will use the example of the approach taken by UK Community Radio station, 'Future Radio' to obtain both quantitative data primarily through street surveys and qualitative data through on-line questionnaires, exploring why the station felt such research to be both necessary and beneficial. Showing how reasonably accurate data can be obtained on a cost-effective basis, issues of accuracy and practical difficulties will also be explored.

Finally, the paper will examine some of the opportunities and challenges raised by the changing nature of radio listening and interaction brought about by new methods of consumption such as Internet streaming and mobile 'smart-phone' applications.

Keywords: radio; audiences; community radio

Introduction

In part, this paper draws upon a forthcoming book chapter which was written in conjunction with Future Radio's Station Manager, Tom Buckham and independent researcher, Dr Emma Ward. I gratefully acknowledge their underlying contributions to this paper. Future Radio is the Community Radio station serving the City of Norwich in the East of England which began operation in 2004, and which has been broadcasting continuously since August 2007 (Future Radio Website, 2011).

Although some voices within the Community Radio sector question the need for audience research, often viewing an interest in such information as being inextricably linked to a focus on commercial advertising and sponsorship, this article argues that the needs for such information are in fact a great deal more diverse, going far beyond such narrow direct economic concerns. Indeed, this article argues that appropriate audience research allows Community Radio services to obtain an improved understanding of their listenership which can be used to improve and better target the provision of relevant services.

Approaches To Audience Research

Commercial radio stations use quantitative audience research in order to provide evidence for advertisers and sponsors about the size of their audience, whilst Public Service Broadcasters (PSBs) use such figures in order to

demonstrate that their audience is of sufficient size to justify the use of license fee income or public funding. For Community Radio services, the reasons for making use of audience research are both more complex and perhaps less obvious. By their very nature, Community Radio services produce outputs which have other objectives than maximising absolute audience numbers and neither is their primary purpose the maximisation of profit through the sale of on air spot-advertising and commercial sponsorship opportunities. However, many Community Radio services do nevertheless obtain part of their income from such commercial activities and an even greater number obtain funding from a diverse range of public, third-sector and charitable sources. The primary reason why commercial organisations purchase air time or sponsorship opportunities on Community Radio services is not because such spending maximises the absolute number of listeners that will hear their commercial message. As Henry Loeser points out:

Advertisers spend money on community radio because they believe it's an investment in their community, an investment that will improve the quality of life for their customers and employees, thereby improving the opportunities for business success in the long term. ... They spend money on community radio to improve the community first, and improve sales second. (Loeser, 2011: 2)

However, such spending, justified by the reasons quoted immediately above, still includes a commercial element (as stated above, improving sales remains part of the equation). In other words a critical element of the decision to buy air time is still the fact that the commercial message will reach an audience of some sort. The same basic principle applies to various public, third sector and charitable investments in Community Radio. These would include, for example, service level agreements (SLAs) to promote particular local council services and on air promotions designed to raise the awareness of local charitable activities. Even though the size of the total audience is not of primary importance in such cases, some information about the nature of the audience remains important, because those responsible for spending budgets, be they for advertising, social responsibility or SLAs, have to justify their spending decisions. The underlying ethos of those with the power to make buying decisions is still, at least in part, therefore concerned with numbers. Very little such spending on Community Radio would still be made if no one listened and it therefore follows that being able to demonstrate a knowledge of listenership is still important for Community Radio operators.

With the above in mind, traditional numerical audience surveys, such as that carried out every quarter by the Radio Joint Advertising Research Limited (RAJAR) are unlikely to be the most appropriate option, dealing as they typically do with counting the absolute size of a station's audience on a weekly and monthly basis. Community Radio services instead seek a broader and deeper understanding of their listenership, not only of its scale, but also of its scope, including detailed demographics of minority groups and of their listening likes and dislikes at a much more detailed level than commercial services are generally concerned with. There are various specific practical reasons why traditional audience research is unlikely to be particularly useful to community services, which are discussed in more detail below. However, the fundamental point, as Henry Loeser also correctly points out, is that:

Community radios aren't designed for mass appeal, and likely won't make much of a showing in a survey that doesn't drill down to reveal hyper-local and / or qualitative data. (*ibid.*)

In the same article, Henry Loeser also warns that "Audience surveys can often be a negative influence on radio broadcasters, confusing the market process and ultimately subverting the buyers' priorities." (*ibid.*). Whilst this will almost always be the case in relation to mainstream approaches to commercial forms of revenue generation, there are, of course, a variety of other forms which audience research can take beyond the standard format used by the commercial and PSB sectors. In addition, because of its different structure and objectives, for the Community Radio sector, there are numerous other reasons for obtaining various forms of audience data (including numerical audience data) and a variety of other ways in which such information can be used for non-commercial purposes.

Mainstream (Quantitative) Audience Measurement

If audience research is deemed necessary, the first obvious question is why not make use of established industry audience measurement services? In the United Kingdom today, the country's PSB radio provider, the BBC, already collaborates with the majority of commercial radio stations to obtain a single set of quantitative audience data, designed to provide information about who is listening, to which output, when, how often and for how long. Quarterly audience measurement surveys are carried out on behalf of the major industry players by RAJAR. If such an approach to audience research works for PSB radio, might it also work for Community Radio services? Might RAJAR, or its equivalent, at least be a place to start, to get basic numerical information upon which to build by the addition of further more focused research?

Whilst it might indeed be possible for a Community Radio service to take part in a RAJAR or equivalent survey, there are a number of practical reasons why this is unlikely to be a sensible approach. Beyond the issues highlighted above, there is the fundamental issue of scale. In most jurisdictions, and for perfectly sensible reasons concerning the nature of communities of place in particular, the vast majority of Community Radio services tend to broadcast to geographically small areas. Traditional audience measurement systems, such as RAJAR, are designed for mainstream stations with large coverage areas and are typically diary-based. As a result they have a tendency towards reduced accuracy when it comes to measuring the listenership of stations providing smaller-scale geographical coverage. As RAJAR itself states:

The sampling structure of RAJAR is designed to provide data for stations regardless of ownership, genre or regionality. However, it is unlikely to be able to provide sufficient sample for stations with TSAs (total survey areas) below 30,000. (RAJAR web-site: FAQs).

In practice, the smallest station being surveyed has a potential audience of 50,000 adults (RAJAR web-site: Key Facts) and for all smaller stations the number of diaries used is rather low, at a minimum of just 125 per quarter. Because of such sample size limitations, for smaller stations taking part in RAJAR, the company draws upon four consecutive sets of quarterly survey data to produce its results:

The smallest sample for a station on RAJAR is 500 adults over 12 months, for stations with a TSA (Total Survey Area) under 300,000. (*ibid.*)

Other Community Radio services which focus on communities of interest may serve larger geographical areas and therefore broadcast to potential audiences of well above the RAJAR minimum size. However, because they are only interested in broadcasting to minority audiences within the wider population there, delivering niche rather than genre-based output, for example, to minority ethnic groups, there are still likely to be statistical difficulties with the placement of survey diaries.

Because a combined listening diary for all participating stations in the survey is used, this annual sample size for smaller stations is limited, particularly when compared to "a quarterly sample of approximately 26,000 adults" (*ibid.*) from which national station listening figures are derived. For Community Radio services, and indeed for small commercial radio stations, issues of limited sample size and the inevitable time-lag caused by taking measurements over four consecutive quarters are compounded by the costs involved and the lack of an obvious return on such operational investment.

With its different funding model and focus on carefully targeted 'narrow-cast' outputs, which are rarely of any interest to mainstream media buyers, Community Radio has only a limited interest in overall numerical data and so, typically finds the recurrent cost of involvement in such surveys difficult to justify. From a Community Radio perspective, a further particular flaw with commercial audience measurement surveys is the fact that they are not designed to capture listening to specific programmes. Whilst such output is typically central to effective community broadcasting, RAJAR describes its measurement as follows: "For most parties this was a nice-to-have ...

secondary consideration." (RAJAR, 2005: 3). Because such research "does not produce listening figures for a particular programme on a particular day" (Lister et al 2010: 67) it cannot provide detailed qualitative data concerning how satisfied individuals are with the specific content of particular programming. More broadly, its generic audience sample is not best suited to surveying niche listening, such as, for example, to minority language outputs.

Justifying Alternative Audience Research For Community Radio

Quantitative (numerical) data, akin to that traditionally gathered by commercial broadcasters, is only part of the picture, and qualitative data, concerning how community members may benefit from broadcast output is likely to be at least as important, if not more so. As it has often been said, 'information is power' and without the best possible understanding of how Community Radio interacts with its target communities, the sector and individual stations within it may well be 'flying blind' and, as a result, not delivering services to best effect. That said, gathering data is only part of the issue; how such data is interpreted and used both internally and externally to the organisation is equally important. Clearly, at best, it is usually unwise for Community Radio to attempt to compete directly with its commercial rivals, but that does not mean that the sector cannot subvert and modify some of the audience measurement techniques developed for the commercial sector to its own advantage and for other purposes that those for which they were originally intended.

There is also an important macro-level reason for at least some degree of audience research. Since Community Radio works within the wider radio sector, just like its larger non-commercial PSB competitors, it has to justify its access to scarce broadcast frequency resources. As with PSB radio broadcasters (at least to an extent), and unlike commercial stations, Community Radio services should be focused on quality rather than quantity; on relevant targeted outputs rather than maximum audience numbers. That said, there has to be some justification for occupying a broadcasting frequency! Politicians and broadcast regulators, such as Ofcom (The Office of Communications) in the UK are consistently faced with further demand for additional commercial radio stations and consequently have to justify why some frequency resources are being used for Community Radio services instead. Although in many parts of the world politicians are increasingly recognising the importance of a diverse radio broadcasting sector, embracing community-based and PSB services alongside commercial stations, such demands from the commercial sector, which often sees itself as a monopoly in waiting, should not be ignored.

For individual stations, the justifications for carrying out audience research can be many and various. This remains the case even if the particular Community Radio service in question does not carry and has no intention of carrying any on air spot advertising or commercial sponsorship. The specific nature of the research methodologies used will, of course, depend on the reasons why the data is being sought, who it is intended for and how it is to be used. For example, in the UK, the broadcast regulator asks applicant Community Radio groups to explain how the proposed service will "cater for the tastes and interests of members of the target community" and provide "evidence of demand and support for the proposed service" (Ofcom, 2011: 7,8). Clearly, answering such questions requires a deep understanding of the particular target community involved and an understanding of how that community will interact with its proposed Community Radio service. Requests for such information are linked to the regulatory requirement to justify access to scarce broadcasting frequency resources and often to a competitive licence award process within which multiple groups may be competing for a smaller number of available frequencies. Under such circumstances the importance of understanding a potential target community in as great a detail as possible is obvious and will almost certainly include an explanation of how particular proposed programme formats have been arrived at, as well as some estimation of potential listening figures.

The Future Radio (Norwich) Example

Once a station has been granted a licence and has started broadcasting, various other justifications for audience research can arise. Taking Norwich Community Radio station, Future Radio, as an example, the Station Manager there, Tom Buckham, who has worked at the station since its first short-term trial broadcast in 2003, has various justifications for the station's approach to audience measurement and analysis which has developed gradually over the intervening years.

Future Radio began life as part of a community development organisation originally known as the NR5 Project, named after the local postcode area in West Norwich where it was based. Originally licensed to serve the West Norwich area, the station has more recently been awarded a new licence to serve the whole of Norwich. The prime objective of Future Radio is to provide a relevant Community Radio service for Norwich, and in particular for the West Norwich area from where the station still operates today. In this district of high socio-economic deprivation, where a lack of community engagement and poor communications are cited as key problems, Future Radio fulfils an important role in disseminating local information, providing specific work experience and volunteering opportunities, and, more generally, helping improve the profile of the West Norwich area, countering negative perceptions of it which are often prevalent elsewhere in the city.

During its first few months of full-time operation in late 2007, the subject of listenership became an increasingly important issue at Future Radio. Initially, interaction and feedback developed, via texts, messages through the station's web-site, face-to-face meetings, phone calls and e-mail correspondence. However, although useful in providing some evidence of public engagement with the station's output, because such individual feedback was only indicative and could not be correlated to broader listening habits, it provided no measurable indication of the scale of engagement from within the community as a whole. In effect, whilst such feedback can be considered as providing limited, specific, qualitative data, it cannot be statistically linked to the number of individuals listening to the service provided.

As the station settled into full-time broadcasting, important questions such as "are we reaching our target communities?" and "are there other demographics in Norwich listening to us?" were raised with increasing frequency. In light of the management decision to open up editorial and volunteering opportunities to the whole of Norwich, it was important to gauge the degree to which the station was engaging with its original core NR5 audience, and to understand the degree to which the programming policy was succeeding in engaging other parts of the wider Norwich community. In essence, the core question was one of balance; was the station managing to remain true to its original roots and build links with the rest of the city for the benefit of that core area?

Other requests for audience research data came from within Future Radio's volunteer base. After the initial euphoria of the 2007 full-time launch and as Future Radio moved into its second year of full-time broadcasting, direct questions about levels of listenership began to be raised. With some programmes enjoying greater levels of audience response than others, some volunteers began to assume a direct correlation between such interactions and overall listening levels. Explaining that there is, of course, no direct or accurately measurable link was not enough. In the context of community media, where stations rely on the unpaid commitment of their volunteers, maintaining good morale is vital for the smooth ongoing operation the service. Thus, the provision of audience data to help maintain volunteer enthusiasm, and provide encouragement is therefore another important factor to consider when assessing the approach to take in relation to audience research.

A final justification for the gathering of listening information, but by no means the most important, was a commercial one. Despite having a potential audience large enough to be of interest to local commercial advertisers, early efforts to engage with the local business community and attract commercial revenues proved problematic. The station was successful at engaging with those businesses that clearly recognised the benefits of supporting, and being seen to support, a local 'community cause', (in effect buying into the ethos of community

radio for other than purely economic reasons). Selling air time by building a "relationship with the seller, one that allows for special consideration of social values beyond the numbers" (*ibid.*) as Henry Loeser puts it is central to Future Radio's approach here. However, there was still a financial need to expand income from other, less philanthropic, commercial sources, those that wanted to make sure the relationship with the station was a two-way street with some tangible benefits flowing both ways. Station management soon realised that the key problem was an inability to provide reasonably accurate answers to the inevitable questions about levels of actual listenership, and that it needed to develop practices which would provide reassurance as to the number of people that advertising messages carried by the station would be likely to reach.

The drivers summarised above provided a significant impetus for Future Radio to investigate what sort of audience measurement it could successfully carry out. For the reasons previously discussed, the possibility of taking part in the established RAJAR commercial / PSB quarterly quantitative survey was ruled out and instead the station engaged a local research company, which agreed to work closely with the station to develop an alternative approach. The resultant partnership proved a useful learning curve for both parties and, since 2008, various on-line surveys collecting demographic and qualitative data as well as quantitative, face-to-face, street surveys have been undertaken. The various techniques used have been tested and gradually improved, allowing the station to develop an increasingly clear understanding of the scale and diversity of the audience within its target community.

On-line (Qualitative) Surveys

In many ways the availability of the Internet has changed the way in which many voluntary and third-sector organisations interact with their target groups and Community Radio is no exception. Indeed, by their very nature, Community Radio services are, through their broadcast output, able to encourage listeners to make contact with them via the Internet more easily than is typically the case for other voluntary sector organisations. From its early days as a short-term Restricted Service Licence (RSL) operator, Future Radio has run a number of qualitative on-line surveys asking for listener opinions about the outputs which the station broadcasts. Specific questions are asked about individual programmes, about speech content, the music format and scheduling. Open ended questions are also posed, asking for ideas about how the station should develop in future and inviting broader comments about the service provided. Although it should always be remembered that those individuals contributing to such surveys are a self-selecting group which may not be representative of the wider station listenership, information gathered through such surveys, coupled with other listener feedback and increasingly with the analysis of on-line listening to specific elements of the station's output as well as the consumption of listen-again and pod-cast materials, can provide useful insights into the relative popularity of individual programmes and the station's overall output. On-line surveys are relatively easy to construct and, if kept reasonably short, can result in quite high levels of completion. Most Future Radio on-line surveys are, according to the station completed by around 300 individuals.

Street-Based (Quantitative) Surveys

The Future Radio Listener Numbers Survey (Ward 2010), was intended to provide a statistically justifiable indication of station awareness within its target community. It also sought to compare listenership to other stations, and to provide an estimate of total listening figures. At the time of the survey, Future Radio was licensed to broadcast to the West Norwich area; which, working from population data, the station defined as providing it with coverage of a Total Survey Area (TSA) containing 97,000 people of all ages.

A street survey, described by Gordon (2006) as an affordable and manageable method for Community Radio stations to adopt, was used to gather the required raw data. A team of researchers was recruited by Future Radio from its volunteer base to survey members of the public in Norwich city centre over a two-day period. Prior

to the research being carried out, volunteers completed a short practical training session with the research consultant, which included role play and tips as to how best to approach members of the public.

In order to reduce inconvenience for participants and increase the number of interviews completed in the time available, it was essential that the survey was kept brief. Questioning was constructed to ensure that respondents provided unprompted information about their knowledge of which stations could be received in the West Norwich area. Participants were then asked which of the stations identified they had ever listened to and which they had listened to within the previous month and within the preceding seven days. It was, of course, essential to ensure that participants were not initially prompted about the existence of Future Radio (or of other stations), in order to obtain genuine data concerning public awareness of the station's existence and of listening to it in comparison to other available stations. Such an approach helped ensure the accuracy of the raw data gathered and allowed for a robust subsequent assessment of Future Radio's impact on local radio broadcasting in Norwich. Participants who failed to identify Future Radio when asked unprompted were then asked directly if they had heard of and listened to the station, and whether they would listen in the future if they did not do so already. Basic demographic information (gender, age and postcode area) was also collected.

The sampling approach was 'opportunistic', in that people were approached by researchers because they were available in the city centre location at the time of the survey. The sample was not restricted to those living in the station's TSA. Instead, a 'best-fit' model was used after the data had been collected to code respondents as living in the TSA or outside of the TSA using postcode mapping as a guide. Participants listening outside the TSA were still of interest because, as well as being available locally on FM, Future Radio can also be received on-line. In total, 283 people (an even spread of men and women) were surveyed, of which 189 (70 per cent) were based within the TSA.

Key results from the street survey provided an estimated weekly audience for Future Radio of some 15,000 people (approximately 16% of the estimated available audience). However, of much greater importance to the station was the information the survey provided about audience demographics and overall awareness levels, which were perhaps not surprisingly lower for it than for other more established stations broadcasting to the Norwich area. The station is now more aware than it previously was about the nature of its actual audience and the work it needs to do to raise awareness of its existence within specific demographic groups. Although it is outside the scope of this paper to assess the results of this survey in detail, it should be noted that various techniques, concerning unprompted awareness, sample size and sample make-up were used to ensure a reasonable degree of statistical accuracy in the results.

Practical Uses of Research

Future Radio has been able to put the audience data gathered from its various research work to effective use; with the extrapolated figures being disseminated to volunteer programme makers eager to know the reach of the station and referenced in relation to advertising queries. The provision of audience data to advertisers allowed Future Radio to develop substantive commercial discussions with elements of the local business community that had previously been reluctant to engage with it in the absence of such data. Significantly, as these relationships developed, some businesses began to see the effectiveness of community radio for themselves through effective on-air promotional campaigns.

Having a weekly audience figure to use for advertising had an immediate and obvious commercial benefit, although commercially generated advertising and sponsorship revenues remain a minor part of the station's overall income. Occasional dismissive comments were still received about the figures, because they were not produced by RAJAR, but the majority of businesses were responsive to the information, especially when it was combined with other audience data collected by the station (on-line listening data, website statistics, messaging

and email interaction figures as well as social networking data), all of which can offer useful, albeit ancillary, audience data for community stations.

Future Radio's editorial policy has always been to deliver a mixed schedule, with a music focus that deliberately prioritises genres which are under-represented on other local radio stations in the area and which eschews predominant current chart releases. Whilst this approach was deliberately designed to engage with niche audiences, as opposed to directly competing with other commercial operators, audience programme interaction aside, without statistical audience data there was little to prove that the station was being successful reaching these distinct, and often younger groups within the wider community. Now however, as the various research has consistently shown, Future Radio does appear to have established a reasonable listener base albeit with a bias towards a younger adult demographic.

One of the most important findings to be drawn from the research, and something which would be of use to any community station, was the level of unprompted awareness evidenced by the findings. Whilst 'awareness data' isn't necessarily something comparable to audience figures in terms of its usefulness to potential commercial partners (who are more interested in actual listeners), for station management, it is a strong indication of the effectiveness of any marketing activity, and also indicates how much work there is to do to increase awareness of the station within its target community.

One of the limitations of the research carried out by Future Radio to date, is its inability to deliver specific audience data on a 'single show' basis. Whilst data about general levels of audience size and reach satisfy the majority of potential commercial partners, the station still receives various requests for more specific data linked to distinct times and to specialist programmes within the schedule. Here, the use of on-line listening statistics, for those stations that can collate them, offers a more targeted approach to specific audience measurement. There remains a need for further development to ensure that such data can be accurately collated and appropriately linked to other forms of audience research, but it would certainly have a value to programme makers and station management alike.

In Tom Buckham's view, measuring audience engagement within a station's target community should be a high priority for station management as it can offer valuable findings to help the development of output and ensure that this remains relevant to its target community. Since producing the research findings outlined here, Future Radio has made use of the acquired data in a number of other ways, for example, by incorporating aspects of the research into funding applications as a means of strengthening the credentials of the service and providing evidence that broadcast projects (in particular) will be delivered to an audience of some scale.

The economic downturn which hit the world economy in 2008 / 2009 has undoubtedly damaged various income streams available to the fledgling UK Community Radio sector. Reductions in operational budgets may make some community-based stations feel that audience research is an expensive luxury that cannot be justified. However, if the experience of the station upon which this case-study is based is anything to go by, any such negative approach is likely to constitute a false economy. Future Radio has proved that quantitative and qualitative audience measurement with reasonably robust statistical parameters can be achieved on a limited budget, by using a combination of professional and volunteer inputs.

Providing that appropriate techniques are employed and that volunteers are properly trained such research can be organised relatively quickly and then repeated with increasing ease as systems and techniques are developed and improved. As previously mentioned, the approach used by Future Radio is by no means perfect and there are certainly further improvements that can be made to data collection techniques, to ensure larger samples and less risk of bias within results. Nevertheless the statistical limits of the data gathered have been reasonably well defined such that an acceptable margin of error can be claimed.

Community radio stations that are unable to successfully network with local research companies might alternatively consider forming partnerships with nearby higher education establishments such as universities and

see if their research needs can be linked to student projects or coursework. For example, since the completion of this research, Future Radio has been able to work with the University of East Anglia and conduct additional research within the local business community to gauge levels of commercial interest towards the station.

It must, of course, be noted when looking at the significance of audience data for community radio, that a mixture of quantitative and qualitative data is generally considered the ideal. In practice, the approach taken by Future Radio has been to carry out Internet-based qualitative research every two years, with a street-based face-to-face quantitative survey carried out during each intervening year. A particular advantage of developing a regular system of broad audience research is that each stand-alone set of results can be used both individually as a 'snapshot' of current listening habits and combined with earlier data to form part of longitudinal trend-data providing information about how the station is changing and developing over time.

Community radio should primarily be judged by the level of engagement a service has with its audience and other factors such as the training and volunteer opportunities it provides to the local area it serves, along with the levels of social gain it can provide through programming. Although there is not scope within this paper to explain qualitative methods in detail, it is important to highlight that this type of research can provide useful insights into such issues (Mytton 1999). For example, an open ended on-line survey of listeners explored why people tuned in to Future Radio and what they liked and did not like about the station (Ward 2010). Additionally, interviews with volunteers as part of an impact evaluation explored the reasons why they volunteered at the station and the ways in which they considered such involvement was of benefit to them (McDaid 2009). It is important to stress that, albeit in different ways, this information was just as valuable to the station as quantitative numerical estimates of listenership. Crucially, such qualitative research is valuable because it is able to highlight areas of potential improvement and demonstrate to funders that the station is able to deliver concrete, positive, impacts for members of its target community.

A fundamental aspect of community stations such as Future Radio is the way in which, unlike the generally passive audience relationships created by commercial radio, they pro-actively engage with their target community on an interactive basis. Whereas a more formatted commercial music broadcaster may draw upon a larger passive audience, a community station, by its very nature, will engage with an audience which interacts and questions – indeed, in the case of Future Radio, and in numerous other community-based stations, there are many instances where listeners have become engaged to the point that they become volunteer programme makers themselves, highlighting the two-way nature of Community Radio in comparison to more 'closed' one-way approach of commercial broadcasting. If appropriate audience research, both qualitative and quantitative, can be used to enhance such relationships, so much the better for all concerned.

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'I know exactly who they are': radio presenters' conceptions of audience

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Abstract:

Since Horton and Wohl's (1956) recognition of the para-social relationship, there has been an interest in understanding audiences beyond commodification models. But while the relationship has long been named, little is understood about the process from 'inside' the presenter experience: what audiences mean to presenters, how the relationship is constructed and becomes real in the absence of face-to-face contact and when, for the most part, the presenter can only know the audience as an abstraction or a projection.

This paper will explore the way Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) talk radio presenters construct their audience as a dialogue partner, and the way that the on-air self is managed, in line with the corporate expectations of their employer, to achieve the appropriate symbolic indicators of friendship, sympathy, companionship, disclosure and intimacy. The findings are based on interviews with 14 leading ABC radio presenters, their producers, and trainers and associates.

Keywords: radio, audience, presenter, identity

It's not surprising that audience research is a field that attracts attention. If you can catch them, audiences are valuable things: culturally as well as financially. Researchers including academics, ratings agencies, market research firms and broadcasting organisations have spent countless hours and dollars trying to work out just who watches and listens to, and why they do it.

But for all the ethnographic, content, uses and gratifications, effects models and rhetoric studies, a pivotal element in the mix has almost always been overlooked.

In radio at least, the audience and the broadcaster cannot be thought of as independent from each other; both are active in constituting the relationship. The dominant assumption is the naturalistic and somewhat simplistic position that presenters just need to 'be themselves'. However, because the relationship is unseen and from the audience side mostly anonymous, the actual processes through which the relationship is constituted are complex and have been somewhat obscure. Indications are that these processes are complex and involve high degrees of skill and experience on the part of presenters. Presenters and radio programme makers more broadly (producers and researchers) have much to tell us about audiences. An exploration of these understandings of audience has been largely absent from the debate.

'Pervasiveness and closeness'

When Horton and Wohl coined the term 'para-social interaction' back in the 1950s they observed the bond that an audience forms with those they listen to and watch via electronic media. This was a strange phenomenon:

before that we generally needed to actually interact with someone – to be co-located with them over time – in order to feel that strong bond. But these (then relatively new) devices of television and radio had created a situation where people felt this level of connection with someone they'd never actually been in the same room with.

Horton and Wohl call those with whom this bond is formed 'personae'.

The persona is the typical and indigenous figure of the social scene presented by radio and television. To say that he is familiar and intimate is to use pale and feeble language for the pervasiveness and closeness with which multitudes feel his presence. The spectacular fact about such personae is that they can claim and achieve an intimacy with what are literally crowds of strangers, and this intimacy, even if it is an imitation and a shadow of what is ordinarily meant by that word, is extremely influential with, and satisfying for, the great numbers who willingly receive it and share in it. They 'know' such a persona in somewhat the same way they know their chosen friends: through direct observation and interpretation of his appearance, his gestures and voice, his conversation and conduct in a variety of situations (1956: 126).

Horton and Wohl's position is to see the persona as a deliberate and strategic creation:

The persona may be considered by his audience as a friend, counsellor, comforter, and model; but, unlike real associates, he has the peculiar virtue of being standardized according to the 'formula' for his character and performance which he and his managers have worked out and embodied in an appropriate 'production format' (1956: 217).

One of the criticisms of Horton and Wohl is the lack of empirical evidence to support these claims (Moore, 1997: 222). In the decades since a lot of work has been done to fill the gap, including analysing the output of personae and broadcasting organisations in content studies.

As someone who formerly worked in a role that Horton and Wohl would have characterised as a persona, their description of standardized and formulaic representations of character collaboratively designed with management is not representative of my experience. Paradoxically it was my own struggle to understand this dynamic that led me to research – but from the other side of the experience divide. This research is based on depth interviews with 14 radio presenters, eight producers, two leading radio trainers and close family or friends of the presenters. The presenters and producers all worked for Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) Local Radio stations or Radio National, presenting live daily (weekday) programmes.

Which self?

As a talk radio presenter, working for the ABC on the Local Radio network, I was told to 'just be myself' on the radio. But the 'self' is a problematic and contested category. 'Which self?' seemed to be the next obvious question and one which the industry, even in its training literature, was not addressing.

Erving Goffman (1959) and the Symbolic Interactionists (Cooley, 1922; Mead, 1934) considered that a self is not so much a singular and fixed entity as a contingent response to a social context. People do not behave in the same way at home with family as they would in a job interview. People present versions of themselves to match the situation they are in and you use information and feedback from the environment – especially other people – to mostly unconsciously determine an appropriate self. It's not so much a case of *being yourself* as being a *situationally suitable self*.

The problem in the radio studio is that there is no face-to-face feedback information available to make a situational assessment. The presenter is in a padded room, often on his or her own, talking into a microphone. There might be a producer or two on the other side of the glass, but the presenter is quarantined in a social vacuum. One of the key tasks of a radio presenter is to create a social context out of thin air.

It is clear then how the agency of a presenter, and specifically the way a presenter conceives his or her audience, is critical not only in establishing an on-air self, but calling the audience into being. Whist most studies

have looked at output, what presenters say on-air, here we consider the social process through which this output emerges, and the impact this has in shaping the audience.

MacFarland points out that '[t]here are lots of terms for the people who comprise the on-air staff of a radio station. Most of those terms leave something to be desired' (1997: 118). 'Persona' is now rarely used. In this account I will use 'presenter'.

Superficially, the presenter role looks straightforward. The presenter turns on a microphone and talks. But it is like ice skating – not nearly as easy to do as it looks. To get the qualities of connection that Horton and Wohl describe requires something sophisticated: even more so when you start to consider the identity challenge of talk radio presentation from an Interactionist perspective.

Not knowing: 'they defy anyone's attempt to put them into boxes'

Several scholars suggest that audiences are unknowable. Paddy Scannell claims that:

How to speak to its unknown, invisible absent listeners and viewers was and remains the fundamental communicative dilemma for broadcasters (2000: 10).

Ien Ang argues that our understanding of audiences has been co-opted by the ways institutions need to quantify and measure them. She has demolished the credibility of ratings systems as any kind of accurate representation of audiences (1991). For John Hartley audiences are 'invisible fictions' and that 'in all cases the product is a fiction which serves the needs of the imagining institution. In no case is the audience "real", or external to its discursive construction' (1992: 105).

Radio presenters are similarly confounded.

TC: I don't have a perception of the audience because it's so different. (Chappell, 2008)

TD: I once thought that I knew what the audience was but it's so much bigger than you even imagine... it's a very broad church that we that we go for. (Delroy, 2008)

LB: ...it kind of changes depending on who's rung me up that day and it's interesting because some days you sort of have this idea in your head of the audience and then you get three calls and you go [sighs] 'ok yeah'. Because you know maybe I'm thinking all eastern suburbs and then suddenly I've got a call from Footscray and Preston and Altona... (Burns, 2008)

JF: ...it's always wonderful to see how diverse the audience is and they defy anyone's attempt to put them into boxes... You're talking to all sorts of different people. You're not talking to a person or a version of a person. (Faine, 2008)

MK: It's important to me to try and visualise who that person is and I don't know. (King, 2008)

BY: Well if I think of the entire audience I mean they're so ridiculously different [laughs] that it scares you. (Young, 2008)

But despite the magnitude of the problem and the nebulous nature of audience described here, radio presenters have to find some way to operationalize conceptions of audience.

Institutional solutions: the 'by-the-book audience'

Broadcasting organisations have wrestled with the question of 'unknown, invisible and absent' (Scannell, 2000: 10) audiences for as long as anyone. The BBC began researching audiences in 1936 (Crisell, 2002: 46). This correlated with the recognition that the existing ways of addressing the audience – then adapted from styles appropriate to large auditorium gatherings – were unsuitable for the medium of radio (Scannell, 1991: 2-3). For

public service broadcasters the challenge is even greater because of their complex obligations to the audience. Ang explains that for organisations like the ABC and the BBC, the public service obligation to 'inform, educate and entertain' is vague and values laden. For this reason the process of programming is often fraught – much more so than in commercial broadcasting intuitions where profit is the clearly defined objective. (1991: 105-6)

Public service broadcasting is a prime instance of the rejection of the subordination of cultural politics to economic forces. Public broadcasters therefore often see their work as unremittingly antithetical to that of their commercially-motivated colleagues. They often display a confident disrespect towards the latter. 'Giving the audience what it wants', a principal celebrated within commercial rhetoric as a triumph of cultural democracy, is deeply distrusted in public broadcasting circles, connoted as it is within submission to the easy, unprincipled path of populism (Ang, 1991: 101-2).

Despite this staunchly defended demarcation however, public service broadcasters in recent years have increasingly adopted commercial techniques.

The growing prominence of audience measurement within European public service broadcasting is often associated with an increasing 'commercialization' of the public service intuitions, at least in spirit if not in structure and finance (Ang, 1991: 103).

Perhaps the most striking example of this was the BBC's 'Project Bullseye'. This initiative 'require[d] every BBC Local Radio presenter to "target" Dave and Sue at all times' (Self, 2005).

Dave and Sue are both 55. He is a self-employed plumber; she is a school secretary. Both have grown-up children from previous marriages. They shop at Asda, wear fleeces and T-shirts, and their cultural horizon stretches to an Abba tribute show. They are "deeply suspicious" of politicians, think the world is "a dangerous and depressing place", and are consequently always on the lookout for "something that will cheer them up and make them laugh" (Self, 2005).

Ang's analysis provides an explanation for such an approach, pointing out that 'consensus [about the audience] is not pre-given and needs to be constructed' (Ang, 1991: 105). But BBC management's designation of Dave and Sue as the audience does not necessarily mean that a consensus has been achieved amongst the broadcasters who are supposed to speak to 'them'.

The ABC's institutional reflections on audience can be found both in their training documents and their annual reports. The 2010 Radio Audience section of the Annual Report includes graphs with the headings 'ABC Radio's average weekly reach increased to 4.3 million people' and 'ABC Radio had a 23.9% share of the five-city metropolitan market' (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2010: 37). It is reasonable to assume that the ABC wants it to be known that their radio audience is a significant proportion of the Australian population – over 4 million people – and about a quarter of those listening to radio in the cities are tuned to the ABC. The Annual Report's message, consistent with that of commercial organisations, is that the audience is *big*.

However, it is worth acknowledging the eternal paradox that binds public broadcasters. They must simultaneously provide something for everyone to justify the allocation of public funds, while also serving niche audiences that the commercial dollar would not deem profitable to reach.

The ABC's training documents include a section on 'Industry Knowledge'. Much of the familiar marketing discourse is evident with an emphasis on 'target audiences' and 'target markets'. A 17 point checklist is provided to help broadcasters identify these 'markets'. The checklist includes questions such as:

1. *What kinds of people make up your target audience? How do they differ from the whole population – e.g. in terms of age group, sex, occupation, etc?*
2. *What types of programming are best to gain a maximum share of the above audience?*
3. *Where is your audience located? In each part of your coverage area, what percentage of the target audience are members of your audience? Are there particular geographical areas where you are not reaching your target audience?*

4. *What can you do to gain greater exposure and sampling in low-listening areas?*
5. *When does your target audience tune into your station most? What can you do to improve tune-ins at other times of the day?*
- ...
17. *Is there anything about the image of your station or what you do that prevents your primary and secondary target audiences from listening to you as much as they could? (Guilfoyle, 2002: 73)*

After giving a series of statistics about the Australian population the training guide asks:

Why should you care?

The reason you should care is that each of the statistics above provides a snapshot of a particular slice of contemporary Australian life and give some hints about what Australians care about and what they don't. Statistics, like the one above, indicate what you should be talking about, how you should be talking about it, and to whom you should be talking about it (Guilfoyle, 2002: 150 emphasis in original).

The discourse, both in the annual report and the training literature is 'geared at "audience maximisation" – a principle that is fundamentally at odds with the classic public service ideal.' (Ang, 1991: 103) Ang goes on to argue that for public service broadcasting '[s]uccess cannot be gauged by purely quantitative means of popularity; it must encompass more qualitative and substantial achievements...' (1991: 103).

Central in this ongoing discursive search for criteria is the question, implicit or explicit, of how the audience-as-public should be defined and addressed. In other words, it is in these discourses that normative knowledge about the audience emerges from the public service institution's point of view (Ang, 1991: 106).

Despite these institutional efforts to define the audience, research participants indicated that market driven approaches are often unusable for presenters.

JF: if you ask someone what's your standard audience for the demographic breakdown of 774 ABC Melbourne's Morning Show you wouldn't think it was a blue collar truck driver. But of course there are lots of them all over the place. It's not just blue rinse ladies in Brighton. (Faine, 2008)

BY: Ultimately if we're going to go with the by-the-book audience then it's 40 plus, majority 55 plus, and their kids are older, and they've come through the 60s and 70s. They loved music. They still love music... they're worried about their super. That's the text book 720 Local Radio audience member. I try to bring it back to just a much more humane level than that... (Young, 2008)

Age, along with gender is one of the foundation distinctions used to demographically define an audience. But presenters reference it not to contain the audience, but to demonstrate diversity.

TD: I think my youngest contestant on the quiz was nine and my oldest has been 93. (Delroy, 2008)

BY: Some days I would get off air and think, you know I had a talkback caller from a 28 year old and a 98 year old. (Young, 2008)

RF: ...wide ranging in age from probably from anything from early 30s to 70s, even 80s. You know, early 30s onwards. (Fidler, 2008)

GMI: My audience is younger than our normal audience for my network... especially when test cricket's on for example. We're the only radio network in Australia that broadcasts test cricket. So if youngsters are interested in cricket – Bang! They're going to come on. We get them at 12, 13, 18, 20 years of age... (Mitchell, 2008)

Presenters do not experience their audience as a discrete object. Instead they know their audience collectively as a *relational subject*. Institutions are working with management and marketing models of audience that create discrete material discourses. But presenters need to work with managing emotion and connecting relationships. In a direct exchange with an audience, both literally and virtually, the challenge is to build a

connection that feels real – both for the presenter and listeners. That is difficult to achieve from a set of demographic data.

Presenters are able to sustain instability in their presentational address which maintains openness in the discourse. Indeed, it is a linguistic requirement for competently dealing with the way audiences must be configured and reconfigured in presentational language. Martin Montgomery demonstrated this in his analysis of *DJ Talk*.

Members of the audience are thereby cast and recast into different positions: any listener may vary from being addressed directly in particular terms, to being addressed directly in general terms, to being some kind of non-addressed recipient of the talk. Indeed, since any use of a specific identifier (e.g. 'anyone listening in Edinburgh') singles out a determinate sub-segment of the audience, it thereby has the simultaneous effect of excluding others, so that it is quite common for the audience to be in the position of overhearing recipient of a discourse that is being directly addressed to someone else.

Despite relegating substantial sections of the audience to the status of overhearers, it does not seem that the use of identifiers - even of the more specific kind - actually reduces the capacity of the discourse to engage the audience in general. On the contrary, the combination of identifiers with greetings and with direct address would seem to be part of the way in which a relatively dynamic relationship is achieved between the discourse and its broadcast audience (Montgomery, 1986: 428).

Unifying characteristics: 'we're all awake at a time when most people are asleep'

Presenters have a number of strategies for building the 'dynamic relationship' to which Montgomery refers. The most elemental approach they use is that they recognise the structural dynamics that create commonalities. These are the unifying characteristics of the situation.

TC: All I know is that they're all people that are awake at the same time of the day as me. And that's my thing, is that we're all awake at a time when most people are asleep. (Chappell, 2008)

MK: In my mind what I do is think the person is as busy as me; they could have been up all night with sick children; perhaps on some mornings I have been too; they're trying to make their budget meet; and they're trying to have some time in their day to do things they enjoy. (King, 2008)

BY: I just like to think that it's people who respect other people's stories and opinions, who really like to learn something every day, like just really like the idea of 'I didn't know that'. So I guess I hope they're a bit curious and that they just enjoy pleasant company. That's how I imagine the audience. And I imagine them to be busy. I don't imagine them to be sitting down and listening to my whole programme for three hours. (Young, 2008)

JV: I conceive of them as a collective mass one at a time... the person is washing the dishes and the tranny's on top of the fridge. You know the person is stuck in traffic. The person is a sales rep who spends all day in the car and is so happy when he gets back in the car that there's something funny on the radio because he's now got 45 minutes just dragging his ass across town, you know. The person is a hectic housewife who's you know just had a sandwich with her girlfriend and now has try to get the supermarket shopping done to get to the kids at three o'clock. (Valentine, 2008)

Presenters can use this common ground to begin to define their interactional relationship. These descriptions are about the character of individuals who are likely to engage with the content being produced ('curious'), or circumstances people are likely to be in ('stuck in traffic'). They are frequently inconsequential to demographic or market characteristics. The presenter descriptions are consistent with Ang's assertion that the public service audience is a 'public' rather than a 'market' (1991: 105).

The assumption of shared values in public service broadcasting is also instrumental in creating common ground with the audience.

JV: I'm a very ABC person. I grew up listening to the ABC. I grew up watching the ABC. (Valentine, 2008)

MT: I've got this joke, I always say I speak fluent ABC, I grew up in an ABC household... And so I just know who's listening because I come from that background. (Trevorrow, 2008)

LB: I looked at what the ABC did and what it stood for and the way in which it conducted itself, the way in which programmes went to air and I thought 'I want to be a part of that'. So it was never a case of me having to come from a different background and then being moulded into an ABC person... I was kind of an ABC person before I even arrived. (Burns, 2008)

GMe: I'm a real ABC presenter. I'm not someone you'd find on commercial radio. I don't sound like a commercial radio presenter. (Mellett, 2008)

It is evident that many presenters have specifically sought to work for the ABC because of their own previous relationship as listeners and their personal commitment to, or preference for, public service broadcasting. These choices are often made with some personal sacrifice, typically in the form of lower pay rates. But there may be perceived benefits such as greater stability of employment.

Archetypes: 'somebody in their kitchen or in their car'

Beyond the unifiers, presenters use common listening scenarios. They can be thought of as 'radio spaces'. As an extension of the unifying characteristics, radio spaces are often structural and relational. Radio spaces can be defined as situations where you are quite happy for your ears to be engaged, but not your eyes. From these radio spaces, and the unifiers, presenters build archetypes.

RF: ...one person is a stay at home mum or dad, mostly a mum who's working hard, who've got kids at school or at kindy or in the house somewhere. Who wants and needs to be spoken to as a sophisticated adult. I've got some retirees in my mind as well and also business people in cars who are driving around who need to be told what's happening around town at the moment. (Fidler, 2008)

JV: I suppose I've got half a dozen archetypes in my head: home office, pottering at home, retired, semi-retired, in the car, the busy sales rep, the busy mum. That sort of thing is the kind of thing I've got in my mind. (Valentine, 2008)

BY: I have pretty much just two scenarios that are usually in my mind. And it's usually somebody in their kitchen or in their car... and I know that you can listen in plenty of other scenarios but I suppose that's where I do most of my radio listening, is in the kitchen or in the car. And so I imagine people kind of walking in and out of the room. You know, even if they are kind of pottering around the house it doesn't mean that your radio is like right beside you that whole time. (Young, 2008)

LB: [M]ost days I go in with a picture in my mind of who might be listening and some days I'm thinking about a woman who's in the kitchen who's preparing the dinner for their family or whatever, or a bloke who's in the kitchen preparing dinner for their family, or a guy in a truck on the Western Ring Road... (Burns, 2008)

It is worth noting that the remarkable similarity evident in these responses emerged in the course of the research interviews rather than in response to a specific archetypes question. It is clear that presenters work fluidly with often contradictory ideas and frequently speak into familiar 'spaces' rather than to individuals.

Relationships: 'a lady... crochets my cat a rug every two years'

What emerges over time, for both the presenter and, as Horton and Wohl have established, the audience, is a rich and complex relationship. Horton and Wohl identify the 'intimacy' of the para-social relationship, only to dismiss it 'an imitation and a shadow of what is ordinarily meant by that word' (Horton & Wohl, 1956: 125). Horton and Wohl have not recognised that this relationship is as potentially meaningful for the presenter as it is for their listeners. Tony Delroy, presenter of *Nightlife* on ABC Network Local Radio, provides a particularly powerful example.

Delroy has been presenting his programme for over 20 years. It is heard live across Australia and the various time zones mean that for some listeners it is an early to mid-evening programme and for others a late night show. Over two decades a highly engaged and interactive community has developed – both on the radio and in the ‘real world’.

TD: [I]t's very much in inner club feeling you know. We actually have almost a little network of listeners who contact each other in various states. We had a caller on the other night from Tasmania who said 'oh yes I spoke to Tom.' Tom's in Queensland. And they have sort of got to know each other through the program. We've actually had a wedding as a result of the show as well. Magpie, from Bingera, she was going to Queensland and met up with one of our other listeners. He sort of said 'Oh look if you're coming to Queensland you might as well stay here. I've got a space'. So anyway six months down the track they announced their engagement and got married. (Delroy, 2008)

Delroy was of course invited to the wedding but unfortunately could not go.

I worked on Delroy's show one night and was struck by the sense of community. Delroy is like a benevolent patriarch, with a genuine interest in, and affection for, his listeners. At the end of the show we went out for a drink – it was a live studio audience and a relatively rare visit to Perth, so quite significant. I had understood that the programme making team would be going out, but I had not anticipated that the audience would come too. Many of them did. It seemed to be something of a tradition and Delroy recognised people and greeted them as old friends. I suggested to him that these people had become part of his life in a real way.

TD: Oh very much so. And in fact that has always been the basis of the program. So that even though you might be separated by three thousand kilometres, there is an attachment. People recognise voices. Tom has become a real icon for us. He is in his early eighties. He is a former engineer on the Queensland railways, was a member of the union for about 70 years, a member of the ALP for almost as long and he's based in Toowoomba. He's a salt of the earth sort of person and comes out with yeah sort of the left of centre stuff but you know a real traditional Australian view. And that is often what people seek. It's not only me, it's the regulars and the characters that call in. (Delroy, 2008)

Remember Tom is an ordinary listener – or at least he used to be. Over time, he has gone from being just another regular talkback caller to being part of the fabric of the programme; someone who other listeners not only tune in to hear, but also to interact with independently of the programme.

Tom is not an isolated example

TD: it's amazing I've got a lady who crochets my cat a rug every two years. And I mean it's a really intricate rug. You know it must take her weeks and weeks to put together. And you know it turns up 'for Barbara' you know 'love Vera'. (Delroy, 2008)

But whilst there is a sense that Horton and Wohl regard the para-social relationship as being a little sad and desperate, Delroy's language reflects a relationship perceived as more equal and reciprocal.

TD: Often particularly late night is a very lonely experience for some people. And it is one of those things where particularly if you're older and lonely, a connection like that is important. I had a really sad letter from somebody the other day saying you know, 'Your voice is the only thing that I interact with during the day'. She said, 'I often lie in bed talking to the radio because you've become part of my life'. And that's what radio does. You know it's a very personal medium. And I guess if you're there long enough you start to become part of the furniture. And I guess that's what your aim is, to become a friend. (Delroy, 2008)

Delroy treats this listener and her circumstances with respect. He's happy to be able to provide the companionship she seeks and needs. He sees that as a significant part of his job. He does not stigmatise or ridicule her for the relationship she has formed with him. Despite the limitations of a lack of shared physical space Delroy deals with the relationship as something akin to ‘social’ rather than ‘para-social’. It is an attitude that is consistent amongst presenters in this study.

Relationship troubles: 'hate that came through the airwaves'

It is important not to romanticise this connection. If these relationships reflect something authentic they must also be imbued with all the complexity and ambivalence of any physically proximate relationship. This is indeed the case. Presenters recount incidents of hostile audience reactions, particularly when they are new to a programme and its existing audience. Audiences do not like changes and will express their dissatisfaction. The instant communication functions of mobile phone text messaging and now, services like Twitter, also provide listeners with the ability to directly pass comment to the presenter in the studio in real time. The distance and relative anonymity of this communication, and perhaps a lack of awareness that presenters access these comments unfiltered, frees some people to say things which are hurtful.

JF: Funny thing actually – text messages. We now have a screen where text messages come through very very thick and fast I can assure you. You get such instant feedback now because you can adjust the screen to refresh. I've got it set on refreshing every 30 seconds. So you'll be halfway through an interview and you'll be starting to get feedback, whether you want it or not, unfiltered, directly. It's not in any way monitored or checked or edited or vetted. It just comes straight onto the screen in front of you... My second day back I started getting a whole lot of texts half way through an interview saying "go back on holidays you've really lost it" or "what happened to you while you were away" or "I can't remember now... people will send you a text when they'd never call in on talkback. People who don't want to be identified or want to be anonymous or who are busy in the car, or they ring in and the phones are engaged or whatever. They just send a text now. So you know you've got a whole other way of the audience telling you whether you're doing a good job or a bad job. (Faine, 2008)

Faine brushes this kind of feedback aside but other presenters feel it much more keenly. It can represent a significant distraction and be quite painful. These comments are generally in the minority and, as Faine points out, these forms of communication provide access to a broader range of listeners than talkback.

The more interactive exchange of talkback can also produce some problematic encounters for presenters. Geraldine Mellet presents on 720 ABC Perth. Mellet says she mostly experiences her audience as 'very generous'. But she recounts an experience where that was not the case.

GMe: There have been times in the last year where I've had a bit of a shock I suppose. I felt that they weren't the people I knew I was talking to. I was filling in on the Morning Program, so primarily current affairs, and Australian Story had run the third in a series of stories on a local trial... A lot of strong feeling in the community that the guys who were put in gaol for the crime and then appealed and got out had been unflatteringly portrayed by Australian Story. I happened to be there when the third episode was being run and I did an interview with the producer. And the amount of hate that came through the radio waves was extraordinary. It felt like there was a mob waiting for these guys but also waiting for anybody who dared even go near the subject... I got off air that day and I thought I don't know that I actually want to go back on again. (Mellett, 2008)

Difficult encounters with an audience is not an easy thing to discuss. Presenters work hard to remain positive about their listeners. If we accept the Symbolic Interactionists' perspective that the self is constructed in the social context, it is easier to be warm and companionable if you like the people you are talking to. Presenters are conflicted by negative interpretations of the audience. Mellet says, 'Part of me thinks that's dreadful. You know I should be this all neutral person. But I'm a human being. I have a different opinion' (Mellett, 2008). Presenters manage these negative encounters by recognising them as isolated events that reflect a minority of the audience. They work hard not to let a few individuals spoil that dynamic or do interpersonal damage.

Talkback is one of the most important elements for building the relationship between presenters and their audiences. All the presenters I interviewed say they 'love it'. They are frequently reminded, and reiterate, the widely accepted belief that talkback callers are not representative of the broader audience. But the viscerality of their interaction is so powerful that no rational defence can keep them from becoming the primary reference.

Talkback is such a significant element that a comprehensive exploration of the data from this study is beyond the scope of this paper and will be published separately. However, some of the impacts are already evident.

Sensing the audience: 'however hippy trippy you want to get about it.'

With experience presenters become familiar and more relaxed in the on-air space. The accumulation of the elements outlined above means that what emerges is something that is often more intuitively than rationally understood. Long-time cabaret performer and high profile fill-in ABC presenter Mark Trevorrow responds to the question of how he constructs his audience this way:

MT: I don't need to because I know exactly who they are.

HW: But it's different from theatre where you're getting that immediate feedback.

MT: No no no. You do.

HW: You still feel it?

MT: I feel the feedback... the difference between being on air live on television or radio and doing recording is just profound. And the only way to explain the difference is that there is something coming back. There is a collective conscious or whatever you want to call it – however hippy trippy you want to get about it. There is no denying you can feel them. And you also sense when they're getting bored. You sense when they're offended. You can feel their reactions. You just feel it. It's a two-way process.

Other presenters echo this 'sixth sense' for the audience – particularly when broadcasting live.

JF: there's a joke we used to make about a guest, you could hear the sound of radios being turned off all over Melbourne. (Faine, 2008)

TD: You can feel it in the water... (Delroy, 2008)

If we accept these accounts, we do not yet have the concepts to be able to fully make sense of them. We do not have frameworks for understanding relationships with a collective, with all their endless flux and openness, as something that is material. What is evident is the skill of radio presenters in working with the dialectic of both the unknown and known audience. Much of the institutional and market framed constructions endeavour to create a closed picture of the audience. In reality presenters work with an open concept of audience which can accommodate a host of overhearers and is endlessly changing. In presenters' accounts we hear the constant play in their conception between individuals, characters, archetypes, and the generality of the mass of people listening to the radio.

That's all we have time for...

There are multiple narratives available for understanding audiences. What has been absent from these stories are the presenter or persona understandings of audience. Presenters have not had an opportunity to tell their story and their intelligence about this relationship has not been recognised. This account is the beginning of an effort to add these narratives, and the relational experience of interacting with listeners, to the broad palette of audience studies.

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Chapter 6 | Radio Glocalization and New Patterns of Social Participation



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The radio's afterlife. Three spheres of communication and community

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Abstract:

The converged radio reaches out for new areas of both transmission and communication. The article mentions three different fields where radio programs, so far transitory, now become constantly present in the way that can be described as 'the radio afterlife'. The situation results in new way of perception which paradoxically often resembles the traditional role of radio as centre that gathered community around. The first of the spheres is constituted by the radio stations' web-pages, internet portals, or podcasts where radio archives (or part of them) can be accessed. Second sphere is the radio fans' internet activity. Third area is revealed by the migration of radio personalities from traditional to web-radio. The process can be enhanced by the fact that internet is a space free from pressure determined by political or commercial factors. The paper is based on examples from Polish radio, as well as from different types of web-sites. They indicate how radio messages are still alive (despite the fact that certain programs are not broadcasted anymore or legendary DJ's are dead), and how modern technology facilitates it. The important field of interest in this context is the presence of community circles that arise around some radio shows, stations or DJ's.

Keywords: radio, communication, community, interactivity

Introduction

The transformation of radio, or its convergence with other media, brought changes in many fields. Obvious statement is that traditional model of communication is now enhanced by the visual elements and non-verbal context (i.e. radio on TV or accessed through web-sites). Radio broadcast is accessible not only by air but also by mobile-phones, internet, and television. It is certainly big advantage of modern technologies, but some claim that multiplication of accessible sources devaluated one of the radio's main features – unrepeatability and uniqueness. Old radio fulfilled with unrecorded live shows, improvised and living only through the memory of listeners is passing by. On the other hand, the new radio and other media give some programs or people an opportunity of second life.

Below I would like to give a quick glance at what one might call "a radio's afterlife". I use this term to describe situations in which the radio content can exist for some prolonged time. The radio production resembles performing arts. They both happen in process: listening to the radio is like participating in concert or watching a theatre show. They both give the audience some impressions and amusement which fade away, as time passes by.

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But in modern radio what once was transitory may now be recorded and re-played, sometimes it even may be re-built. Below I give three examples of such "afterlife spheres" based on cases from Polish market.

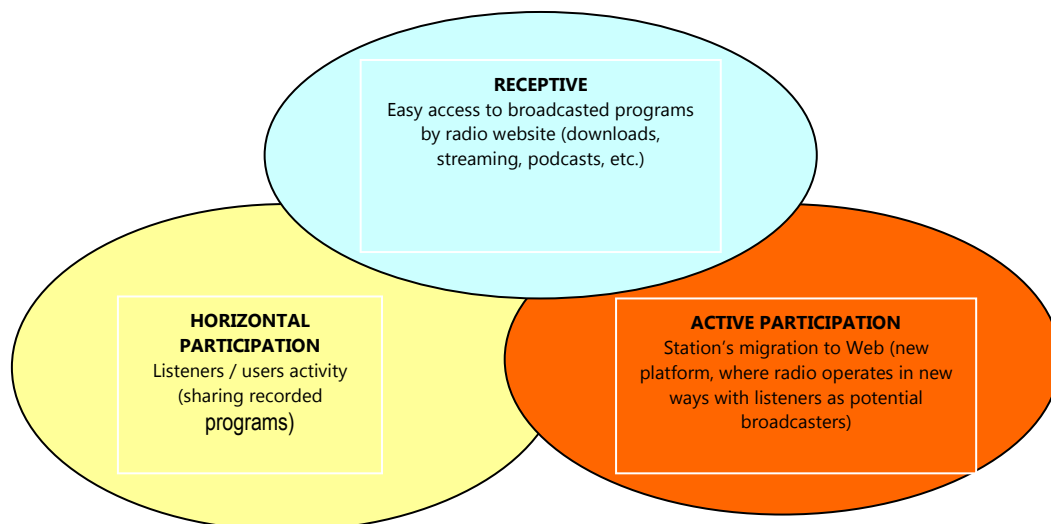
The first of the spheres is constituted by the radio stations' web-pages, internet portals, or podcasts where radio archives (or part of them) can be accessed. The radio output can be 'immortalized' through them, as many of live programs can be played at anytime in the future.

Second sphere is the radio fans' internet activity. People who like certain radio stations, specific programs or DJ's create small communities through internet blogs, forums or social networks. Their common fascination with the radio occurs in different forms: i.e. creation of web-pages, discussion groups exchanging recorded programs, meetings in 'real life', but also making music or other forms of art inspired by their favourite radio icons.

Third area is revealed by the migration of radio personalities from traditional to web-radio. The process can be enhanced by the fact that internet is a space free from pressure determined by political or commercial factors. Therefore making one's own program can be more uncompromising and staying in touch with listeners is easier. By the example of Radio Wnet I would like to show how the experiment of community radio that could not function within public or commercial sector is conducted in the internet.

Thus the concept of 'the radio afterlife' which consists of three spheres mentioned above. The listeners do not allow their favourites go away. They demand an access to old programs through radio archives, they want personalities on-line while not on air, because they feel important part of communication process. They expect a dialogue with broadcaster, if it is possible. If not, they may become broadcasters themselves, multiplying the radio work from the past, so that other members of their community might listen, comment and pass it further to others.

The paper is based on examples from Polish radio and different types of web-sites related to radio content. They indicate how radio messages are still alive (despite the fact that certain programs are not broadcasted anymore or legendary DJ's are dead), and how modern technology facilitates it. The important field of interest in this context is the presence of community circles that arise around some radio shows, stations or DJ's. The paper researches how they operate and what is the source of their strength and popularity.



Tab. 1 – Three spheres of 'radio afterlife' in the internet

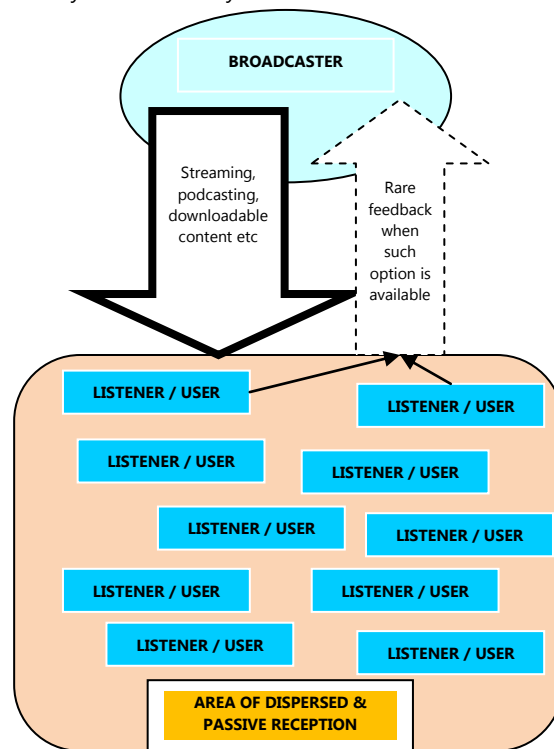
Radio as the area of access. 'Receptive activity'

First space of radio's prolonged life seems obvious, so I will not dwell on it in detailed way. Generally it may be described as an area of access to radio archives and programs that already have been broadcasted on air.

They may be divided into many categories such as: downloadable content, listenable but not downloadable content, podcasts, live-streaming and many others. Such options are available through official radio Web-sites, but also through fan-pages. The first case relates to all three sectors: public, commercial and social. In Poland the leaders in terms of quantity and quality of material are public broadcasters. The communicational role of such radio content available through official web-site is strengthening the broadcaster position and expanding its brand in the internet. It does not change relation with the audience. Listeners just have an easier access to some programs, unlimited by time of broadcast. They remain passive consumers, who occasionally post opinion about downloaded program, but on many times they do not have even such option.

The diagram below describes the situation. 'Strong' communication is directed downwards, from the broadcaster (via web-pages), while the audience is predominantly 'passive receiver'. The rare cases of activity (i.e. posts under downloadable programs) are not replied by the broadcaster and do not seem to influence him. The listeners are also dispersed – they do not communicate with each other and exist separately. Of course they may run such actions, but they happen outside the 'official' channel.

It may be said that the radio offers opportunities for the community to come into being, but does not give too many incentives. Many broadcasters in Poland still do not fully take advantage of such potential commercial possibilities. Strengthening relations with the internet audience could be certainly very profitable. Especially, when the traditions of 'radio family' already exists in many forms².



Tab. 2 – Communication in the sphere of 'passive reception'

² I.e.: 'The family of Radio Maryja' consists of many local groups of listeners of Polish biggest community stadion – the religious 'Radio Maryja'; but also Polish Radio used to have a very strong response to the radio-drama serie called 'The Matysiak Family' – the listeners treated them as their own family and tried to help them by sending letters with god advises or even giving presents

Interesting fact is that sometimes official web-site direct users into unofficial fan-sites³. Sometimes 'the official' material is incomplete: some programs from the past might be deleted or were not recorded at all. But some of them were tape-recorded by the fans, who later share them with others. This will lead us to the second sphere of radio afterlife.

Radio personality

Traditional radio was a medium of contact between human beings. Even if it was fulfilled mainly by the music, the presenters used to communicate something through it. In the era of format radio the concept started to fade out, but still the presenter may become something more than a plain DJ or journalist: a personality (a respected authority, a friend, even a role-model). Radio changes though, personalities are rare, they tend to go away, sometimes forever. Can modern radio provide them with a kind of 'immortality'? Sometimes their voices remain hidden in the archives and can be broadcasted or uploaded for the web-site. But the dialogue is not possible any more. Yet the phenomenon of 'converged radio' (or 'web 2.0 radio') can prove otherwise.

Let's have a look at the second of given questions: How the radio fans can extend the existence of radio personalities that went away? I will analyze the case of late Polish music journalist Tomasz Beksiński. This son of famous painter Zdzisław Beksiński begun his work as a radio DJ in 1983. It lasted until 1998, when he committed suicide on Christmas Eve. His professional career was devoted to Polish Radio – Channel One, then Two and finally Channel Three. His activities also included writing and translations of movies: his interpretations of "Monty Python", James Bond and Dirty Harry series are considered to be classics. But what made him a radio icon was the music that he presented.

Let me write a couple of words that would make a figure of Tomasz Beksiński a bit more familiar, as it seems necessary to understand how big impact he had on his audience. To describe Beksiński's DJ'ing style, following McLeish we can use the mix of two terms: personality and expert. McLeish describes "personality" as someone who builds the program around himself while "expert" is concentrated more on the main subject, in this case – music (McLeish 2007: 189). Beksiński was certainly both, although he was neither a strictly expert, who gives opinion only about music, nor a "personality" concentrated solely on himself or on the entertainment he's supposed to deliver.

On the contrary to widely known (also outside Great Britain) legendary BBC Radio One DJ John Peel, who had been for the decades in the avant-garde of new musical styles, Beksiński's musical taste was inalterable. John Peel easily switched from prog-rock to punk-rock, saying once about Yes record that it was their last album he would ever present and in fact he went into the bands like the Clash or the Fall. Beksiński's fascination for early King Crimson or Barclays's James Harvest lasted from the beginning to the end of his career. Thus, the title of his favourite song by the band called Camel – "Stationary Traveler" may be his accurate description.

The audience then knew what they might expect: Ultravox or Bauhaus, Peter Hamill, Legendary Pink Dots, Genesis etc., but certainly no soul music (as he hated horns), pop, dance or punk (unless it was Siouxsie and the Banshees. But she got(h) the right look). His musical taste oscillated around such genres as new romantic, art- and progressive rock and gothic. His programs were full of references to vampyres or black cats, but also humorous, wit remarks often relating to his personal feelings. It may seem that the entourage was quite childish and we may have association with the "emo" subculture, but then this term was not in use. Term "gothic" might be more appropriate.

Pretty soon his programs started to gather a dedicated audience – both because of the music (which wasn't very frequently played in other antennas) and his personality. Certainly that mixture was exceptional,

³ It was the case of Polish Radio Channel 3, which official site dedicated to the 50th Anniversary of their legendary DJ Tomasz Beksiński re-directed users to the fan-site <http://www.tbmp3.republika.pl/strona/strona.shtml> that contained some of his shows recorded by his fans

especially in the late eighties and early nineties, when public radio didn't offer much in that sense and when private stations only started to operate (in 1991). Beksiński was one of the first radio DJs who used his own musical taste and personal features to create an exclusive atmosphere of confession-based community. What was interesting – his programs did not have the “phone-in” formula, and his personal reluctance made him avoid an e-mail communication. So the community was based on his own “confessions”, and fans’ letters sent by mail were the main form of communication:

Andy Latimer played for the beginning and it was “Stationary Traveller” again, the song that returns on special occasions... (...) Dear listeners, I was listening to that record about a week and a half ago, when it was finally released. My mum baked a plum cake which reminded me how I had listened to that record for the first time – it was through Channel Three in the summertime of 1972. My mom’s plum cake was then a regular thing but it won’t be anymore and this is why I would like to dedicate our today’s meeting to her.⁴

This is an example of confession typical for his programs. Such personal comments were rare at the time, so the listeners may have felt privileged to be part of the exclusive circle. Of course the music was the main element of attraction, but an air of mystery and exceptionality were inseparable. Listeners also awaited for lyrics translations (which was one of his trademarks), vampire stories, short reviews of horror movies or some loose opinions about the way of the world is going (and it was certainly the wrong way). No other person could fully replace him – Polish Radio Channel Three in the late nineties had a couple of other DJs who played similar music, but the program although of the same title “Trójka pod księżycem” (“Channel Three Under the Moon”) was lacking the specific atmosphere provided by Beksiński.

His program on the 11th December 1999 was meant to be the last one in the year of 1999, but it happened to be not only his farewell to the Twentieth Century, but also a personal farewell to life. Let me give you a sample of that:

The hands of clock are ticking inexorably, just about three weeks left until the end of the century and millennium. Next week’s program will be led by Piotr Kosiński... In two weeks we’ll have Christmas, in three: year 2000. Do you realize that today we are meeting for the last time... in the nineties of the XXth century? And it may be our last meeting at all; who knows what will happen...

What happened was his suicidal death, committed on Christmas Eve 1999. In fact it was his third attempt of taking his life’s away, this time successful. This death also became the beginning of the legend that lasts until this day. If an average radio listener of age 30-40 was asked what have in common Monty Python, King Crimson and vampires the answer would be Tomasz Beksiński.

Now we come to the question of Tomasz Beksiński’s legacy. As I mentioned before: public radio has relatively big sphere of accessible archives, but not in this case. Except a few occasional events (like on the 10th Anniversary of death), Polish Radio abandoned his heritage. So the afterlife went to the Internet and other places.

There are at least few web-sites dedicated to Beksiński and they are entirely fan-pages. What is interesting, some of them offer possibility of posting tape-recorded materials with his programs in MP3 format. The most important of them are: www.nosferatu.art.pl, www.krypta.whad.pl, www.tbmp3.prv.pl. They offer many options i.e.: large collection of mp3 files with auditions, posted through the guest-book, links to many small Internet stations and on-air radio stations (like Polish community station in Dublin NEAR 90,3 FM) etc.

Some other events to commemorate him were the music festival “Love Never Dies” in his hometown Sanok in 2009, two television documentaries (“Dr. Jimmy” and “The Diary of Preannounced Death”) and many local music and film events (like movie show, with his voiceover). The voice of the community can be found not only on the dedicated web-sites, but also on YouTube (where fragments of his programs are posted too):

I rememeber it as if it was yesterday /GrandelPL/

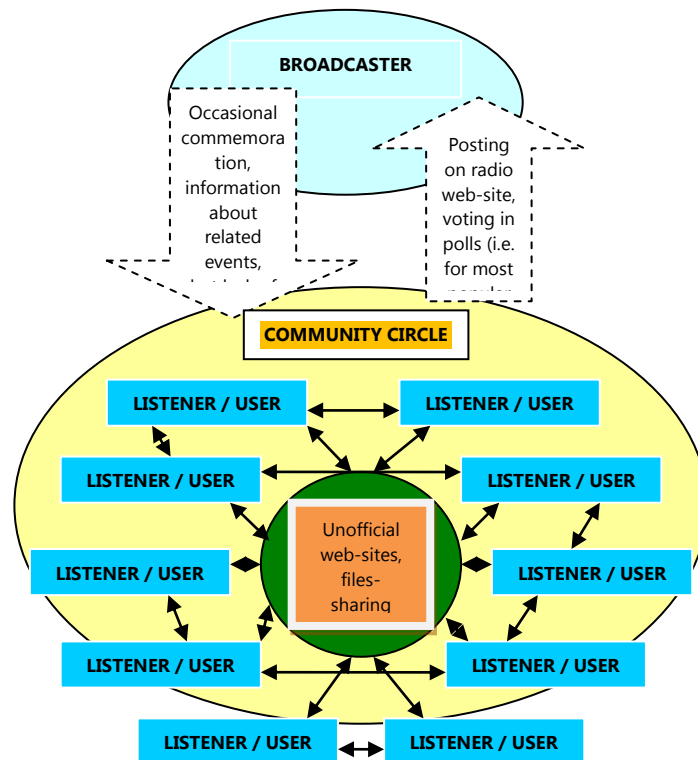
⁴ Polish Radio Channel Three, „Trójka pod księżycem” („Channel Three Under The Moon) show, 27.09.1998

It was the lyrics of the Sisters of Mercy song called "I Was Wrong". These were cult programs also because of Tomek's translations. You can find a lot of them (programs) in the net profiles of Chomik (which is popular files-sharing portal) so listen recalling the old times. /Smurf1111⁵

The music that created generation one may truly say, quoting Mark Fisher (Fischer 2007: Xvii-Xviii). It was the man and the music that contributed to creation of today's thirty-something-year old generation. Some of them still feel the sense of belonging to a greater circle, despite the fact that the radio does not offer any insight into the heritage of Beksiński. What happened in the fifties and the sixties in the USA and later in Great Britain, in Poland happened three decades later. There was a generation formed both through the historical events of the Solidarity movement, John Paul II pontification, martial law of 1981 and regaining freedom in 1989, as well as through the musical experience provided by people like Tomasz Beksiński and few others (like Piotr Kaczkowski or Wojciech Mann). The traces of that phenomenon now are being described in Polish literature (novels by Krzysztof Varga or Paweł Dunin-Wąsowicz) and the cinema ("Beats of Freedom"). The sad point is that the radio which was the only source of music then (Western records were practically unavailable at that time), abandoned the community into creation of which it had played important part.

The case of Beksiński afterlife legacy shows that his former audience started to integrate outside the radio channel. The Web created a space where it is possible. What's more, official web-site of Polish Radio sometimes directs users searching for the sound archives with Beksiński's voice to fan-pages.

What is "the communicational balance" then? The audience loosens its ties with the broadcaster, but tightens ties with each other. The "afterlife" communication in this case looks can be described like this:



Tab. 3 – Communication in the sphere of 'horizontal communication'

⁵ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gxDXf8IMzco>

The communication is based on the basis of exclusivity and loyalty. Being part of a circle means also to dialogue with other members. It is more important than to contact with a broadcaster, especially when the radio seems not to be very interested in sustaining the listeners' fascination with a late DJ.

Radio Wnet and its 'active community'

Finally we come to the third case of radio afterlife: Radio Wnet. In fact it is as much a radio as a social network. The origins of Radio Wnet date back to 2009, where Krzysztof Skowroński, the head of Polish Radio Channel Three was fired from his post due to political reasons⁶. As a sign of protest, couple of other journalists left the station. Skowroński says:

Radio Wnet was born in a tea-house on Francuska street. The group of people who left Chanel Three wondered what to do, and all we knew was that it must be the radio – so we created Radio Wnet – a multi-media social network⁷

Skowroński was an experienced journalist, who was part of original Radio Zet team in the 1990's. This commercial station soon became the leader on Polish market and Skowroński was a founding father of some most popular programs including political talk-show "Breakfast with Radio Zet". In 2000 he and some other co-founders quit (in protest against station's policy of 'dumbing down') and soon joined Polish Radio Channel Three, where he became a Chief Head in 2006. He also collaborated with television – both of public and private sector. In 2009 despite the success he made at Channel Three, he was fired.

Radio Wnet is, as he and other journalists claim, an attempt to build "a truly public & truly social medium" – free from political influences, but deeply interested in public matters. It may be called a second life of a project, that did not have a chance to exist in neither commercial nor public radio formula – therefore I put it in a category of "radio afterlife".

The radio mission is "to increase the level of freedom in Polish media". The internet platform on which it is built (by the way, name "wnet" is a word-play – it means "soon" or "suddenly", but also "into a net!" or more precisely "into a Web!") enables adding various materials – not only by the journalists but also listeners / users. Materials presented on web-site apart from audio may be of video, graphic or text character. They are not removed (unless their authors decide otherwise), so users have non-stop access to whole content since the beginnings of the station. Current live streaming is provided by web-site, but the radio exist also on-air: by the courtesy of Radio Warszawa and Radio Nadzieja some of Radio Wnet programs are broadcasted live from a provisional studio in Hotel Europejski in Warsaw through their channels.

Radio has no specific format (this is not just an observation, but also a statement from the official web-site) and is open to every truth. Streaming transmission is accessible 24/7, but the part from midnight is fulfilled with replays, and the music is broadcasted for 6-10 hours per day. Other programs occupy morning and evening hours. How does it work? There are three groups of "content creators" and three respective levels of participation:

- unregistered listeners
- the Republic
- the Academy
- Free Antenna

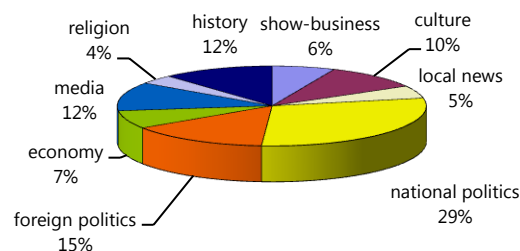
Except them, there are professional journalists who work or collaborate with Radio Wnet and who act as tutors for the members of Academy.

- 1) First group consists of passive receivers. They have full access to published material, but cannot post any comments. But as soon, as they register and create profile they become "the republicans".

⁶ www.radiownet.pl

⁷ *Poranek Radia Wnet*, 11.01.2010

- 2) The so called Republic gives the register users an opportunity of making their own internet radio channels, called @R (pronounced "ether"). The number of channels is unlimited, they may be of different subjects and may be joined with others. But it is more than just a plain audio channel; the Republicans are entitled to publish all types of material: also video or text.
- Currently there are 1329 registered members: the Republicans. Among them there are professional journalists, social workers and activists, Members of Parliaments (both National and European), active and retired politicians, but mostly ordinary people. They all act on equal basis. The republicans' content is accessible through the main page of Radio Wnet web-site. Thematically it is very diverse: there are posts about local events, international affairs, art, economy, election, show-business, religion, history etc.



Tab.4 'The Republic of Radio Wnet' content analyse (week 2-9 september 2011)

- 3) Radio Wnet Academy is meant to help people become journalists. It is a university without semesters, marks or payments, where professionals share their knowledge with adepts. To become an adept a Republican needs to present materials through his own @R and they must reach certain number of visits. Then one can expect an invitation to Academy. Other way of being introduced to Academy is recommendation from Radio Wnet journalist, based on the quality of published material.
- The benefits from being a member of Academy are of different character. Firstly, it is a chance to being taught individually by professional tutor. They are in direct contact, not only by phone or e-mail, but also by personal meetings, discussions and assisting at tutor's work. Secondly, once the adept is ready to "graduate" he gets diploma, radio Wnet ID card and is promoted to "Free Antenna".
- 3) Free Antenna is program led and created by those who graduated the Academy. They get their own air-time, this time on regular basis, as the professionals.
- Such structure is based on two major factors:
 - free participation
 - free education

It is worth mentioning that the tutors work voluntarily and without payment, which is another indicator of truly non-profit social medium. The effects of learning process are visible. The audio materials of Free Antenna are of much higher quality than those of the beginners. European Podcast Award in Non-profit category for Borys Kozielski, the author of podcast titled "Positive Haven" proves that the Academy has already brought effects. But the awards are not the aim. There are more reasons behind active participation and will to learn. Kozielski says:

I always dreamed about small, local radio which operates in the neighborhood and is listened to by the people you meet around you block, in local shop, at the bus stop or in the school your kid goes to. We see each other so much,

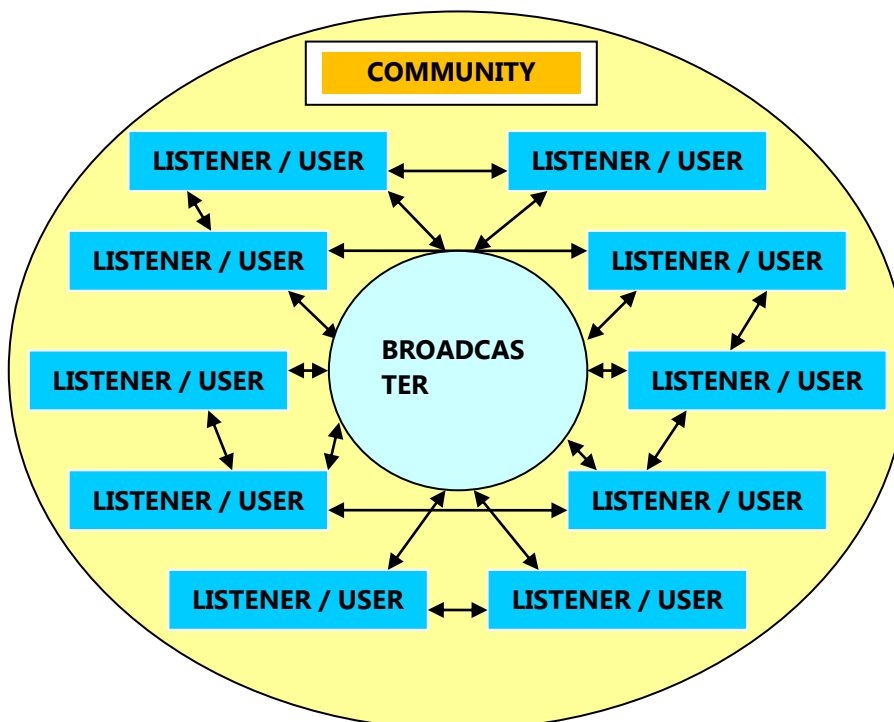
but know so little. What is 512 bus driver's hobby? Where to find good place to eat in nice company? What do they play in local cinema and theater during the weekend? What is going on in our community centre "Zacisze"? It would be good to better know each other, we don't have to be anonymous. We can meet through our radio. Everyone may come and help to build up.

It can be said that Radio Wnet acts as an incubator for new, Internet-based local radios, where radio fans can find tools and knowledge to become radio producers.

Since I can remember radio as a medium and an institution was in the first place, as far as I'm concerned. Being still kids me and my brother used to make our own radio dramas. Then came local radio in small town where I had my own show. The road towards is winding, but I have a vision of certain radio with certain programs; that's why I got to Radio Wnet, where I can pursue my dreams. You can find two of my stations here. /Krzysztof Szczepanik/

Sometimes decision of joining the Republic is more spontaneous and sudden. The activity of users may be more or less frequent and may have different forms: i.e. presenting favorite music, political commentary, drama etc. The discourse is therefore multidimensional. The internet form of Radio Wnet allows its listeners to compose program by travelling from one channel to another. They are often receivers and broadcasters in one, and participate simultaneously in many dialogues. Intertextuality and hypertextuality become main features of communications process. The engagement of users can create certain topic and make it dominant in Radio Wnet discourse. It is the recent case of discussion about law introducing GMO (Genetically Modified Organisms) to Polish agriculture. Mainstream media avoided the subject, so it was social media and Non-Government Organizations which led campaign against GMO. Radio Wnet, both through their Republicans and the main channel, actively took part in campaign and for several days it was their main focus of attention. Finally the new law was vetoed by the President, so the citizens' protest were successful.

Communicational relations in the sphere represented by Radio Wnet can be shown in the diagram below:



Tab. 5 – Communication in the sphere of 'active participation'

The whole communication is a complex network of relations, where listeners (or users) can communicate within the circle either with each other or / and with a radio (the main broadcaster). Some of them (the Republicans) are also the creators of the radio content. Thus the names as 'prosumer' (Toffler 1980), 'pro-am' (Leadbetter, Miller 2004) or 'conducer' (Garlick 2004) can be applied. Radio Wnet seems to be an extremely interesting experiment of independent community radio. Time will show if it will develop further and gather more attention. So far it functions outside the mainstream. Unlike commercial or public media it does not have commercial breaks. Start-up money came from European Union Operational Programme Innovative Economy, but the question is if that's enough to make this "afterlife" project live forever. The recent news is that Radio Wnet transformed its legal status into a cooperative⁸, where all the members have the same rights of voting, regardless the number of shares they hold. It is the practical implementation of project's republican nature. Krzysztof Skowroński himself was elected as a new President of SDP (Polish Journalists Association) – the most important journalists' association in Poland. It is a first case in history when someone from outside the mainstream occupies such prestigious position.

Summary

'The radio afterlife', though possible due to the modern technology, is based mainly on the listeners / users activity. Downloadable content, radio archives, discussion forums, blog – they all live thanks to their users. Without them all the facilities are "empty options". Internet, Web 2.0 where radio dwells offer a chance of instant feedback from the audience. More precisely it is a series of feedbacks, as comments or opinions expressed under presented content may lead to another kind of activity: a new program, discussion topic or activity in real life. Sometimes the radio immortality manifests in taking the new roles by the listeners. They may become guardians of radio personalities' heritage (as in case of late Tomasz Beksiński) or try to walk the road drawn by their idol-authorities, following their footprints and trying themselves as a web-radio journalists or social activists. Thanks to the modern technology the number of such individual fascinations creates a network. It is a new community, which brings back the memories of golden age of radio, where the radio-set was able to gather people around, giving them not only knowledge, humour and entertainment but also own mythology and sense of belonging to a greater circle. The communities are of different types (as shown above) and their functions may be different – hence the types of communication process may appear in variable ways. This article attempts to sketch some of them – in the spheres which seem to be quite distinctive, though certainly do not fulfill the whole spectrum of possibilities.

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Radio and the Web: BBC Radio as a new model of radio communication

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Abstract:

The internet has placed traditional radio in a new environment with regard to the production and management of different audio contents. Communication structure was altered and it's still developing, reason which we should try to understand the implications of this change while talking about procedures, content presentation and consequences. This study suggests an exhaustive online Portuguese radio talk analysis and a comparison with what may consist in an alternative version, the BBC Radio website. The conclusions reflect the advantages that BBC structure brings to media scenario, although insufficient, while verifying that many opportunities are given to listeners to step on the public sphere, that connection is not always well succeeded.

Keywords: radio; Internet; BBC; comparison

Introduction

This study aims at improving the understanding the modern communication paradigm and the challenges brought by radio technology and, more important, its presence in the web. When we started to study online radio talk stations, on its different manifestations and capacities, solely on a singular analysis of the oldest electronic instrument that history recalls. Without forgetting the past, web radio guidelines bring out new manifestations of social expression and recent concerns, which are a result of a rapid formats emergence and audio technologies.

Radio imposed trough time as one of the most important means of communication and information, because it showed news first and could be listened without any cost and while doing other things.

The structure was altered and it is still developing, which is why we should try to understand the implications of this change while analyzing procedures, content presentation and consequences. Computers have had an outstanding influence in human relations. Clearly, the technological overgrowth combined with the communication process, allows and sustains the modifications that we see in human interaction, supported by technological mediation, from which Internet is the overriding engine.

Therefore, it is important to understand how radio talk websites are suitable for Internet's impact and technique possibilities. This approach relates to Internet's self-development and the web radio, as a new media that is capable of producing new ways on using information and communication science field reconstruction.

Thus, may we say that, Portuguese radio talk online radios are formatted? And are Portuguese radio stations really taking advantage of Internet facilities and outcomes? Could British BBC model represent advantages compared to Portuguese radio stations? What are they? (And prime inconvenient?). This study proposes an exhaustive online analysis of Portuguese radio talk (Rádio Clube Português, TSF, Antena 1 and Rádio Renascença) and a comparison with what may represent an alternative version, the BBC Radio website. The

conclusions reflect the advantages that the structure brings to media scenario, although insufficient, while verifying that many opportunities are given to listeners to step on the public sphere, and that connection is not always well succeeded.

Throughout an exhaustive analysis about individual characteristics of each radio, all the way through an evaluation of major services, programs, interaction and profile levels, we defined a comparative approach of Portuguese online radio talk and with international BBC Radio, which results in a combination of traditional broadcasting elements, with complementary contents that we may find on a web radio. Once we have this data, we can try to present the similarities and differences between each other.

On technologic brave new world there is a permanent come across between the unlimited number of worlds and possible circumstances. This is, in part, its sumptuousness and also its biggest threat, while looking at information processes, and formulas increasingly pluralists, multidimensional and instantaneous. The events are unique, ignoring time and space information. The media information changes our perception, by breaking down frontiers that used to separate communities, altering the rhythm of information circulation. However, let's not make the assumption that radio didn't bring anything new to media scenario, because it was precisely audio invasion (and then visual) that changed forever the way of making news.

Radio and Information Society

The conceptualization of Habermas's public sphere (1962) brings a new angle approach. We are fundamentally talking about the new communication paradigm that entails a "democratic" model between medium, message, receiver and sender. Canavilhas (p. 1) proposes a public sphere concept "(...) as a social life instance that implies the public exercise of rationality around collective issues or a domain of social life associated to public sphere formation." It is exactly public opinions – or should we say published opinions – in media with visibility maintain other circulating opinions and the discussion on the sphere that surround it.

There is a negative side putting our hopes on technological shift. It's not going to be radio salvation just as we know it today. In all technologies rooting process, there are different degrees of acceptance, or maybe a social deficit, when different social division is exposed to technology. If there is a strong preservation of public space and the alternative, it makes sense to talk about communication process, message exchange, proposal debate and a search for solutions that please everyone.

Beyond cultural diverse, radio gives a quick answer to its consumers. It is not a medium so centralize as television. And, today, with the help of new technologies and interactivity that already exists between sender and receiver, radio isn't just sound. It is already possible to reflect on what we ear or to respond to what we disagree. According to Rui de Melo (2011: 65-67),

"Information Society expression refers to a social and economic development mode where the acquisition, storage, processing, appreciation, transmission, distribution and information dissemination (...) have a central role in economic activity, in wealth creation, citizen quality of life definition and its cultural practices (...)

We aim, as a first hypothesis, a development crises in Information Society that lies on a weak convergence among contents and means; It verifies an attempt to gain time, especially in Europe, with the mass not so present. Europe was, for many years, the stage for mass media, where contents were directed to everyone. News were simpler so that they could be understood by big masses. As a consequence the consecutive lost for accuracy and deepening facts. Cádima (1999: 92) points out some changes:

"Transition to IS (according to G7): large global network band interaction; Transcultural formation and education; Support libraries, museums, electronic art galleries; Environment management, natural resources, health; Public administration interconnection; Multimedia global inventory execution about projects and studies to promote and develop Global Information Society."

Nowadays, the changes are obvious for the consequences that technologies and Information Society bring. It's disturbing that a legitimacy crisis is killing the significance and institutions functions. But power becomes empty and its space is fulfilled by major economic groups, also known as oligopolies. To Parra (2009: 8) it is "understood as a cyberspace where exists a new work distribution, where unique occupations appear and classic ones disappear, innovating market niche emergence" and it becomes necessary a creation and fomentation of actors and active civil agents with the purpose of interaction in communicational scenario. Such digital system as computers and telecommunications are innovations that origin structural amends, either in economical and cultural plan, or in the same system that radio is evolved. Globalization is also an important part of Information Society that assigns to new technologies new propagation levels.

In this scenario radio brings a new debate and a new eye over to under construction cyberspace, projecting a interactive communication between sender and receiver. There is always danger promoting ways of exclusion in society. That exclusion is hidden, but can cause a ditch to what is already known as info-rich and info-poor. Marginalized class, without balanced and equal access to information, determined by its social level or demographic factors.

With this democratization of knowledge we can assist to the appearance of new alphabets, formation, short out distances between the ones that are closer or farther from information. New technologies come to rescue individual means – cell phone, email, homepage – and the construction of mediation field integrated with interactive network system.

Besides in newsrooms it seems that is emerging a new professional: the multimedia journalist. It establishes the professional capacity for communicating and to work n diversity with other media with the same amount of information. It doesn't make sense to think that this type of journalist exclusively records audio, or captures image or writes a text. Media convergence and the possibility to have text, image and sound it's not only desirable but inevitable.

"La información de un medio en lugar de restarle público puede incrementarlo. Quien haya seguido la síntesis de la información en un medio puede ir a outro para ampliarla; Quien haya seguido el testimonio oral en la radio puede acudir a la televisión para ver el testimonio totalmente audiovisual." (Cebrián Herreros, 2001: 247)

Cebrián Herreros (2001: 247) believes that this is an ultimatum to the profession. And it is in this platform where all media come together and blend with each other and all try to dominate and adjust the message. Communication media drop off content production rituals that meet the demands that this model requires.

"Old media involved a human creator who manually assembled textual, visual, and/or audio elements into a particular composition or sequence. (...) New media, in contrast, is characterized by variability. (...) And rather than being created completely by human author, these versions are often in part automatically assembled by a computer. (...) The logic of new media thus corresponds to the postindustrial logic of "production on demand" and "just in time" delivery logics that were themselves made possible by the use of computers and computer networks at all stages of manufacturing and distribution." (Manovich, 2002: 36)

This new journalist is burdened with new responsibilities. It's demanded new teaching skills to these future professionals where technological domain and adjustment capacities are put to test.

Radio's presence on the Internet: "old media" modifications and new resources

Radio is surrounded by new tactics. If on one hand there is a big internal transformation, there is also a large dependence of technique and innovating procedures. But radio still has strong points that made it the maximum example of mass media. Transformation is clear:

"No se trata tanto de radio por Internet sino de una información sonora acompañada de otros elementos paralelos escritos y visuales con capacidad de enlaces, de navegación, de ruptura del sincronismo para dejar libertada al usuario temporal y espacialmente para que acuda cuando quiera." (Cebrián Herreros, 2001: 21)

Obviously these new resources also extend to other fields. Sound quality has improved and even image as an aggregated value to multimedia radio. And, finally, proximal and immediate relation between audiences and radio is infinite and universal, relegating language, geography or time zone.

To combat growing competitiveness radio transforms and is developing strategies to become stronger, such as technical renovation, brought by informatics and digitalization. These modifications allow reducing production costs, management and content distribution to a new radio competitiveness. Wilkinson, Grant and Fisher (2009, p. 3) take on this concept as something more than simple integration of traditional media and Internet:

“(…) convergent journalism presumes that multiple distribution media are available for any story, including variety of print, broadcast, online, and emerging media that include cellular telephones, message boards, etc. Convergent journalism is thus focused on the story, giving reporters, photographers and editors the capability of communicating the news in the manner that best fits that story.”

These technical skills are opening doors to radio's presence on the Internet, allowing automation, agility and profitability.

New contents: the radio that is seen and heard

Internet has forced to rethink radio: how it reaches its audience to step out programs immobility that was confined. Donow and Miles (*cit. in* Martínez-Costa and Moreno Moreno, 2004: 338) confirm this idea, “ lo que está claro es que la radio en la Rede s un concepto que trasciende el concepto de radio tradicional.”

The cases of big companies like BBC News show a changing spirit in relation to traditional media. The network, in 2005, announced a challenge to readers to send photos and videos, to what is known today as citizen journalism. Palácios and Munhoz (*cit. in* Barboza, 2007: 78) claim that BBC website “reported later that they received almost 1000 photos sent by telephone and 20 videos.”

According to Portuguese Statistics Institute, about the application of new technologies in families, in Portugal it is estimated that over a quarter of cell phone users (28,4%) already sent photos or videos, 11,6% receive information about news services and 10,3 % transferred photos or video files directly from cell phone to websites, without using a computer.

Designing new contents and planning not only broadcasting, but also screening new digital supports that force traditional radio broadcasters to adopt a new working and management profile, to ease online convergence specially if “one of the potentials of journalism on the Internet is the use of hyperlinks, offering different levels of reading to the text. However this potential may also be an obstacle, as it implies/forces a non-linear reading which goes against a tradition of four millennia deeply rooted in our culture.” (Canavilhas, 2006: 1)

Internet radio is crossing an interesting visual path, that is still experimental, but that we cannot ignore. The sound landscapes, now visible on the screen, show the listeners/user a new radio feature that once was occult and mysterious. Indeed, in Internet the user experiences a total freedom. And it's the interface and website interactivity that are going to engage the user and invite him to assume an active role in terms of content production.

Contents appear different of conventional radio, behind a new multimedia structure and stimulating the visitor's comeback. The page presentation doesn't confine only to programs. This platform includes journalist presentation, hobbies, news and sound archives. The follow up news is by the minute and always with constant update.

“The website tends to promote radio, allowing direct listening and archives consult (...) the follow up is made by the minute and the space between the event and its publication is the necessary time to write about it, testifying that in Internet there is not periodicity. The idea is seasoning the immediacy with a proper language suitable to be read, a more immediate job than in radio.” (Cordeiro, 2005: 7)

It seems that there isn't still a tangible formula while constructing news websites, because each medium has different products and specific target audiences. One thing is certain: one critic aspect when studying any subject connected to the Web is its homepage, for its unique characteristics and because it is the front door that receives the user. To think in information presentation requires "una nueva concépcion del diseño que va mucho más allá de la estética y debe, sobre todo, facilitar al lector la navegación." (Concha, 2009: 3). Online pages have to respect criteria, especially usability.

Analysis and Comparative Study with BBC Website

The comparison between Portuguese news radios (Rádio Clube Português, TSF, Antena 1 and Rádio Renascença) with international BBC Radio results of a combination of traditional broadcasting elements, with complementary contents that we may find on a online radio. The effort has been made to suit these two vertices and the comparison that will follow. BBC Radio is able to differentiate with an appealing and interactive agenda, with links to programs in a simple and easy access. The negative point is that majority news are sent to BBC News page, which force the user to leave the original page.

Let us see the main differences that we found between BBC and Portuguese news radios represented in chart 1.

	BBC	Portuguese News Radios
Agenda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Appealing /Interactive</i> - <i>Full access to radio interior</i> - <i>Programs/ Podcasts/ Gallery/ Journalist</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Every radio has a positive rating on this area.</i> - <i>Local and online broadcasting</i> - <i>Programs Agenda</i>
Programs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Morning, Afternoon and Evening.</i> - <i>Hypertext construction</i> - <i>Areas/Sections</i> - <i>News Headlines with own space</i> - <i>Images/ External and Internal Links</i> - <i>Most heard / Most comments</i> - <i>Negative point: collision with BBC News website</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Main programs</i> - <i>Rádio Clube Português only shows highlighted programs and one single news piece.</i> - <i>Headlines and last updates</i> - <i>Inefficiency on weakly subjects.</i>
Sound of the Day	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Updates</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Updates</i>
Archive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Large and diverse</i> - <i>Famous Voices</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>No famous Voices</i> - <i>TSF is the only radio to present a longevity in sound search</i> - <i>Low levels of archive</i>
Search bar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Search bar in every page</i> - <i>Negative point: collision with BBC News website</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Usefull (there is a lack of listed links).</i>
Multimedia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Photo Gallery</i> - <i>Videos only on Homepage</i> - <i>Concern with directing its contents to specific audiences</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Weak Photo gallery (Rádio Clube Português and Antena 1)</i> - <i>Videos on the Homepage</i>
Webcam	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Uses Webcam</i> - <i>Shows approximation to the listener</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Only used by Rádio Clube Português</i>

Chart 1: Traditional Broadcasting and Complementary Contents

BBC makes a clear division about its mission and goals specifically becoming a model that takes advantage of recording audio and knows how to impose in a scenario so competitive. Radio's imaginary knocks down barriers and opens its studio doors. It was also clear that during this comparison the investments made in services

production were not large. If, for one hand, it's an innovating online station with an attractive design and a diverse content display, the same doesn't happen for specific information services.

	BBC	Rádios Nacionais de Informação
Services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No Service production - Low investment in promotion tools - Strong bet in contents and updates instead of links or service promotion - Absence of public utility services and games - Ticket line services and weather 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - TSF takes advantage of audio elements and iconography - Game's presence in TSF - Utility services and ticket line only in TSF - Weather
Technology and RSS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - PDA, MMS/SMS - All programs share the same number in their page - In the lead concerning mobile technologies and interactive services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - PDA present only in TSF and Rádio Renascença - TSF is better in MMS/SMS services - Easy access and updates by the minute
Contacts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Only general contacts are available in the homepage - Telephones, direct email and SMS/MMS number are easy to find. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Every station use the same number for everything
Sports Chart	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - It's present on news radios and sport's radio 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Always present except in Rádio Clube Português
Social Network	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In the end of every page there are links to main virtual communities - Opinion open space - Journalists use Facebook and Twitter 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Links at the end of every page - Only Rádio Renascença doesn't use Facebook
Tv Programs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Is very attached to BBC prime website - Causes some confusion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The only station to offer TV programming is Antena 1 because is associated to a Tv Network
Subscription	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Subscription by email offers a lot of advantages - Allows to involve and share information - Access to links and podcasts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Subscription with last headlines - Present in all portuguese radios
World Map	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Other languages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No translation

Chart 2: Internal and/or Corporate Production

Mobile technologies are number one, because it's obvious that radio is partner of these innovations and can gain if it keeps investing on this field. The negative point is in the confusion that is generated when navigating in various pages from the same economic group that aren't necessarily radio contents.

	BBC	Rádios Nacionais de Informação
Blogs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Privileged mean that helps to know a lit bit more about the station - Feed discussions and debates among the listeners - Helps publicizing image and other feeds. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Is the mirror of radios - Only Rádio Clube Português doesn't use it
Programs Email	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Emails of every program - Telephone and SMS/MMS number available - General station email 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Promote interaction - Rádio Renascença and Rádio Clube Português don't show any direct contact, only a brief description of the program - Station Email and low levels of interaction
Surveys and Chats	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Visible in a small amount - Sharing Music tastes - Absence of Forums and Chats 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Only present in Rádio Clube Português and Rádio Renascença - The other choose Forums
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - It's possible to comment on every show - They have a site to receive complaints 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - It's possible to comment on every show

Comments		- Main tool to get to know listener's opinion
Podcasts	- Assiduos presence	- Always present as a sign of competition with other media

Chart 3: Interactive Services

BBC Radio seems to privilege tasks that involve the listener and make him closer. Up with general station telephones, there is also the email. A general email may be fundamental to who wants to be in contact with the station and obtain a quick answer to its doubts in personalized system.

Conclusion

The study focused on the modifications of an old medium that are notorious: radio still invites to a constant dialogue in its different interventions, giving visibility to opinions that influence and have power when people expose their own experiences. Technologies cannot be denied and new paths are been traced. More than listen, we have radio's physical presence through its front door: the website.

During this investigation, we realized that this stage is clearly interactive, with journey hesitations, but that will translate in a new drawing in global scale, with the implementation of a new broadcasting system and radio content reception.

From the analysis to the main online Portuguese news radios characteristics, we saw that although they give opportunities to listeners to participate in public sphere, that connection is not always well succeeded. These radios, that already have had time to adjust, still insist in making the same mistakes they had made before, creating black holes in communication space.

Radio Clube Português, a Portuguese radio station was always a step back from the others. With a low interactive index, its page reclaims for innovating concepts, for a service offer variety and a professional content processing. BBC Radio model showed notorious advantages. Simpler, it is linear exposing news and has large architecture that displays everything without wearing out the eye. A renewed website that feeds the relation with the listener, similar to traditional radio, by making us feel in contact with the station.

If it isn't impossible to look at the Internet as a threat, radio's traditional activities are no longer seen as news on time, research, listening and top hits source. The Internet showed that is able to effectively compete with radio, because it has potential to correspond to prime social use. More than to be afraid it is important that radio knows how to position in this digital environment of strong interaction and be able to take opportunities that may not be repeated, creating, above all, survival conditions.

The human voice is still the only affective bond, in a radio concept to attached and concentrated in playlist, with no explanations and no intimacy. The main conclusion is that radio in Internet loses its identity, because of all that is lost in translation and by presenting very similar to thousands of other media websites. The human voice, that is intimate, emerges from this scenario, however, as the only identifying radio element that allows radio on the web a partial reencounter with its lost identity.

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University radio stations in Brazil and Portugal – The integration between interactive proposals of Rádio Universitária do Minho and Rádio Universidade de São Paulo

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Abstract:

This paper emphasizes the actions of University of São Paulo Radio (Brazil) and Radio University of Minho in Braga (Portugal) for the development of the communication teaching, especially radio journalism. The methodology of this research was constructed from a theoretical framework regarding the formation of radio journalist, with subsequent analysis of data (documents, recordings and interviews) collected during technical visits made to the radio stations. The objective of this research is to present projects that could integrate the social communication courses and the university radios, with the challenge of expanding the opportunities for learning, allowing interactivity among students, teachers and other professionals.

Keywords: Internet; radio journalism; Rádio Universitária do Minho; Rádio USP

Introduction

The USP Radio 93.7 FM was born on October 11, 1977 and it is the educational radio station of the University of São Paulo. The station is located on the Butantã campus and it is considered one of the main channels of communication of USP, in conjunction with the Web Portal of the institution. The station has gained importance with the creation of USP Radio Network on 1 September 2002, which in the first year of operation was awarded by the São Paulo Association of Art Critics (APCA) as featured in Radio Category. The USP Radio Network also includes the stations of the cities of São Carlos and Ribeirão Preto, with the possibility of expanding to other campi of the university, as Piracicaba and Bauru, among others.

In 2000, Radio USP has also received the APCA award for best music programming, with emphasis on the best programming of general culture and best variety show. In addition, the station received the Jabuti Award, by the Brazilian Book Chamber, and the Third International Contest of Radio Programs sponsored by the Cuban Radio, that was won by the *Clip Atualidades* program.

The versatile programming is the highlight of the station, which includes radio news programs, such as *USP Notícias* First Edition and *USP Notícias* Second Edition, in addition to news bulletins produced by the station's news team and also by the USP News Agency. The talk shows are also part of programming. Among them are the *AudioPapo*, with the journalist Fabio Rubira, *Livraria Sonora*, with the radialist Marcello Bittencourt, as well as

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programs to provide services, like *É o bicho*, with the journalist and coordinator of programming, Silvana Pires. It also worth mentioning the specialized programs as *Sobre rodas* (motoring), *Cinema Falado*, *Via Sampa* (culture), *Sala de leitura* (literature), *Clip Informática* (computers), *Saúde Feminina* (women's Health) and *Esporte Acontece* (sports).

The musical diversity is the main secret of the Radio USP success, which transmits several musical genres, despite the preference for Brazilian music. There are specific spaces for Samba (*O Samba pede passagem*), Dancing (Nonstop Music) Rock'n Roll (Johnny B. Rock), Pop Rock (*O Pop Rock levado a sério*), New Age, Word Music and electronics (*Alquimia*), Jazz (Jazz Caravan), Brazilian Music (*Olhar Brasileiro* and *Empório Musical*), Regional Music (*O sul em cima*), among others.

The program of author is another genre that integrates the programming, including the *Radio Show History*, of the broadcaster Cyro Cesar; *Assobio49*, of the professor Pedro Paulo Salles and the girl Julia Stange; *Grandes Mulheres*, of the announcer and actress Annette Moreira; and *Radio Matraca*, of the journalists Laerte Sarrumor and Ayrton Mugnaini Jr., and the broadcaster Alcione Sanna. Moreover, radio has the participation of collaborators that produce programs of opinion and services, including the advertiser Angelo Franzão (*Mundo da Comunicação*), the professor Maria Ligia Guidin (*Que tal o seu português?*) and the doctor John Paul Becker Lotufo (*Saúde Global*).

The most listened programs of the radio station are *O Samba pede Passagem* produced and presented by Moisés da Rocha, a researcher dedicated to the preservation of african-Brazilian cultural roots, and *Rádio Matraca*. While *O Samba pede passagem* was the first program of its genre broadcasted in FM in the city of São Paulo, while the *Rádio Matraca* has humor, music and information. The both productions are broadcasted over 25 years, which is a rarity even in commercial stations.

The station provides the programs files through the website www.radio.usp.br. In the site the listeners can still hear the live programming, knowing the history of the station, access data about the programming and producers, besides the possibility of to read the main news of the day. This fact demonstrates the Radio USP pioneering on several fronts (it was the first radio station in the Southeast to give voice to indigenous communities in the program *Programa de índio*).

Already the University Radio of Minho (RUM) was founded on July 15, 1989, by the Academic Association of the University of Minho. The RUM also has the support of Uminho, beyond advertising. The radio station is inserted into the "general" segment and, therefore, has a diversified program, with space for a variety of content, especially the alternative content. The RUM has a differentiated project, with several activities integrated with education and culture. Among the innovations, the radio has a television studio and a newspaper.

Its music programming is the main offer of the radio, especially Top RUM - the most listened program. The music is the favorite topic of the programs of author, as *A descoberta do som* (José Moças) and *Domínio dos Deuses* (Pedro Portela). The same happen with the special coverage, such as the coverage of summer music festivals, among them the prestigious Paredes de Coura Festival.

Journalism is essential in RUM, which broadcasts news bulletins every hour. Programs of interviews, such as *Campus Verbal*, and debates like *Praça do Município*, are part of the programming grid, as well as radio news (*UM em antena*) and special coverage (*Serralves em Festa*, a series of activities in the city of Porto).

The *UM em antena* program is broadcasted on tuesdays and discusses questions about the University of Minho. The journalists cover university events, such as the Job Fair, hence the stories are inserted in the radio news programs. During the academic year, news about the University are also periodically transmitted in bulletins.

The station seeks to attend its several areas of interest and, therefore, broadcasts specialized programs in economics (*Rumo Económico*), environment (*ECO RUM*), health (*Um Minuto de Saúde*), social inclusion (ECOS), education (Erasmus Voice) culture (*Livros com RUM* and *Leitura em Dia*), sports (*Táticas*), among other topics.

The radio still provides schedules to opinion, with the participation of actors, politicians and educators, as the actor António Durães, or the politician João Delgado and the professor José Precioso, among other authorities, like the president of AAUM, the university student Luís Rodrigues.

The RUM broadcasts eventually productions with varied content, such as radio soap operas, including *Lá se vai o chafariz*, produced by the Centro Cultural Vila Flor, from Guimarães city, and also multicultural programs, like *Rendez Vous*, and in-flight radio chronic (*Dar a volta e Bem vindos ao Cairo*).

The University Radio of Minho's website (<http://www.rum.pt/>) presents details of the station, such as programming, history and cultural activities, and provides online streaming 24 hours a day. Through the website interested people can access the contents of the RUM, of the AAUMTV, of the *Jornal Académico* (newspaper), beyond the texts of the news. The online programming is varied and contemplates music, news, culture and news of the academy.

It worth mentioning the cultural activities developed by RUM and Uminho beyond the coverage areas, as the regions of Minho and Douro. They are available on the webpage [cultura@rum](http://cultura.rum.pt/) (<http://cultura.rum.pt/>). There are also photo galleries of events covered and arranged by the station that relies on the contribution of partners.

The radio uses the social media, particularly Facebook (<http://www.facebook.com/radiorum>), which is updated by its staff, usually by the communicator that is live on air. Twitter, Hi5, Last FM, MySpace, *Cotonete*, *Sapo Vídeos*, YouTube, blogs of producers, newsletter, opinion section, e-mail and telephone are other channels of communication. Some programs are available in podcast and they can be accessed by Internet users.

The direct relationship with the University of Minho and the University of São Paulo has allowed the radio stations to develop integrated projects for teaching communication, particularly journalism. Therefore, this paper presents the educational and cultural activities promoted by RUM and USP Radio, including the proposals resulting from interactive technology and the actions of communicators. The methodology of this research is based on data analysis (documents, recordings and interviews) collected at the stations during technical visits made between 2010 and 2011.

University Radios and the teaching of Communication

In 2008, the Department of Journalism and Publishing began a partnership with Radio USP that has changed the methodology of radio journalism teaching. The project proposal *University 93,7* was simple, broadcasting of programs with 30 minutes, usually in three formats (interviews, specialized and audio biographies), exploring issues of public interest such as health, education, safety, habitation and sports.

Before the project, the productions of the students were only placed on the website www.eca.us.br/radiojournalism and some of these productions were used just as exercises in the classroom. The fact of the productions to be broadcasted by USP Radio caused a transformation in practical activities in class. Some criteria were established for the delivery of productions, such as agenda planning and production, beyond the deadlines defined by the station.

The methodology of the discipline also required a change in the behavior of the teacher, who began studying other concepts to avoid standardization of programs and repetition of established models. The motivation of the students was the largest gain, with debates and charges on the responsibility of each one towards the group, the discipline and the USP Radio.

The students use formats already known for the production of programs, but with the possibility of trying out new trends. The interviews are often debates with specialists or round table discussions. Already in the specialized programs, specific coverage on each topic is performed. Finally, the audio biographies are compiled with information about the life and work of personalities of social importance in Brazil and worldwide. The formats can be diversified by students that sometimes also produce documentaries, radio magazines, among others. The editing process requires research of sound files, external matters, particularly reports, participation of interviewed,

and other resources such as music (including productions at the studio), radio effects (produced by students), reconstitutions (reading of literary works, radio theater, etc).

The programs aim to deepen specific topics that should be mentioned in the social world, in particular ordinary matters that are not exploited by radio stations. The productions are conducted by students of the discipline CJE 0532 - Projects in Radio, with the intention to apply the concepts and principles of radio journalism, as the definition of editorial policy, gender variation, diversity of agenda and production, collective work, among others. In addition, the project University 93.7 proposes the students' integration with USP FM Radio through the dissemination of special productions developed during the course.

The program is open to broadcast news reports and radio news productions made by students of the discipline CJE 0603 - Radio Journalism, as well as Completion of Course Work (CCW) defended in the course of journalism. Independent productions made by students of the CJE are also broadcasted, after evaluation.

Moreover, production of other students of journalism have been broadcasted, such as the Holiday Special Bulletin (2009), a 15-minute program with stories, interviews and reviews, and, in addition, Completion of Course Work like "The song that you imagined - the life and work of Nara Leão", produced by Aline Takei; the story "Conversations with the sound of Table 8 - history and stories of the German Bar", by Ricardo Caliendo Marchesan; and the documentary "Radio journalism today and in the future voiced by professionals and teachers of the area", made by Clayton Denis Ubinha, among other productions.

USP Radio also broadcasts the series *Trilhas & Rolos*, an experimental production of radio developed by students of different classes of Undergraduate course of Audiovisual, at the Department of Cinema, Radio and TV (CTR) from ECA/USP, with coordination of the teacher Eduardo Vicente. The initiative began in 2007 with the production of eight programs that were broadcasted by the station. The idea was that each student could produce their own program from the general theme of music in cinema and TV, freely choosing the focus of their musical selection.

Hence, the *Trilhas & Rolos* is a very interesting example, not only about music in cinema and TV, but also on the diversity of interests of new generations of audiovisual producers that the course is helping to form. The current broadcasting was initiated in April 2011, on Saturdays, from 8 am to 9 am. In all, 23 programs produced in 2010 are running.

In addition to broadcasting, the station receives regular visits of students from ECA. The coordinator of this initiative is Silvana Pires, responsible for programming. The visitation tour is divided into two parts, with a presentation about the profile and history of the station and a guided walk through the plants of radio. To visit the station the students have to make an appointment by e-mail or by phone.

The files are available on the websites www.radio.usp.br and www.eca.usp.br/radiojornalismo that contain information about the programs' content. Thus, students can listen and disseminate the productions developed in the classroom.

In the case of University Radio of Minho, its main pedagogical activity, surprisingly, is a newspaper called *Jornal Académico*, which has a circulation of two thousand copies. The contents of the journal are also available online on www.academico.rum.pt. The newspaper is coordinated and edited by Daniel Silva, with the collaboration of students and journalists of RUM. A journalist meets with students of Uminho, organizes the agendas, reviews the stories, hence the newspaper is produced and published with about twenty pages. The themes are suggested by the editor and discussed with the students that also indicate other matters. The newspaper also has a virtual gallery where students can publish pictures taken by them.

The RUM still has got a television station called AAUMTV, which is broadcasted in an internal circuit of Uminho's campi and also on the internet (<http://www.aaum.pt/tv>). The TV is under improvement yet. The journalist Daniel Silva and the producer Paulo Ferreira are responsible for the coverage, generally on news about Uminho

and about the Academic Association of the University of Minho (AAUM). The collaboration of journalism students is a possibility that is being studied.

The activities developed by the RUM team (journalists, broadcasters, collaborators and guests) are interesting points of support for teaching, especially in radio techniques area. João Paulo Rebelo, the Technical and Program Director, is one of the people responsible for the projects. The Radio develops initiatives for interaction with the community, mainly with students of Uminho.

The project "School of Radio" offers professional courses for the development in writing for radio, voice techniques, audio editing, among others. The coordination is done by the team of production/programming in partnership with the journalism staff. The initiative integrates Uminho programs as the "Summer at the Campus" and offer, at times, workshops for people interested in radio. During the courses the professionals present the structure of the station and provide training for beginners. Some initiatives are reviewed and could join the program. The criteria are defined by the quality of voice and content produced by candidates. Moreover, it is an opportunity to discover talents that can also be invited to integrate the team.

The link with the National Agency for the implementation of Youth in Action Program was fundamental to the RUM developed the project "Laboratory of Journalism". The proposal of it is to offer a course (theoretical and practical) on topics of relevance to youth and promote the European Year for Combating Poverty and Social Exclusion, an issue discussed in 2010 with funding from the Program. The partnership also provided to the journalists Daniel Silva, Elsa Moura and Carlos Santos to represent the station outside Portugal, as in an event of the Program that took place in Latvia in 2010.

The "Live Democracy" project invites personalities of the country to discuss issues of democracy, related to university students. The activities are performed in the Campus of Uminho and elsewhere in the city of Braga, such as museums, pubs, etc.

The Erasmus Programme is the leading European Union (EU) student exchange programme. The RUM, in partnership with students and guests, organizes events with workshops and lectures. The radio also allows the production of the program "Erasmus Voice", which is recorded directly from Uminho's Campi and broadcasted in several times. The transmissions are currently the responsibility of the radio team.

Cultural activities are developed by RUM. The volunteers of "Juventude em acção" program and the Erasmus exchange students are encouraged to teach courses in their knowledge field. Within this proposal were already offered courses of photography, cinema, theater, dance, among others.

Representatives of Latvia, France, Belgium, Italy, Turkey, Brazil, Indonesia, among others, have visited the station. This visitation program is coordinated by radio broadcaster Sergio Xavier, who shows to visitors the proposal and the dynamics of RUM. To make an appointment it is necessary to contact the station via e-mail or by phone.

In addition to the RUM website (<http://www.rum.pt/>), which allows access to AAUMTV and to the Jornal Académico, Social media are available, especially Facebook. There is also a newsletter that is addressed to students of Uminho.

Conclusions

Some factors are crucial when it is established guidelines for the teaching of communication, especially in radio journalism. The first factor is to observe the interactivity as a dynamic well established, but that needs to incorporate and strengthen the existing tools, such as digital tools. The second factor is to establish a dynamic for the functioning of the technology as a creative instrument for the benefit of citizens and not as a weapon for social control.

The third factor is to define the radio journalism as an open and critical space that can be debated and, therefore, is able to analyze the everyday social life, without the static current attitude of being a disseminator of information.

Consequently, the last factor is to multiply the models of teaching and practices of radio journalism, with the integration between schools and radio stations. The researcher Pedro Portela indicates one of the solutions by revealing the importance of digital media, especially the Internet:

Radio today asks for a rigorous dynamic never before required because it demands the maintenance of an antenna logic, which expresses to its listeners through the traditional channel they always used - but that needs to be revised, according to many requests of alternatives that compete with it - and simultaneously seeks the renewal of its language and social function, as the individualization of communication and interactivity offered by the Internet provide new challenges that need answers.

This radio has to realize that the Internet has the potential to steal its listeners, hence it is better that the thief may be your own presence on the Web. If until now, the radio dynamic followed a design in which the listener was going to meet his radio station, now the process must to develop in the opposite direction, but including those who continue to prefer the passive model. (PORTELA, 2006, p. 147)

The vision of the portuguese researcher demonstrates a reverse path in the making radio process, with the reorganization of the communicative dynamics. So it is impractical to deny the existence of a new order ruled by technology, with actors working together through interactive experiences, including of production.

Already the advent of community radio stations changed the reality of many people in Brazil who have always been excluded from political and social discussion. The headquarters of the stations became centers of support for culture and education, with projects that integrate communication and citizenship, as explains the researcher Maria Cicilia Krohling Peruzzo, considered one of Brazil's experts in community communication:

Historically in Brazil community radio has been a channel for an impoverished popular expression that through social organizations develops works on information, informal education, cultural development and mobilization of people to improve their own conditions of existence. In the process of action, usually connected to broader social struggles in the respective places where the community radio station is located, it tends to contribute to social mobilization and local organizational work, with the objective to improve public services, develop educational work against violence, spread artistic products of the 'community members, besides to create opportunities for formal and non-formal education. There are concrete evidences in several experiments that by engaging in dynamic radio people develop themselves, learn how to speak in public, how to express their knowledge, skills and artistic creations, learn to understand better the game of internal and external interests that the media is subjected and became able recognize the reality that is around it, hence be interested to contribute to change. Among the many discovers, people improve their self-esteem and the hope tends to sprout and renew. Sometimes people, especially younger ones, become stimulated to study at nearby universities and find job skills ever imagined before. (PERUZZO, 2005, p.8)

The community radio stations provide a public service due to a new organizational model that multiplies the actions of its communicators. The tasks developed by them include from the production of programs to planning and execution of training and awareness activities, such as courses, debates, cultural events, and other creative processes.

The change in the current radio structure offers to many users as journalists, broadcasters, popular communicators, listeners, among others, the possibility to integrate the communicative process, which before was limited only to people who had the control of the stations. The approach occurs through the communication channels provided by digital media, especially the Internet, or by multiplier models, as models of community radios.

This wave caused a change in the current radio journalism teaching framework, enabling the expansion of the learning environment and, therefore, the production beyond the classroom. The content created by students of communication was restricted to classes, serving only as exercises or as evaluation tests.

The new process provides the student with the opportunity to offer news content, like news reports and programs, through digital media or even by broadcasting his productions in radio stations programming, as

happens nowadays in Radio "Cultura Brasil"², from the city of Sao Paulo. The university radios like RUM and USP Radio are those that better identify with this tendency because they implant integrated projects with schools of communication, either by using digital tools like the Internet, or even by promoting educational and cultural activities.

Programming grids already have programs designed only for students or in partnership with the radio's team, which are broadcasted and made available on websites and portals. In this context the social media provide interaction and insertion of these new players in the radio universe.

The university linkage established a dynamic for the promotion of projects that strengthen the relationship between broadcasters and their partners (academic community) and other users (public and collaborators). Improvement courses, debates and exchanges are offered to the public, especially students of communication. The activities are coordinated by professionals of the radio stations and also include the participation of invited guests, among them teachers and students.

Hence, the transformation of the teaching of communication is a trend that has emerged from the impact of technologies and actions related to citizenship and the public interest, as emphasized by the researcher Enio Moraes Jr., who analyzed the perspectives that guide the formation of the journalist:

The journalism continues to be involved in its contradictions and also still represents private interests. But the best journalism is at the service of citizenship, and this is what should guide all education that emphasizes the formation of human development professionals.

However, there is no child's certainty or adult's skepticism to guarantee that this is a way for a better and fairer world, but it certainly is a possible way. It's all tears and laughter of those who are not indifferent to the river and life. For so many times watching and swimming in the river, we always reached the sea ... (MORAES JÚNIOR, Enio. 2011, p.333).

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Brazilian Auditorium Programs and Questions concerning listening today

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Abstract:

This paper endeavors to present a brief history on the production of auditorium programs in Brazil and reflect on a few of the types of interaction established between radio audiences and program hosts today and the motivations behind audiences that go out of their way to participate personally in these shows. To better understand these questions we bear in mind discussions revolving around the supremacy of the image and the hypertrophy of sight that characterizes contemporary monitor-interface society; the intense rhythms, the suppression of spaces and the encounter of bodies within the context of a major metropolis such as São Paulo; and the role of listening and the possibilities of communication and, therefore, of connecting with audiences through the use of the radio.

Keywords: Auditorium Program; Radio, Body; Connection

Text

The consolidation of radio as a means of mass communication began in the 30's in Brazil. Established in the country based on a commercial model similar to that used in North America, program schedules were comprised of services, information, music programs and, most of all in the 40's and 50's, the Golden Age of Brazilian radio, entertainment. During this period, radio station program schedules presented programs that knew how to exploit and capture the collective imagination of its audiences.

Auditorium programs were a few of the most important among these programs and became popular in the country still in the 30's. And it is during the Golden Age of radio that they were established as an important commercial strategy – especially for divulging music and artists – and, most of all, as a space in which to bring together radio audiences (organized or not in fan clubs), artists and show hosts.

Responsible for introducing important names in Brazilian music as well as being exploited as a political instrument during a period marked in a large proportion by the figure, both charismatic and authoritarian, of President Getulio Vargas, auditorium programs in this stage of radiobroadcasting can be looked upon as microcosms filled with social tension, expectations and passions, inserted in a previously structured communications environment, albeit caught unawares by the high emotions.

Beginning in the 60's, with the consolidation of TV as the country's main communication means, auditorium programs slowly fade into the background of radio program schedules, with many of them being transferred to television.

But, over the last few years, radio auditorium programs are making a comeback, especially in the city of São Paulo. Within a different context than that seen in the 40's and 50's, when the format was progressively

constructed through participation with the audience, the new auditorium programs are transmitted outside the station's studios in São Paulo (which no longer have auditoriums) and in a much cheaper manner than the programs from the Golden Age – all of which counted on the presence of orchestras and large auditoriums. Besides this, they use the new communication vehicles (involving the Internet) and establish new possibilities of interactivity with other languages and audiences (especially through the use of social networks and on-line transmission).

This paper endeavors to present a brief history on the production of auditorium programs in Brazil and reflect on a few of the types of interaction established between radio audiences and program hosts today and the motivations behind audiences that go out of their way to participate personally in these shows. To better understand these questions we bear in mind discussions revolving around the supremacy of the image and the hypertrophy of sight that characterizes contemporary monitor-interface society; the intense rhythms, the suppression of spaces and the encounter of bodies within the context of a major metropolis such as São Paulo; and the role of listening and the possibilities of communication and, therefore, of connecting with audiences through the use of the radio.

The question of physical bodies in radiobroadcasting communications especially with that related to Auditorium Programs yesterday and today

Throughout the trajectory of its civilization process, mankind has searched for forms and means in which to communicate, share his knowledge, values, traditions, techniques and discoveries. The advent of the first electronic means of transmitting information and communicating unveiled the possibility of shortening distances, to reach out to a greater number of people, at the same time and in different localities; allowing therefore, a form of communication in which the physical bodies of those involved in the process are separated and in the need of apparatuses. That which Spanish researcher Vicente Romano (1993) denominated as being tertiary communication means, basing himself on German intellectual Harry Pross's concepts on the means within cultural and communicational perspectives.

Tertiary communication means therefore require apparatuses, means, technical instruments for emission and reception. There are also secondary means, that transport messages to the receptor without requiring they have any sort of apparatus for its appreciation, reception; and finally, primary means.

Primary means are all types of information and knowledge exchange, all interaction that occurs between those present at the moment, face to face. It is worth mentioning that in this means, besides verbal, other languages exist to be exploited and together constitute the communication process. The physical presence of a person with its multiplicity of forms of expressions activate the different senses of all those involved for the apprehension of the message. Therefore, hearing, vision, touch, smell and taste are involved in primary communication means.

Among the other perspectives of tertiary communication we stress here that of the radio, which by means of technical emission and reception apparatuses reach a large number of audiences in different places at the same time; thus bringing to fruition the principle of signal economy. Or, in other words, as its use becomes more widespread as a means of mass communication in Brazil throughout the 1930's, 40's and 50's, the radio involves the hearts and minds of its audiences over great distances through different genres of programs. Romano's concept of signal economy is particularly relevant within economic and political aspects, as the radio, a vehicle of values and ideas, is also exploited as a commercial means and an ideological instrument of power.

With the necessity of finding an adequate aesthetics for this vehicle that did away with images, the radio, in the 30's and early 40's, experimented with genres and formats coming from other areas such as printing, theater, circus, cinema and literature. It is this process of language hybridism that gives rise to various genres and formats of radiobroadcasting programs, among which is the Auditorium Program.

As a concept, Russian researcher Mikhail Bakhtin (2000) elucidates that a genre presents recurrent differentiating or peculiar elements which materialize in their enunciation. Based on the principle that communication is constituted of enunciations, this concept seems to us to be pertinent when reflecting on the characteristics of the auditorium program genre: the peculiar, but impure, elements which characterize it and allow for its identification by audiences.

Auditorium Programs in the Golden Age of Brazilian radio

Unique in its proposal of including the physical presence of the audience in its communication process, either in their own or rented auditoriums, the genre brings the physical bodies of its audiences into a stage setting. Those same bodies which had been up to then reached by the echoing voices of the studio as heard over the large wooden vacuum-tube reception boxes strategically set up in the center of homes for collective listening.

The auditorium program, not unlike other genres and formats which were a part of the program schedule of radio stations in the 1930's, 40's and 50's, was greatly influenced by the North American model. However, the creativity of a mestizo and hybrid people as is the Brazilian reveals that radiobroadcasting aesthetics, woven over the air waves, were marked by a singularity¹, by their "audio-tactile" and "in-color" aspects as conceived by maestro Julio Medaglia (1978: 126): "In Brazil, radio shows have an absolutely peculiar form of expression, the result of which is similar to a *commedia dell'arte* (...) Here radiocasters invent their own language for the vehicle."

The emergence and consolidation of the auditorium programs occurs in synergy with the increased production of electrical recordings of popular Brazilian music.

"Electrical recordings and the evolution of the radio, allied with other novelties changed Brazilian popular music (...) This new process began in July of 1927 and in August of 1928 Odeon launched Mario Reis (...) Soon after his debut, four more multinational recording studios and record factories were installed in Rio (Parlophon, Columbia, Brunswick and Victor), all of which used electrical recording equipment ..." (Peters, 2005: 87)

The association between radio and music is strategically exploited by a political, economical and cultural mechanism that would later come to constitute the country's cultural industry. The press, cinema, theater and radiobroadcasting stations are articulated to better sustain audiences' imagination, seduced by the waves of the first Brazilian means of mass communication. Within this context, the curiosity of seeing the artists in person is presented in that which would be the precursor of the auditorium programs: the Aquariums, as explained by researcher Ana Paula Peters:

"The curiosity of the audiences and their desire to get near the artists resulted in many of them seeking out the radio stations to "see" the programs. (...) At first the public was isolated behind glass partitions, forming what was known as aquariums. (...) Motivated by this climate of intimacy that was established between the singers and radiocasters, many radio listeners began using the studios not only as a place of entertainment, but as one more place for social gatherings, giving rise to the admiration of fans for the radio artists." (2005, : 88 - 89)

Historically, it is worth remembering that Brazilian radio auditorium programs, with the effective participation of audiences and without the presence of any physical barrier separating them from the host or the artists, were spin-offs of talent shows. In 1938, at the Radio Nacional studios in Rio de Janeiro, the first staged Brazilian radio program was written and hosted by Almirante: "Musical Curiosities". That same year Almirante also created "The Question Box", in which he talked to and offered spectators prizes. To do so, he had to climb down from the stage and wander through the audience to get his answers over the microphone. This expedient made it

¹ On the particularities that radio broadcasting aesthetics have acquired in Brazil we indicate Chapter II "The interplay of orality and the written word in the composition of spots" in the book *Radio a oralidade mediatizada* edited by Annablume in São Paulo. We emphasize that "as a consequence of these particularities, that are, among others, the result of the anthropofagic melting pot of ethnicities and languages of which the Latin culture is a product, as well as the late introduction of the written word is that we find, in Brazil, the latent possibility of a differentiated approach of all the radio broadcasting elements. (Silva, 2007: 44)

evident that the auditorium program's host/revel master had to necessarily possess charisma, creativity and the capacity to improvise as elucidated below by researcher José Ramos Tinhorão:

"This structure of auditorium programs as live spectacles would come to provoke, still in the 40's, a curious consequence: studios rushing to hire artists able to please their audiences through their good-looks, wit or originality in presenting the shows on stage... In turn, the consequences of this competition for stage attractions would, from the on-start, valorize radio artists – giving rise to the major contracts which marked the birth of mass idols, or stars." (1981: 67-68)

Throughout the 1940's and 50's auditorium programs were consolidated as a phenomena that mobilized and seduced audiences thanks to the potential of the radio, the creativity of the radiocasters and the logic behind the spectacularization of the cultural industry. Researcher José Ramos Tinhorão elucidates the dimensions of this type of program molded by the singularities of Brazilian radiocasters:

"A mixture of radio program, musical show, vaudeville spectacle, circus and churchyard kermes (raffles were a constant), the high-voltage presentations were able to maintain the auditorium in a state of continuous excitement for three, four or even more hours. To this end, the revel masters counted on the presence of stars² to guarantee their success with the audiences, as well as that of large orchestras, regional bands, solo musicians, vocal groups, comedians and magicians, all of which were mixed in with exotic skits, raffle contests and the distribution of free product samples to spectators." (1981: 70)

As we have seen, the auditorium program is a genre that brings with it the characteristics of other arts, languages; and within this hodgepodge, all are important in the spectacle's composition, the dynamics of which are similar to that of a game (Huizinga, 2005). And thusly, involved in a *game* with well-defined rules and roles, the radiocaster/revel master and the audience/radio listeners construct the atmosphere of a communicational environment propitious for dialogue and interaction within pre-established limits. The body language, voice, clothing; the all-round performance of the host, punctuated by soundtrack and stage setting resources, involve audiences already predisposed towards enchantment and curiosity. In this game, throughout the show, the host/revel master calibrates his performance to better guarantee the return of the audience here considered co-author of the show as observed by medievalist Paul Zumthor (1983) when describing the interaction between reciters of oral poetry and their audience.

As stated by Sonia Virgínia and Luiz Carlos Saroldi (2005: 83), in face of the audience, traditional radiocasters took on a new character: that of the revel master or master of ceremonies. "the equilibrium of the program was left up to the sensibility of the MC, alternating games, raffling prizes, making jokes and using other artifices aimed at exciting the audience and arouse applause."

It is therefore a game in which people interact and allow for, within the pre-determined limits, the necessary contact for effective communication, as, according to Norval Baitello Junior "Communication is the construction of contacts and affection. We cannot construct alterity without affection, without creating empathy. And this is the job of the communicator." (2011: 34).

And as the necessity to communicate and establish bonds with others is inherent in human beings, be it through primary, secondary or tertiary means, as seen in the concepts of the Media Theory presented above, it is important to consider Harry Pross's words: all communication begins and ends with the body³. Therefore, within the context of contemporary communications structured on digital technologies, spaces in which to encounter and exchange are ever more necessary demands. The re-appropriation of the auditorium program genre in contemporary radio program schedules seems to us to be headed in this direction.

² The denomination of "star" refers to the artist, a mass idol whose name was highlighted on the spectacle posters promoted by the radio in the 1930's.

³ Norval Baitello Junior gives us an enlightening explanation on the presence of the body in the communication process: "The body is the first media, it is worth mentioning, man's first means of communication. This also means that it is his first connection instrument with other human beings. The body is language and, at the same time, producer of innumerable languages with which man approaches his similars, connects to them, cultivates these connections, maintains relationships and partnerships." (2005: 62)

Auditorium Programs Today

With the appearance and development of new means of communication and information as represented by Brazilian television in 1950 and later the Internet, the radio takes on new contours and searches for formats and genres that contemplate different resources for producing, airing, participating and interacting with these new communication technologies and digital information vehicles.

This means that in reality this elderly 90 year-old gentleman is now inserted within a context marked by the intense and simultaneous flux of information, through fragmentation, articulation and the crossing of different languages shared in a network, making up that which is being called the "society of access". No longer restricted to sound, radio in this age of convergence has hooked up to the worldwide computer web and provides new means of interaction for its listeners/internauts, the possibility to review and share content in different formats, accompany the program schedule through the use of images from the studios in real time as they are being transmitted. These and other resources made available thanks to digital technology and the possibility of connectivity reaffirm the notion that radio's challenge is, and always has been, to create within, and based on, the intersections between languages.

It is however prudent to point out that within this context of unrestricted access to information, this democratic aspect of the network does not necessarily mean quality of information nor relations, and especially in that referring to the field of communication. Norval Baitello Junior warns us:

"To be connected does not mean one is communicating, but having the possibility of communicating (...) There is a long way between connection and communication (...) The connection, of course, is important (...) but we cannot let connectivity steal the space of other types of communication such as reading, cohabitation, talking personally." (2011: 34)

And within this same context, one also has to acknowledge the super valorization of the visual image⁴, of sight in detriment of the other senses, especially in relation to sound and, therefore, listening. One must not forget that throughout the valorization process of the written word and images, sound is dispensed with and treated like a poor cousin amid the codes of human communications. The society of information and connectivity is therefore also that with an excess of images and visibility.

"The growing insistence on producing images is merely a sign of their saturation. As all of us are obliged to have images, images with a high degree of visibility, we live in the age of visibility and image saturation." (Baitello, 2005: 101)

And the question of saturation is not restricted to the world of visual images, as in the age of digital technologies, production, transmission and access to apparatuses for reproducing sounds almost guarantees its omnipresence, be it in virtual or real-life, public or private environments. In social networks, telemarketing services, speakers in stores, restaurants and parking lots, in public transportation⁵, on street corners, sound can be heard. Some of it the result of "natural" events, and therefore those which are born and then die, but mostly artificially produced continuous sound. Talking machines that emit sounds that linger on indefinitely and influence an individual's moods and behavior.

Contemporary radio is thus a part of a context marked by visual images as well as sonorous saturation, "offering" a continuous, conflicting and anarchic emission of sound resulting in listeners with peripheral hearing that many times are aware of the sounds coming from all directions but make no distinction between them.

⁴ As explained by Norval Baitello Junior (2005: 45) when dealing with images we are taking into consideration all of those that are able to be produced "in different languages: acoustical, olfactory, gustatory, tactile, proprioceptive or visual."

⁵ In February 2008 São Paulo Transporte S.A., SPTrans, the company that manages public transportation in the city, together with the *Bus TV* company installed LCD televisions in 140 buses operating downtown. There are 2 20" tv's on each bus. The intention is to equip the entire fleet by 2010. For more information: < <http://g1.globo.com/noticias/saopaulo>>

As a part of this cultural and economical complex for the production of symbolic goods, the radio searches for alternatives in which to maintain and expand its space in the day-to-day of spectators.

The current salvaging of auditorium programs by a few radio stations seems to us to be an answer, although still only partial, to this increasing demand for visibility – after all, as we saw before “we are all obliged to have images”, as well as the necessity of encountering and connecting with others. Similar to the auditorium programs in the Brazilian Golden Age of radio, some radio stations are recording or transmitting their programs from inside nightclubs, clubs, convention halls, shopping malls and auditoriums with the presence of an audience.

Among the differences between auditorium programs common in the 1940’s and 50’s with those found today is the presence of mobile digital technological apparatuses that participants carry with them and in some cases use to interact virtually despite being physically present on the scene.

At the moment, it has been possible to map at least seven auditorium programs or those with an audience in the program schedule of radio stations in São Paulo transmitted via satellite to other places (states and municipalities) as well as over the worldwide computer web.

Some of the programs identified, such as *Fim de Expediente*, *No Divã com Gikovate* and CBN Network *Caminhos Alternativos* periodically adhere to the format and transmit from auditoriums located in theaters or otherwise. Others are transmitted from theaters or shopping malls such as Eldorado Brasil 3000 Network’s *MPB Café*, or receive a small audience in their own studios as seen in the production of Radio Energia 97’s *Estádio 97* program.



Figure 1: “Fim de Expediente” Program Radio CBN, São Paulo



Figure 2: Radio Globo AM Program, São Paulo

Of the programs identified, some are, by concept, auditorium programs, while others adhere to the format in previously planned presentations (once a week/month, or even on special dates) and practically all of them are

transmitted live. The type of listener participation is determined by the interaction mechanisms previously established by the production team and repeat the same structure of a game (Huizinga, 2005) with its own rules but full of surprises and unexpected events accompanied by the feedback of all those involved. In this particular aspect we found no differences with the programs seen in the 40s and 50s.

It is therefore possible to see how the role of the host, the types of interaction and the very configuration of communication in society today come together to reveal a new type of auditorium or audience program and gives rise to certain questions. One of them is if it is necessary to salvage primary communication as alerted us by Romano (1993) and how body-present interaction occurs amid the possibilities of participating through technologies available on mobile apparatuses. Another question that presents itself concerns the motivation of listeners/internauts to physically dislocate themselves to participate in programs such as these.

Among the hypotheses is that of the necessity of connection, and the possibility of going through an experience that propitiates the involvement of one's senses through hearing in a communicational environment in which all the primary communicational elements (voice, performance, body language, smell and taste) interact simultaneously.



Figure 3: "Caminhos Alternativos", Program Radio CBN, Ibirapuera Auditorium, São Paulo



Figure 4: "MPB Café" Program, Radio Eldorado 3000 FM, Public area – Santana Parque Mall, São Paulo



Figure 5: "MPB Café" Program, Radio Eldorado 3000 FM, Public area – Santana Parque Mall, São Paulo

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Breaking Radio Boundaries: A new environment for Government Advertising aimed at Young People

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Abstract:

Sequentiality, ephemerality and unidirectionality are reception properties that have traditionally characterized radio messages. However, the emergence of online media as platforms for broadcasting audio messages is contributing to the transformation in the uses and listening patterns of radio content. This fact turns out to be particularly interesting when defining relational communication strategies targeted at young people, those belonging to the digital natives' generation. For this public, whose learning processes are developed in a fully digital environment, the possibilities of downloading, copying, replaying and/or sharing sound files, at any time, from any place and on any device, fit their consumption habits and their way of interacting with media. This interaction should be taken into account when planning public service announcement campaigns aimed at informing, educating and raising young people's consciousness about specific social issues; that means, it should be used to promote that government objectives reach this public and, therefore, strengthening the opportunity of establishing a closer relationship with it. Within this context, the objective of this paper is to analyze the data provided by the Spanish government reports on public advertising campaigns from 2006 to 2010—selecting those campaigns specifically targeted at young people—along with the first results obtained from an investigation conducted by the Publi-radio research group from the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. These data will be used to compare the media consumption habits of youth, defined for the purposes of this paper as individuals from 14 to 25 years old, and the advertising strategies carried out by the government, both in terms of media selection and investment.

Keywords: government advertising, radio messages, audio messages, digital natives

Introduction

Internet, like any other media of communication, determines the character of the messages that it disseminates. Taking an analytical look at the audio components of online communications, one is struck by the degree to which the characteristics of audio transmission through online platforms have deviated from those of traditional radio broadcasting (sequentiality, ephemerality, and unidirectionality) and have taken on new characteristics unfettered by either temporal or spatial limitations. While audio continues to be audio, sound transmitted via the Internet carries the added dimension of existing in the form of a digital file. The revolutionary possibilities of the digital file have made online audio transmission especially attractive to digital natives—young

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people born and raised in a world of advanced technology—and has shaped both their notions of how information is accessed and their media consumption habits.

The interactive potential of online content has been exploited to deliver a wide variety of messages, including advertising and public communications. This paper reports on a recent study of audio public service announcement campaigns undertaken by the Spanish government to inform, educate and raise the consciousness of young people about specific social issues that was carried out within the framework of a larger, ongoing research project titled '*La sono-esfera digital como nuevo entorno de recepción de mensajes sonoros entre los jóvenes. Estudio de los hábitos de escucha para el desarrollo de nuevos formatos de publicidad institucional*' (The Digital Sonosphere as a New Space to Communicate with Young People: A Study of Listener Habits for the Development of new PSA Formats (CSO2009-12236)² conducted by Publliradio, a research group devoted to the study of radio communication and advertising based at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.³

We will begin with a contextualisation of the three elements that make up the public information and communication process: the government that issues the messages, the content of the media message itself (within the scope of this study specifically the audio message), and the digital natives who form the audience for these messages. We will then describe an analysis of yearly reports issued by the Spanish government on public information and communication since 2006, which was undertaken to identify public service campaigns aimed at the 14-25 age bracket carried out during the period 2006–2010. This will be followed with a comparison between data related to different aspects of the planning and production of these campaigns such as budget allocation and choice of media and the media consumption habits of young Spaniards. In addition to the quantitative data available on listener habits, we were able to extract qualitative data for this study from a prior focus group of university students convened as part of the larger project CSO2009-12236. Taken together, these data sets have allowed us to explore a possible correlation between government planning of PSA campaigns aimed at youth audiences and young people's media consumption habits - information essential for designing new high-impact strategies that take best advantage of the opportunities offered by the new digital media.

An overview of government advertising and public communications in Spain

The Spanish government defines '*Publicidad y Comunicación Institucional*' as 'the generic name for messages the government issues to citizens as a part of its executive functions'.⁴ The majority of these messages are public service announcements produced and published or broadcast via the communications media to inform and educate the public and foster citizen awareness of issues of interest to the society at large. Alfonso Cortés notes that 'in today's highly mediatised world, government information agencies now perform tasks related to socialisation that were earlier carried out by other public institutions such as schools' (Cortés, 2011: 5). The same author confirms that 'as the advertising format of public service announcements offers the possibility to communicate messages in the government's own interest, government-issued public service announcements must reflect pedagogical values and educate the public in the broadest sense of the word, promoting social awareness and consciousness on humanitarian and other important issues' (Cortés, 2006: 1).

Government advertising and public service announcements have been regulated in Spain since 2005, when *Ley 29/2005 de Publicidad y Comunicación Institucional*,⁵ (the Law on Advertising and Institutional Communication

² Project funded by the Spanish Ministry for Science and Innovation.

³ Publliradio is a research group devoted to radio communication and advertising led by Armand Balsebre, PhD and coordinated by Juan José Perona, PhD under the auspices of the Departament de Comunicació Audiovisual i Publicitat II at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. In addition to the aforementioned academics, other members include Margarida Blanch, M^a Luz Barbeito, Dolors Bernadas, Daniel Casals and Ana M^a Enrique, (PhDs) and researchers Anna Fajula, Esteve Crespo, Núria Arcos, Susana Giménez and Blanca Perona.

⁴ <http://www.lamoncloa.gob.es/CPCL/index.htm>

⁵ Law published in the government gazette *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, 312, 30 December 2005: http://www.lamoncloa.gob.es/NR/rdonlyres/4033607A-A01F-4596-8035-A622167A2F61/99712/Ley29_2005.pdf

enacted in 2005) established four criteria that all such communications must fulfil: public utility, professional quality, transparency, and faithfulness to the government's established mission. This law also requires the government to draft a yearly institutional advertising and communications plan that provides an outline of all campaigns it intends to conduct during the following year. Among other items, these plans must specify the objectives, budget, timeframes, media and target audience for each campaign. The proposed annual plan is approved by the Council of Ministers each January. This law also requires the government to publish a detailed year-end report accounting for all the campaigns that were actually carried out.⁶

In 2010, the Spanish Secretariat of State for Communications issued a practical guide⁷ that specified the types of government communications campaigns that could be directed towards citizens. The list of approved categories indicated in this guide included campaigns that provided information of general interest or utility, campaigns that fostered positive habits, attitudes and social change, as well as campaigns that promoted state entities and agencies such as the Public Treasury, and *Loterías y Apuestas del Estado*, the agency responsible for state lotteries. The guide prohibited campaigns designed to sway public opinion in a partisan or political manner, any communication that contained discriminatory messages or incited violence, or campaigns that could be considered to constitute self-promotion (for example, communications about public works and services that could serve as propaganda for a specific administration).

Based on the above, it is clear that public communications issued by the Spanish government to its citizens are not restricted to information, education and socialisation initiatives; they also include announcements that contain commercial messages. Cortés (2011) divides public communications into four categories according to their purpose: socioeducational, informational, commercial and electoral. The first addresses the socialising function of government; the second covers information provided to citizens concerning issues such as recycling and emergency warnings and measures; the third refers to communications of a commercial nature and includes advertising campaigns related to tourism, lottery operations, and other state-run or state-promoted industries; and the fourth (prohibited) category covers any type of campaign that could be construed as electioneering.

It is worth noting that the announcements given the highest priority (and therefore the largest budget allocations) have been devoted to promoting healthy habits, providing information about citizens' rights, publicizing opportunities for public employment and recruitment for the armed services. Through its direct communications campaigns, the executive branch publically assumes its responsibility to educate and socialise its citizens, raise public awareness and bring government closer to the people. According to Rom, Sorribas and Curto, 'Government public communication is used as a vehicle for transmitting two broad categories of messages: information of public interest and promotion of civic attitudes and values' (Rom, Sorribas and Curto, 2009, p. 3).

Another issue that came to the fore during our study was government expenditure on public communications—an important point to consider given that it is one of the most important advertisers in the Spanish media market. Rom, Sorribas and Curto are quick to point out that 'the number of public administrations that exist throughout Spain at both the national and territorial levels make government one of the advertising sector's most important and most geographically distributed clients' (Rom, Sorribas and Curto, 2009, p. 2). If we compare figures for government advertising expenditures with those for the private sector over the same five-year period (2006-2010) provided by Infoadex,⁸ the Spanish government ranks among the top ten advertisers in Spain.⁹

⁶ Government reports on its advertising and public communications campaigns '*Planes e Informes de Publicidad y Comunicación Institucional*' 2006-2010: <http://www.lamoncloa.gob.es/CPCI/PlanesEInformes.htm>

⁷ Guidelines provided by the Secretary of State for Communications: http://www.agenciasaeacp.es/publicaciones/docs/guia_practica.pdf

⁸ Infoadex is a research firm that publishes reports and data on the advertising sector and tracks advertising spending in Spain (<http://www.infoadex.es/>).

⁹ In 2006, the government was the second most important advertiser in terms of expenditure in the Spanish market; in 2007, it was the country's largest advertising client, outspending even Telefónica, which invested 173 million Euros in advertising the same year. However, it dropped to third place in 2008, fifth place in 2009 and once again to seventh place in 2010.

Table 1 below provides figures for both total Spanish government expenditure on public communications and the amount it specifically spends on media costs.¹⁰ The percentages represent year-to-year variations.

	2006	2007	Var. 07/06	2008	Var. 08/07	2009	Var. 09/08	2010	Var. 10/09
Total expend.	209,767,393€	269,523,547€	28.5%	134,515,104€	- 50.1%	95,296,027€	-29.2%	80,832,130€	-15.2%
Media costs	168,388,000€	234,033,000€	39.0%	116,039,200€	- 50.4%	77,261,600€	-33.4%	70,150,700€	-9.2%

Table 1. Spanish government expenditure for public service announcements and advertising
Source: Authors based on Spanish government reports *Informes de Publicidad y Comunicación Institucional* 2006-2010

It should be noted that the extreme variation between 2007 and 2008 corresponds to a recategorisation of specific campaigns previously deemed to fall under the category of public service announcement as commercial advertising (such as the ones for RENFE and Turespaña). The declines in spending registered in 2009 and 2010 correspond to budget reductions provoked by the world financial crisis, a factor that is also reflected in the decline in the volume of campaigns launched by the Spanish government during this same period. These fell from a total of 186 in 2006 to a total of 130 in 2008. Only 100 campaigns were conducted in 2009, and even fewer (86) were run in 2010.

As a major advertiser, the Spanish government is aware that the public service advertising it produces must adapt to new times and changing media habits. The Secretary of State for Communications itself has recognised this need: 'Traditional advertising has changed with the evolution of the media. New media such as TDT, mobile technology and Internet have changed the way citizens relate to government and the messages they receive. Advertising is increasingly personalised and participative' (Secretaría de Estado de Comunicación, 2010, p.1). For the purposes of this study, we have focused on how changes in the way that radio listeners receive transmitted messages and how new media consumer habits, especially in terms of the new dimensions these messages acquire when they are transmitted via the Internet, have had an impact on the way that the Spanish government carries out its public service communications campaigns.

Internet: the transition from radio message to audio message

As we have pointed out in the introduction to this paper, the way a radio message has traditionally been received by a listener has been conditioned by the characteristics of the media itself: its sonority, sequentiality, ephemerality, and unidirectionality (Huertas and Perona, 1999). Nevertheless, digital technology has opened up new possibilities for portability and interactivity, characteristics that give the transmitted message new dimensions. The only property that aural messages transmitted through an online environment share with messages transmitted by traditional radio is sonority. The move to digital technology has been followed by a shift to a digital vocabulary; the term 'radio' message has been widely abandoned in favour of the more encompassing term 'audio' message.

An audio message can be offered in copiable and downloadable files. It can be reproduced, replayed and retrieved. Digital technology is not linear; it facilitates initiation of play at any point in a file. Like traditional radio messages, digital sound messages can be listened to while carrying out other activities.

¹⁰ The total expenditure includes media, design, and production costs as well as agency commissions; that is to say, the total cost of the campaigns. The media expenditure refers exclusively to the budget allocation for distribution through television, radio, Internet, the press, etc.

The traditionally passive audience for media messages is evolving into a more technologically savvy and proactive listenership with a wider range of media skills. In an environment marked by connectivity and interactivity, relationships maintained through the mass media have been transformed; the listener who was formerly a passive receptor of transmitted messages has now acquired an active role. As Rost (2004) has noted, interactivity allows individuals to define their patterns of consumption free of the restraints of time and place by means of an ever-increasing range of connection devices (selective interactivity) and offers them the possibility to share contents or provide feedback (communicative interactivity).

The traditional mode of radio communication undergoes a modification in an online environment: 'the order and synchronous time inherent to a narrative radio sequence based in the here and now is broken by diachronic, on-demand consumption of pre-recorded sound' (Martínez Costa, 2004: 9). The nature of the new media also allows people to personalise the way they consume media content and allows advertisers to home in on specific audiences and thereby make the most of advertising campaigns - in the case of this study, government communications and advertising campaigns carried out in Spain.

The conversion of radio content into audio content has opened up a wide range of broadcast possibilities. Audio content is now transmitted through podcasts (RSS), personalised Internet radio or music sites like Spotify. The integration of radio into the Internet has also generated a wider range of complementary features that incorporate data, images, graphics and video.

Digital Natives: a generation in synch with audio messages

The characteristics of audio content transmitted via the Internet have a special relevance for adolescents and young people in their early and mid-twenties. For the purposes of this study, we have established an age bracket of 14 to 25 years for the demographic group referred to as 'digital natives' - young people born and raised in the Internet era.

Although the term digital native was defined and popularised by Marc Prensky in 2001, Prensky himself noted that the generation gap between 'digital natives' and 'digital immigrants' was detected as far back as the 1990s.¹¹ With the passage of time and the rapid advance of digital technologies, the term digital native has evolved from referring to those individuals who grew up parallel to the development of digital technology (Merino 2010) to describing young people whose socialisation since birth has taken place in a digital environment: 'These digital natives are accustomed since childhood to be surrounded by technological devices; as features of the primary context in which they have been socialised, these devices have always been part of their vernacular' (Merino, 2010: 209). Both the first wave of young people labelled as digital natives (marked by their adaptation to a technological environment), and the second wave, (distinguished by their lifelong exposure to it), conform to the characteristics that Prensky attributed to individuals caught up in the digital revolution. He observed that 'Digital natives are used to receive information really fast. They like to parallel process and multi-task [...] They prefer random access (like hypertext). They function best when networked' (Prensky, 2001: 2). These traits determine the manner in which this demographic group interacts with and uses communications media, which is driven by their need for connectivity and interactivity and their multitasking capabilities. Seen from this perspective, Internet would seem to be the ideal communication media for reaching out to young people. The following statistics bear this out.

Figures provided by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE) show a steady increase in Internet penetration throughout the Spanish population (see table 2). Moreover, they point out that penetration in the 16–24 year age group is now close to 100%. In reference to these young people, La Sociedad de la Información en

¹¹ Marc Prensky wrote a post in his blog in 2006 that cited various authors who had spoken of digital immigrants and natives prior to his 2001 work on the subject and used the same or similar terms for this demographic group in: <http://www.marcprensky.com/blog/archives/000045.html>.

España 2010, a report issued by Fundación Telefónica, offers the observation that Internet 'is considered by many of them to be a fundamental part of their lives' (Fundación Telefónica, 2011: 42).

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
16-24 age group	82.8	86.3	90.3	92.3	94.1
Total survey group	47.9	52.0	56.7	59.8	64.2

Table 2. % of population that had used Internet during the three months prior to the annual survey
Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística (<http://www.ine.es>)

Results of a May 2010 survey on media consumption carried out by the Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas de España (CIS) support the INE figures (see tables 3 and 4).

		Television	Radio	Press	Internet	None NR/DK
for entertainment	18-24 age group	43.0	3.0	2.1	49.4	2.5
	Total survey group	59.9	13.0	5.3	19.5	2.3
for educational purposes	18-24 age group	14.8	4.2	11.0	65.0	5.0
	Total survey group	28.2	13.7	14.0	36.4	7.7
for information	18-24 age group	38.8	5.5	19.8	32.5	3.4
	Total survey group	46.2	15.7	18.8	16.0	3.3

Table 3. Replies to a question asking individuals to compare their usage of four different types of media (%)
Source: CIS Barometer May 2010 (<http://www.cis.es>)

	Television	Radio	Press	Internet	None NR/DK
18-24 age group	28.3	2.1	3.0	65.4	1.2
Total survey group	50.2	14.1	6.0	28.0	1.7

Table 4. % Survey participants choice in response to a question concerning which media they would choose if they only had access to one during a one-month period
Source: CIS Barometer May 2010 (<http://www.cis.es>)

These statistics indicate that the youth segment of the survey group feel a strong preference for Internet and give radio a very low rating. Nevertheless, that picture changes if one takes in account the figures for media penetration contained in the report of the *Baròmetre de la Comunicació i la Cultura* (fig. 1), a survey carried out in Catalonia by the Fundació Audiències de la Comunicació i la Cultura (FUNDACC).

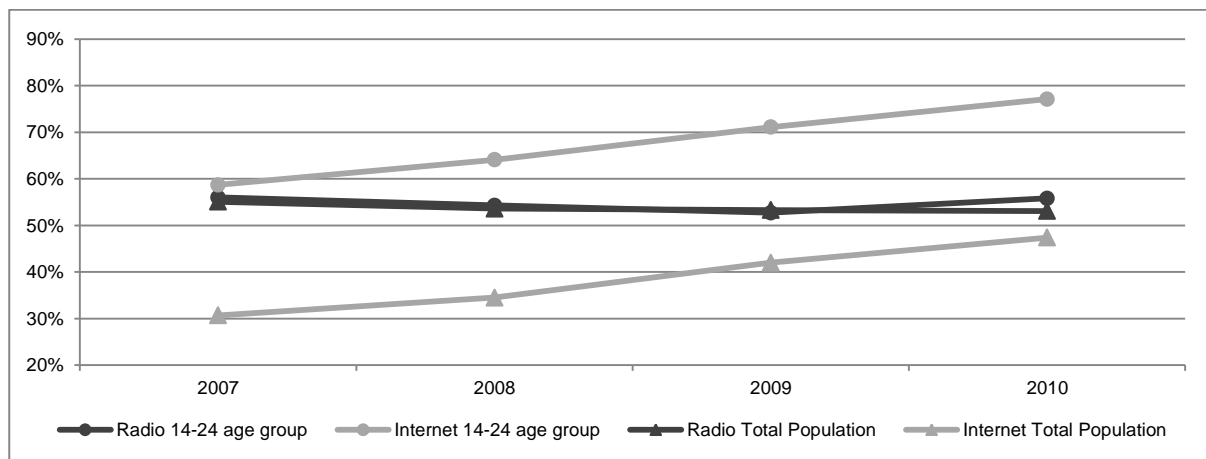


Figure 1. Evolution of radio and Internet penetration in Catalonia 2007–2010
Source: *Baròmetre de la Comunicació i la Cultura* (<http://www.fundacc.org>)

Although the figures contained in this report refer exclusively to Catalonia, they are in line with data for the entire country contained in the *Estudio General de Medios* (EGM) report, which also situates radio penetration for young people at 50%.¹² These high audience levels hold throughout the general population with only minor yearly fluctuations. It should be noted that young listeners are more interested in music programming than in general programming. Other data generated by the barometer survey indicate that Internet penetration is rising for the 14-24 year age group (a group that already had demonstrated high levels of penetration) as well as for the general population. EGM figures for Internet are in line with those for Catalonia, showing a higher penetration for young people (62.8% compared to 38.4% for the general population).¹³

In establishing links between radio and Internet, one should take into account statistics for online radio audiences. The results published in *Dieta Mediàtica i Cultural dels Joves 2010*, a report on a study of media consumption carried out in Catalonia by the FUNDACC, showed a higher percentage of online radio penetration in the 14-25 age bracket (25.7%), than in the adult population (11.9%).

A final factor that must be taken into account is the facility with which young people adapt to new media devices such as computers, mobile phones and tablets. The Fundación Telefónica report cites individuals in the 14–26 age group and business professionals as being the drivers of ‘multi-device connectivity, for both leisure and communication needs including round-the-clock access to Internet’ (Fundación Telefónica, 2011, p. 78). The media habits of today’s digital natives, therefore, make it necessary to communicate with them via the channels they use and through a variety of platforms and devices. It is also necessary to employ technology that engages the hypertext and multitasking skills of active and interconnected media users, whose ways of accessing resources are very different from those of the group of digital immigrants cited by Prensky.

Youth as the target audience for government advertising and public communications

As we have observed up to this point, the digital environment redefines the communication process, both in terms of the message and its audience. As a high volume advertiser with a mandate to communicate with

¹² Data extracted from the third annual report (covering February to November) of a variable triannual survey *Estudio General de Medios* carried out by the Asociación para la Investigación de Medios de Comunicación (<http://www.aimc.es>).

¹³ Both the Barometer and EGM data sets correspond to a variable listenership poll concerning subjects’ radio consumption on the day previous to the survey. For this reason, Internet penetration figures are lower than those cited by INE (94.1%) that represent the 3 months immediately prior to the survey.

citizens, the Spanish government cannot afford to ignore this reality, especially in its efforts to communicate with young people. This study was undertaken to provide an analysis of government advertising and public communication aimed at the nation's youth in order to verify whether the Spanish government has successfully adapted its communication strategies to the new digital landscape. Our analysis has been based on data taken from annual public reports on government advertising and public communication released for the period 2006–2010.

As this paper focuses on the age group referred to as the generation of digital natives, the data contained in the aforementioned government reports were screened to extract information concerning government campaigns specifically geared towards young people between the ages of 14 and 25. Campaigns directed to a wide youth audience were selected for analysis. The themes and objectives of these central government campaigns largely coincided with initiatives pursued by the Instituto de la Juventud (INJUVE), an agency that functions under the auspices of The Spanish Ministry of Health, Social Policy and Equality (www.injuve.es), as both seek to transmit consciousness-raising messages to a potentially high-risk population group while its members are still in the process of developing core social values. A decision was made to exclude short-term campaigns addressed to very limited audiences. After deliberation, 49 campaigns were chosen for analysis (see table 5).

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Total campaigns by year	11	11	11	7	9
Total expenditure	53,394,852 €	52,281,174 €	45,352,102 €	31,292,438 €	29,579,418 €
Media expenditure	43,198,596 €	48,777,853 €	39,208,605 €	23,582,530 €	24,660,797 €
% of total gov't expenditure	25.5%	19.4%	33.7%	32.8%	36.6%

Table 5. Government expenditure represented by youth campaigns chosen for the study
Source: Authors based on government reports *Publicidad y Comunicación Institucional* for the period 2006-2010

The figures in table 5 show that although the number of youth campaigns was small compared with the total number of campaigns carried out by the Spanish government during the period (49 of a total of 668), the year-over-year percentage of total expenditure allocated to campaigns directed to young people was very high. This relative weight in comparison to budget totals can be partially explained by the scope and scale of a few large general campaigns for which young people made up a large part of the target audience, such as those carried out by the Dirección General de Tráfico (Spain's national traffic management agency known as the DGT) or those dealing with gender violence. The DGT campaign included publicity for a special program that offered reduced fees on mandatory driver's education courses for young people and the gender violence campaign included publicity for *Foro Juventud y Violencia de Género*, an international conference on youth and gender violence. Table 6 breaks down Spanish government expenditure on media campaigns directed towards young people during the period 2006–2010 by theme and purpose.

Campaign themes	Ministries ¹⁴	Objectives	Years	Average annual expenditure
Anti-piracy	Culture	Fight against digital piracy and promote legal acquisition of digital content	2008, 2010	969,274 €
Promotion of culture	Culture	Promote reading and culture	2008–2010	1,110,595 €
Armed forces recruitment	Defence	Showcase the armed services as a career option and boost enlistment	2006–2010	7,558,729 €
Professional training and language instruction	Education	Promote professional training as an alternative to university studies and foster an interest in the study of foreign languages	2006–2008	5,913,582 €
Highway safety	Interior Ministry (traffic agency)	Promote responsible driving habits and prevent highway accidents	2006–2010	14,450,730 €
Tobacco, alcohol and drugs	Health and Social Policy	Raise awareness about the dangers of tobacco, alcoholic beverages and drugs to reduce youth consumption	2006–2007	6,332,690 €
Sexual education	Health and Social Policy	Prevent unwanted pregnancies and sexually-transmitted diseases	2006–2010	1,570,604 €
Tolerance	Labour and Immigration	Foster peaceful coexistence and respect for a multicultural society	2007	20,275 €
Gender violence	Labour and Immigration/ Equality	Raise the awareness of society about gender violence and fight to end violence against women	2006–2010	3,770,977 €
Housing and emancipation	Labour and Immigration/ Equality /Housing	Publicize and distribute economic aid for young people seeking to establish their own residence for the first time	2006–2008	2,325,483 €

Table 6. Thematic breakdown of campaigns considered for this study
Source: Authors based on government reports *Publicidad y Comunicación Institucional* for the period 2006-2010

We will now move on from this general description of the campaigns chosen for our analysis to a comparison of the Spanish government's annual expenditure on youth campaigns and its overall expenditure on advertising and public information campaigns, as well as a comparison of the media employed in youth and general campaigns.

Government advertising in a digital context: the coexistence of radio and Internet

As previously mentioned, the research project of which this study is a part has focused on two communications media in particular: radio and Internet. To facilitate year-over-year comparison, figures for both the number of campaigns and campaign expenditures included in this article have been expressed in percentages of annual totals. No comparison of absolute figures has been made in order to avoid the distortions that would have been inevitably caused by the fall in government spending on advertising and public communications every year since 2008 in reaction to the current economic crisis. Any variation in the number of campaigns carried out in a particular media or in expenditures from one year to the next must be understood within the context of budget cuts that have affected communications media across the board. We have also chosen not to compare expenditures for various media, as the variation in rates and costs from one communications medium to another

¹⁴ As names of ministries varies from one administration to another, names in this table have been taken from the most recent report (2010).

makes establishing a correlation between expenditure and volume of activity impossible. For example, if one compares the cost of providing the same level of media coverage via television and radio, the cost of the former will always be higher than that of the latter.¹⁵ With this explanation of the factors we have taken into consideration, we are now ready to present the data, which is the principal objective of this paper.

We will begin by comparing government expenditures in both media (figures 2 and 3). These statistical charts show that government expenditure on Internet advertising has been steadily rising in comparison to its expenditure on radio advertising. Despite minor fluctuations, this trend has been sustained during the five years covered by our study (2006–2010).

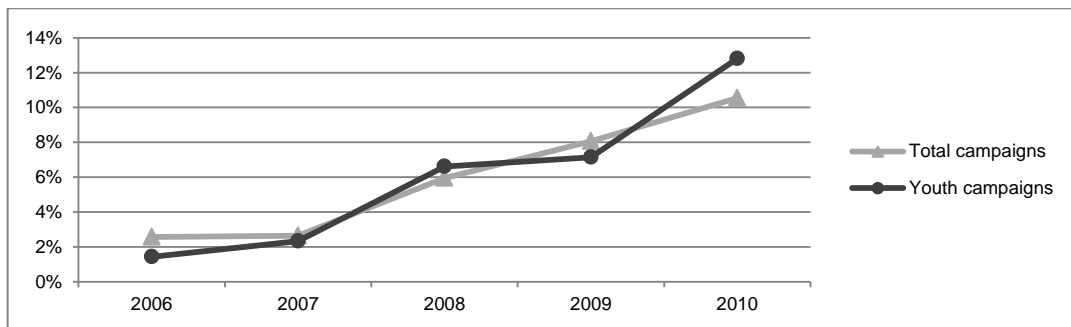


Figure 2. Comparison of total government expenditure on Internet advertising and government expenditure on Internet for youth campaigns (%)

Source: Authors based on government reports *Publicidad y Comunicación Institucional* for the period 2006-2010

Figure 2 shows the growing year-over-year weight of Internet expenditure in government advertising and communication budgets, a trend that can be observed in both the government’s total budget for advertising and communications and its expenditures related to campaigns specifically directed to youth audiences. One can clearly observe a surge in Internet spending during 2010, although analysis of future expenditure would be required to ascertain whether this represents a temporary spike or marks a permanent shift to Internet as part of a strategy to increase the impact of government media campaigns on young audiences.

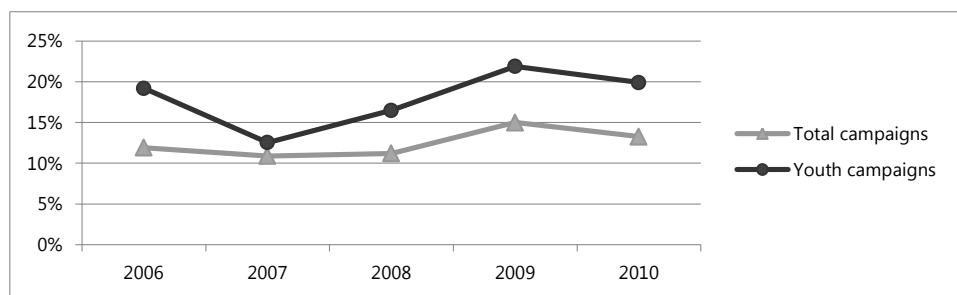


Figure 3. Comparison of total government expenditure on radio advertising and government expenditure on radio for youth campaigns (%)

Source: Authors based on government reports *Publicidad y Comunicación Institucional* for the period 2006-2010

¹⁵ Government expenditure in absolute numbers for the main media employed during the five years studied (figures expressed in thousands of €): Total campaigns. Television: 65,260 (2006); 93,470 (2007); 48,383 (2008); 27,830 (2009); 25,934 (2010). Press: 61,305 (2006); 70,774 (2007); 22,185 (2008); 16,972 (2009); 11,820 (2010). Radio: 20,046 (2006); 25,485 (2007); 12,990 (2008); 11,591 (2009); 9,308 (2010). Internet: 4,330 (2006); 6,193 (2007); 6,909 (2008); 6,228 (2009); 7,395 (2010). Youth campaigns selected for this study. Television: 23,773 (2006); 26,076 (2007); 20,325 (2008); 10,359 (2009); 9,488 (2010). Press: 6,211 (2006); 8,258 (2007); 4,234 (2008); 3,636 (2009); 2,130 (2010). Radio: 8,290 (2006); 6,120 (2007); 6,463 (2008); 5,164 (2009); 4,907 (2010). Internet: 620 (2006); 1,135 (2007); 2,594 (2008); 1,685 (2009); 3,158 (2010).

Radio expenditure has been fairly stable and has maintained its weight in overall government media expenditure during the period 2006–2010. Nevertheless, it should be noted that its weight has been percentually higher in campaigns directed to young audiences. This can be explained by the lesser emphasis given to print media for government campaigns targeted towards younger audiences; in such campaigns, the default distribution of expenditure favours radio and other media.

Official reports on government advertising and communications break down data on government advertising and communication campaigns by the medium employed. Figure 4 illustrates the percentages of all advertising and communications campaigns carried out by the government during the period studied that employed radio and Internet.

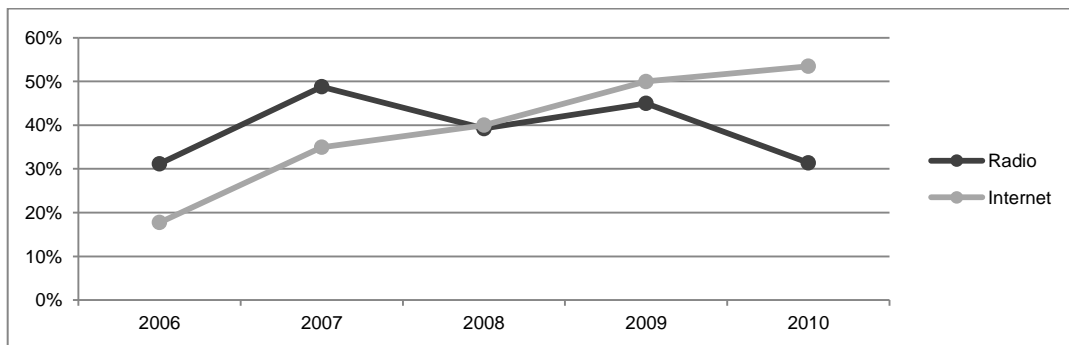


Figure 4. % of total campaigns that employed radio and Internet

Source: Authors based on government reports *Publicidad y Comunicación Institucional* for the period 2006-2010

It can be clearly observed that while the number of campaigns that integrated radio held steady with only slight annual variations, a growing number was carried out through the Internet. However, if radio is compared with all other media, it is losing ground. In 2006, radio was the second most frequently used medium by the Spanish government for its advertising and communications campaigns (58 campaigns), only outranked by the press (122 campaigns). The Internet ranked fifth in 2006, with 33 campaigns. However, by 2010, the Internet had become the second most important medium in terms of the number of government campaigns in which it was employed (46), only slightly less than those carried out in the press (53). Statistics for the same year show that by 2010 radio had become the fourth most employed medium. That year, it was used in the same number of campaigns as outdoor advertising (27). These figures clearly illustrate the swift ascendance of the Internet in terms of its use in advertising and communications campaigns. The gains made by Internet in the niche market comprised of young audiences are made even clearer in a direct comparison of the government’s use of radio and Internet for youth campaigns provided in figure 5.

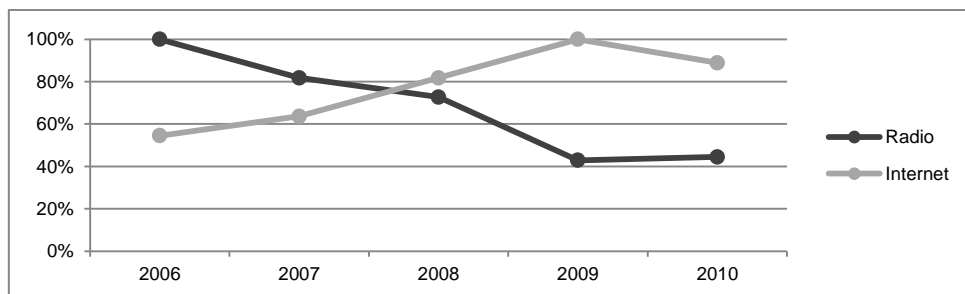


Figure 5. % of youth campaigns that employed radio and Internet

Source: Authors based on government reports *Publicidad y Comunicación Institucional* for the period 2006-2010

The orientation of government media campaigns towards a growing audience of digital natives gives online media an increasing edge over radio. In 2006, radio was employed in 100% of government campaigns addressed to young people and was the government's media of choice to reach this audience. This percentage has been steadily dropping. In 2010, radio stood equal with the press with 40% of this market—below Internet, magazines and outdoor advertising. Internet, on the other hand, has made spectacular gains in the same market. Whereas this medium was used in half of the government campaigns carried out in 2006, during 2009 and 2010 it was implicated in between 90 and 100%. Since 2008, more youth campaigns have been carried out through Internet than through any other medium and several, including the government's 2008, 2009, and 2010 campaigns to promote reading and its 2010 campaign to promote respect for authors' rights for digital content, were carried out exclusively online.¹⁶

Looking at these figures, one can observe the positive evolution of Internet, which has progressively been given more consideration in government media planning. Radio, on the other hand, has seen its formerly stable share of government contracts for advertising and communications services erode, both in terms of its participation in general campaigns and in those specifically directed to young people. This trend coincides with digital native consumer habits, although it must be noted that this demographic group continues to tune into the radio, particularly for music programming.

What are young people's listening habits?

For further insight into the preferences and listening habits of young people, we will now turn our attention to some of the qualitative conclusions drawn by the PubliRadio research group from a focus group study¹⁷ carried out for the project mentioned in the introduction of this paper, 'The Digital Sonosphere as a New Space to Communicate with Young People: A Study of Listener Habits for the Development of New PSA Formats' (CSO2009-12236). The responses and commentaries elicited from participants in this focus group defined and fleshed out the characteristics specific to this group, which places a high level of importance on the skills required for using new media technology and whose relationship with technology often borders on a dependence that can at times reach extremes, as in the case of the group member who stated: 'I think that our generation has been immersed in technology from adolescence'. Another expressed his relationship to media in these terms: 'I've had a mobile phone since I was eleven years old. Technology evolves with you. Today, you just can't go around using a heavy-as-a-brick Nokia 3310 phone like everybody used to have. You keep changing models and adapting to them and discovering new things'. Yet another participant commented, 'Today's young people—the twenty-somethings—use Internet more and always need to be connected'. A young member of the focus group reflected, 'I think we're getting more and more hooked on technology. When my friends who are in their thirties now were young, they didn't even have mobile phones. They called each other from home and they were just as happy without them'. One student brought up the issue of connectivity: 'When I'm at home I'm always connected—always—whether I'm in Facebook, Messenger, or another site. I disconnect when I go out. If I had the possibility to be online anywhere I went, I'm sure I'd do it and stay completely hooked on it, in my own little world,' an opinion that was echoed by another, who flatly stated: 'The first thing I do when I wake up is boot the computer, because I've got to look at my mail. I look at a lot of things; I look at everything'.

There are two characteristics of digital natives' media listening habits that recur like a leitmotiv throughout the report on this focus group: their penchant for multitasking and their desire for portability of the media they

¹⁶ The two campaigns carried out completely online were 'Yo soy leeder' (<http://www.yosyleeder.org>) and 'Detrás de la cultura estamos todos' (<http://www.culturaenpositivo.es>). Although these campaigns are noted in the 2010 report, they were carried out in 2011.

¹⁷ Focus group convened in October 2010 with 8 subjects (university students with a median age of 21 and therefore digital natives). Responses were processed using the qualitative analysis programme MaxQda.

use. These two themes gained more and more relevance as the study progressed. Participants referred to these habits and preferences through comments such as 'There's always something on in the background while you're doing other things... the radio, Spotify, or something else—always. I think that our generation can't do anything without something playing in the background'. It was made very clear to the researchers involved in the study that people in this demographic group place a great deal of importance on being able to listen to something while carrying out tasks, wherever they are at the moment. Perona (2011) has commented on this trend and its ramifications for radio: 'Today, thanks to technological convergence, a person can do a wider range of things while listening, a fact that ensures a positive coexistence between radio and other media. As radio accommodates the concept of multitasking, it resists displacement by other media and serves as a complement to what they offer' (McClung, Pompper and Kinnally, 2007: 116, cited by Perona, 2011). Regarding the issue of portability, focus group subjects affirmed its importance with statements such as 'The majority of people wear headphones on the street or carry their iPods or their mobiles with them wherever they go'. Portability is so important that it overrules other considerations such as poor sound quality: 'I think that these gadgets offer convenience, but the sound quality is inferior. Listening to music with a mobile device is not the same as listening to it played on a higher quality radio/CD player at home'.

This is therefore a demographic group that wants to be able to decide not only what it listens to, but also where, when, and in what form it will hear it. Given the range of possibilities available to digital natives to download and limitlessly reproduce audio content any place or any time using the technical means of their choice, the media they consume adjusts itself to their whims as consumers. The option of downloading content, particularly music, is key to their lifestyles: 'I think that the more people can download music from the Internet, the better it is for musicians and groups, because people attend more concerts. For example, I really like a certain singer that I discovered listening to the radio. I looked for his music in Internet and now I attend his concerts whenever I can'.

It's not surprising that the young people who participated in the focus group could perceive the advertising potential of radio and platforms and sites such as Spotify: 'I like the kind of advertising that grabs you right from the beginning; that makes you stop what you're doing to listen... the kind that makes you ask yourself, "What are they trying to tell me?" That's good radio advertising. I think that Spotify could really come up with some good ideas for advertising if it put some effort into it'.

Based on the work we have carried out, we believe that Spanish government ministries and agencies would do well to consider those characteristics that are unique to the new media technologies that are shaping youth media consumption habits such multitasking and portability when they plan media campaigns directed to young people. By taking into account how young people consume media content, they would be fulfilling the commitment expressed in the 2010 government guide to adapt its communications to the new technologies and the paradigms they create.

Conclusions

As we have related throughout this article, young people today are digital natives who live in an environment in which technology provides the contextual underpinning and comprises the predominant features of the daily landscape. They map out their coexistence with this digital paradigm by instinctively navigating through a maze of opportunities for connectivity, portability and multitasking that give them a sense of gratification and confirm their mastery of new technology. However, radio still has relevance as a communications media. It can coexist with other communications media by virtue of its potential to reach listeners while they engage in other activities. Therefore, we cannot speak of its displacement as a media, but rather its inherent capacity to complement other media, particularly Internet.

Internet is both the preferred medium of the majority of young people today and the medium that has undergone the greatest evolution during the five years covered by this study. Nevertheless, radio penetration (mainly in music formats) has held steady for this demographic group during the same period and stood at 50% in 2010, proportionally in line with penetration for the mean population. It must also be noted that 25% of Catalan young people regularly access radio programming through the Internet.

Within the new context of digital technology, the term 'radio message' has given way to 'audio message', which better reflects the new dimensions of broadcast sound. Radio has long been the primary medium for transmission of audio content, which until the last decade has been subject to radio's paradigm of sequentiality, ephemerality and unidirectionality. Internet, however, has the potential to cater to the habits and needs of active listeners who seek interconnectivity and are accustomed to accessing resources online—characteristics that make it attractive to young digital natives.

Strategies for advertising and communications campaigns undertaken by the Spanish government cannot ignore the changes brought about by a shift to a digital environment, as this shift has recreated entirely new ways of receiving audio messages and new youth consumer habits. This reality leaves public authorities no other alternative than to communicate with these young people through the channels they use to find media content and via mechanisms that engage their digital instincts and skills, which are inextricably linked to hypermedia environments and multitasking.

An analysis of the data gathered for this study has revealed a relationship between the positive evolution of online media and its increased utilisation for governmental advertising and communications campaigns. The data also show that during the same time the Spanish government has steadily maintained proportional expenditure on radio advertising, and even relied heavily on this medium to transmit messages to young people; it has also been steadily increasing its expenditure on Internet. This trend in government media policy for public service announcements is seen even more clearly if one studies a breakdown of campaigns by the type of medium employed. Whereas in 2006 all Spanish government campaigns directed to youth audiences made use of radio, five years later that media was utilised in only 40% of institutional youth campaigns. As the government's use of radio for youth-oriented communications declined during the period studied, Internet assumed a progressively more important role, rising from a participation in 50% of the total youth campaigns launched in 2006, to a near total participation in youth campaigns carried out during 2009 and 2010.

Nevertheless, the Spanish government needs to go further in fulfilling its mandate to inform and educate the public and foster public social awareness; it needs to make the messages it transmits to youth audiences more effective. Government communication strategies must respond to the growing opinion that advertising and communications must be personalised and interactive and that the content of the messages they transmit must be creative and tailored towards the specific audience to which they are directed.

At the current time, advertisers recycle strategies designed for radio into audio content for digital platforms, without taking advantage of the potential of digital technology and the multiple new possibilities it offers. New user's habits and mobile devices now allow advertisers to 'microsegment' and home in specific niche segments of the population. Advertisers have the option of broadening the concepts of their advertising strategies and developing more personalised campaigns rather than simply replicating the formats and strategies used for messages transmitted through more conventional channels.

As stressed in this paper, radio functions as a complement to Internet, unlike other media such as television or the press that do not accommodate users' predilections for multitasking. Therefore, keeping in mind the complementary roles of radio and Internet in the transmission of audio messages, it is unwise to rule out either radio - especially radio outlets that use a musical format - or Internet radio as a medium when planning campaigns directed to young audiences. This study recommends that the government adapt its public

communications strategies to today's media environment by shifting from a restrictive *radio* content mentality to a more up-to-date vision that considers *audio* content.

As the study outlined in this paper constitutes one phase of an ongoing project, we conclude with a proposal that springs from the insights gained from our research to date: not only should the possibilities of audio messaging be fully exploited to better reach young audiences; Spanish government advertising and communication campaigns aimed at young people should also be designed to form them as well as inform them. This, then, is the challenge going forward - to give a definitive answer to the question 'What is the potential importance of an audio message for young listeners?' This question marks the path towards further research.

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Music as mass consume in the web radio: towards a change in model

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Abstract:

The software for streaming and spread of sound are an attempt to force the limits on the web to the spread the heavy audio files; it seems that the social desire to make the Internet a total mean, a met medium that, using audible and audiovisual languages gives itself the capacity to communicate and exchange information thanks to the anarchic characteristics of the web and the absence of a centralizing service. The feeling is that the Internet is a territory of freedom, alien to any rule. Two consequences of this process are particularly important for the radio:

1. Each individual can become a radio broadcaster, it being recorded music or live music.

The huge economic and social distance between broadcaster and listener, potentially at least, can become a way of interaction as P2P.

2. Existing radio broadcasters can transmit in a web cast (that is, through the web) therefore widening the limit between time and space and removing a lot of forms of control and censorship.

This project makes a comparative investigation about the way to obtain better performances in the search for songs, through the detailed study of the case of 14 melodies comparing their broadcasting through the web or in radio broadcasters attached to the web. The results allow approaching to the radio model change that is taking place these days.

Keywords: web radio, music, radio models

Introduction

The practice of streaming destroys the contemporary monopoly, patrimony of the radio industry that was the major medium of live broadcasting until now. Radio was the only medium of simultaneous sound and shared with television its contemporary ways which were very envied by other mediums, set and consecutive to the events, such as newspapers, cinema, books... A wide social and political barrier separated recorded sound from live sound, the socially encoded sound object to a record company label and the spontaneous radio sound. Now this barrier tends to lessen or become blurred.

The immediate consequence of this possibility was the birth of web radio. From a few years into the mid 90's online radio broadcasters started to appear, first in the USA and then everywhere.

The radio phenomenon hasn't been so important a change as it was for example the transistor or the walkman. The reason is in a paradox: surely web radio has gone beyond the temporal and special limits of the traditional wave's radio; you can still enjoy this type of radio only if you have a fast connection and a strong computer. The occidental well-off user's profile speaks about new limits, which the digital breach inserts and which are the same limits as the wave's radio. A small and obsolete receiver or transistor can work effectively in

the center of Africa, in a village that lacks electric energy, but not a web radio. So the Internet simultaneously enlarges or restricts, following the margins of digital breach, the ways of radio distribution.

This paradox makes radio on the Internet less attractive than it could be, and inserts another paradox: the audience (as we could provisionally call it) from the Internet is much wider than that of the radio but radio on the Internet has a more strict limit than that of conventional radio.

This consideration brings light to an important difference regarding the digitalization of radio and television. Television can enjoy more the power of the new technology, compressing the signal and using the same frequencies to spread more channels. On the contrary, for radio to be digitalized (as it happens to DAB and other standards) is forced to endow it with expensive and heavy machines, or with the Internet, which is now a static technology. Digital transmission of web radio contracts with the priority tendency of the radio which is the miniaturization and the spirit of mobility, adding radio as autonomous hardware, inserted in the interior of a machine, in the cell phone, walkman or its derivative (portable CD players, MP3 and iPod).

The context of sharing files

It is hard to consider revolutionary anything that neutralizes the most technical characteristic and the most beloved of the social uses of a medium. (Menduni, 2001). The limits which are each time clearer, if not the true and proper decline of web radio go hand in hand with the birth of file sharing, that is the possibility of sharing music files through the Internet.

Radio on the web stays immobilized in a fixed position; it is not in conditions of going on and boosting the social use that was made of it in the television era, in which the radio listening has been always a choice, not a necessity, and it doesn't allow its users to become producers and distributors. At this point we should insert file sharing: the exchange of musical files among privates that gain access to the Internet, through sites that are independent from the musical offer, published by the users themselves. Traditional file sharing is a free exchange of the P2P type; later it got transformed in commercial transaction. It uses mainly the MP3 standard and a new portable and personal hardware, the MP3 player.

With the spread of streaming and file sharing, music loses contact finally with a material support that accompanied it since the XIX century. In the technical reproduction era music had stopped to be a live show and became to be considered like a recorded, registered art, accessible in each moment and not only during its execution. Live music (in a concert, a performance...) represented a strange and difficult occasion for social rituals, destined to a limited socio-cultural target, while ordinary consumption could be obtained either in specific public places, like 18th century theatre, like the home privacy, and finally thanks to radio and walkman in open spaces and public places.

That way a new economic policy of recorded music was constituted, based on a high cost of execution but a low cost of marketing through cd's or other brackets and through its eventual spread on the radio, which favored a wider traffic than that of recorded music. To play the music a material support was needed, which had to be acquired in the public place and bring it home. Live music had always the tendency to increase costs, including the aid of public institutions. (If a product made in mass-production sells successfully it tends to cheapen its price; however it doesn't happen the same with interpreters and music executors who if reaching success tend to increase the costs; it is the cost of the performance which increases with the artist's reputation).

With the radio's arrival it also appeared a distinction between instant and permanent music, inside the music reproduction. Instant music, liquid, guaranteed by the radio, was of an immaterial nature and had the splendor of novelty and the unpredictable event, but it was ephemeral and non-registrable: it maintained the magical characteristics of live execution.

Permanent music was a collection of cd's, effective but always the same. It was music inside the house.

With streaming and file sharing the difference between instant and permanent music has been redefined. Music resigns material support, it reveals again immaterial, like live art, but it also can be played, exchanged, carried, and finally breaking the limits of the restricted prison that is the house from which the radio was the first to leave thanks to the transistor.

Twenty years had to elapse to be able to properly and clearly speak of a second revolution in the radio medium. Radio (...) has acquired a multimedia dimension. (Ortiz, 2011: 42).

Music has become part of a social debate of a surprising reach, around the matters of copyright raised by the fixation of a digital canon. Only a few times has the discussion of a law generated such intense and so far to reach to a consensus media and social debates nowadays. In every age group there is a high level of reflection, of a political and ethic tone, about which should be the reach of the rights of the author, the financial return to musicians and the model of music industry.

Music appears therefore in the epicenter of diverse problems that splash our contemporary culture and our media communication: the daily practices, the construction of identities, cultural industries, technologies, legal environment, political resistances and ethic positions. It surprises, therefore, that music, now paradigm of the changes made in the digital environment, has had so little presence in the communication studies. A few cultural environments are nowadays so media and influenced. The work of the investigators is, without a doubt, to keep analyzing and observing the remake of these interventions that show the ways of organizing of our contemporary culture (Fouc , 2010:65-72).

Methodology

This project makes a comparative search the best way possible to obtain ideal outputs in the localization of songs, through the detailed study of the case of 14 melodies. In all of them it has been compared their localization through the net or in conventional broadcasters built-in the web. The results allow approaching to the change of the radio model that is taking place in this concrete moment of the historic evolution of this centennial medium.

The selected melodies were the following:

1. No Woman, No Cry
2. Me and Mrs. Jones
3. Looking for Paradise
4. Let it Be
5. Viva la Vida
6. Santa Luc a
7.   Chloris
8. Bohemia Rhapsody
9. Across the Universe
10. Ay, amor
11. Por el boulevard de los sue os rotos
12. Born to run
13. What else is there
14. A os 80

Obtained results after the said research:

1. No woman no cry

In the most part of the analyzed websites there aren't videos that accompany the music.

This song was in almost every website because it's a classic and in fact, for much time that has gone by it still is present in the sites.

2. Mr. and Mrs. Jones

In the researches done in ten channels that could offer the Billy Paul's song "Mr. and Mrs.

Jones" it can be affirmed that except in one (Finetune) all the rest include the track. They wanted to check if it could be listened to for free and that it was the whole song and not only 30 seconds of it. From this it can be concluded that 5 of the 10 sources used in the research filled the requirements that were pretended. It has to be noted that among the five of them, two are music channels, other two video channels and one is an illegal downloading "p2p" source.

Concretely for this song there's a difficulty if there's another melody with the same title. It is a version done by Michael Bubl , an artist that at the moment of the research had more popularity than Billy Paul. For this reason it didn't appear as a first result in the search.

For this track, video channels like Youtube or Google videos which offered a perfect response to the question. Internet is then a good place to hear Billy Paul's track "Mr. and

Mrs. Jones" as it was found in 50% of the selected sources and under the asked criteria.

3. Looking for paradise.

The search of the song from the new album of Alejandro Sanz, Looking for paradise, released a month before the research, was negative. The first steps consisted in combining words in Google's search bar to localize the sources that were used to listen to free music online. The song didn't appear in barely any digital radio and in those it appeared it was 40% videos from YouTube, so it was easier to go to that website to listen to it.

In this case it was easier to listen to it on the conventional radio since it appeared four times a day in any of them. A faster possibility was to download the song from any of the programs that allowed making this action.

The song, recently arrived to the market, was easy to localize, but it wasn't like that. It could be concluded that, in these supports, the search for older songs is more positive than of new songs that are released into the market.

4. Let it Be

The actual situation of music playing copyright of the Beatle's songs determines partly of the results of this case. The industry in property of these copyright, Apple Corps. Ltd. didn't get to an agreement with other enterprise for the Beatle's songs to be downloaded through online services. In view of this situation when searching for Let it be in Google the majority of the websites where it can be listened to in its original version have it also included in videos, many of them coming from YouTube.

Three sources with the original version only in audio were found, but it couldn't be downloaded. One of the sites www.goear.com offered the option of adding the song to the playlist or list of favorites if you proceed to subscribe to the site, which has a similar movement to Spotify. Other of the sites, www.jango.com allowed listening to the song and to buy it, it led to iTunes or Amazon that have no online playing rights of this song and can't allow getting Beatle's songs.

On the other hand the source

<http://eztracks.aavalue.com/?referrerid=2154568&songname=Let%20It%20Be&affid=0> offered the possibility of downloading the mp3 format of this song via sms from the cell phone, previous payment.

The effort that this search requires allows affirming that the web isn't a completely useful tool to listen to "Let it be" because the play copyright's legal situation is constitutes a problem so far and it is not permitted. Anyway, the video sources that were found, which in some cases as they were a few so they were repeated, have

the original version and with a lasting more than 30 seconds. And the audio sources, although they are much less, are totally legal.

If the enterprise in property of the copyrighted playing of the Beatle's music reached the agreement to online downloading of this song, surely Internet would become a very interesting tool for this and other songs. Meanwhile it can't be downloaded from sites like Spotify, iTunes, Amazon or Napster. The song appears in these sites, but not the original version, but versions made by other bands or the one Paul McCartney did back in 2002. On the other hand, it is also difficult to hear this song on the radio, despite it being one of the best known songs. It is only played on the radio whenever a moment related to the Beatles is commemorated or whenever there's a program related to the time the song was released or it is used as background music for any content. Since it is an old song, it is hard that it gets played on the radio, that's why the Internet would make it easier for the next generations to get to know it. There's also the option to buy their records; remade Beatle's songs are on sale with a high price.

5. Viva la vida.

It is common to listen to Viva la vida from Coldplay. The song was released on May 7, 2008 on iTunes for its digital download and on May 20 it was broadcasted for the first time on the American television. The album went on sale on June 12, 2008.

It also possible to hear only the audio- Spotify or Purevolume- or watch the video- YouTube or Dailymotion-; you just have to locate the most convenient site or program to enjoy the music we like.

6. Santa Lucía.

This song is available in audio and video, without any cost and with the possibilities of unlimited playing. Its download requires the payment for it in any of its options, from 0,99 euros.

7. A Chloris.

A Chloris is a song not much known among the audience not interested in the Belle Époque composers and not even much known among the lovers of the same. It can be listened to in many different versions online, it can be bought physically and be downloaded digitally, either legally, respecting the phonographic and playing copyrights, or illegally on the free downloading sites.

In regards to the documents available on the Internet, its origin and where the song comes from can be known, also the translated lyrics, as well as some biographic notes about the author and the work, and it isn't so difficult to find sites and references to the recordings, although in a minority. In regards to its spread and broadcast on radios and music programs we could suspect that it is not one of the most programmed melodies although it is on some artists' repertoire, those devoted and specialized in lied and French song and who use to include it in their recitals. Given that it is a not very commercial track, its publicity limits to the album's presentation and the blogger's and lovers' references who write them on the sites the song is written in.

8. Bohemian Rhapsody.

It hasn't been an easy task, although it can be listened to and, sometimes, also watched the video of the song "Bohemian Rhapsody" from british band Queen. The fact the song has been hit throughout the years has been a key factor to be able to have it at disposal on different websites. It has to be taken into account that Queen is a well-known band worldwide, with a big impact, both media and musical, a fact that made things easier when listening to it and visualizing it.

9. Across the Universe.

This song can only be found in a few sites. There are versions sang by other people.

Internet isn't an adequate medium to find The Beatle's song, being it by previous payment or through illegal downloads. Despite it all, to hear it once, it is possible to go to YouTube.

10. Ay amor.

Nena Daconte's song "Ay amor" was found in different sites for free (complete version) and without need to subscribe or download. In the majority of the sites the video could also be watched. Most of the analyzed websites allow users to make their playlists with all the songs they want to listen to.

Also the great majority obliges their users to register to have access to it but the subscription is free and not complicated.

Nena Daconte has a big presence on music radio broadcasters and it is frequent that Spanish broadcasters like 40 Principales, Europe FM, Cadena 100, etc. offer this duet's most popular tracks. Somehow it is easier to listen to songs on the web.

11. Por el boulevard de los sueños rotos.

It is much easier to listen to Joaquín Sabina's song together with the video than audio only.

If so, thanks to YouTube and its big spread of videos. A problem that music composers have faced with is the illegal download of music through P2P tools. These type of downloads harm the authors who stop earning millionaire figures due to the illegal download of music.

This song specifically was found a lot of times. To be able to listen to it, it is possible to go to Spotify or do it through similar services, although it can also be found on P2P webs, of illegal download. It is possible to have access to it through free services and on first line searchers.

Due to this song having a few years, and although it is one of Sabina's most known songs, it is difficult to be able to listen to it, except in programs done to commemorate old time songs. It is easier to find it on the Internet, and listen to it, than on the radio.

12. Born to run.

It is very easy to listen to this song on the Internet, and also thanks to YouTube. Through

YouTube it is easy to watch a song's video and also listen to its audio only. Although Spotify is making this last thing easier, the need to be registered or invited by another user to be able to enjoy its offers makes YouTube user's first choice.

Numerous sites demand previous registration in order to enjoy the music, which makes the utilization more complicated and favors the audience's migration to places such as the aforementioned YouTube. On the majority of webs the interfaces are quite simple, but there are some cases in which they complicate the search and favor the audience's abandonment of the site. It is much easier to listen to this song on the Internet than on the radio. And through the web, it is much easier to go to pages like YouTube. The downloading options of the sites we looked up don't satisfy the users' needs, taking into account the existence of sources such as Kazaa, Ares, Emule or Lime Wire. The audience who wishes to download music could do it, generally through these programs and not through purchasing songs from the aforementioned websites.

13. What else is there

It seems good the raising of the site "Maestro.fm", oriented to the idea of "total screen" of the future. This enterprise forms a community of users who exchange playlists. The site tracks music collections and offers it where it is located or in the device it is used. It allows creating playlists and sharing them.

14. Los Piratas.

In this case, even a music broadcaster like 40 Principales offers the video before the audio version. In this search illegal downloading sites didn't appear which has made easier listening to it than illegally downloading the song. The experiences with online radios haven't been positive. None of the broadcasters visited allowed listening fully to the song that was being looked for and even to listen to the 30 seconds version it was forced to register previously. On the other hand the websites that I consider that work well in radio mode don't allow the freedom of choosing and listening to a song (Rockola fm). Among the ones that were analyzed, that allows doing that, Gear works badly as online radio and los40.com isn't specifically radio on the Internet.

Conclusions

The work of searching and locating of sources on the Internet, made due to this investigation has permitted establishing these conclusions:

- Internet is resulting an adequate support to listen to music that is looked for, even before it can be listened to on the radio, television, and of course, on LP or CD. The immediacy, the rapidity and the good quality are introduction cards of a system that little by little is ousting traditional supports.
- The web has sites that offer music in a legal way. The YouTube channel, for example, supports videos and audios held to legal conditions that the web requires; in the contrary case, the videos are reported and deleted immediately. However, not all these options are legal. There are the P2P webs, which offer free music only downloading a program, but out of any legal demand. The only way to obtain these tracks legally through the Internet is paying for them, as it's done with a CD.
- In the majority of the websites the interfaces are very easy, but there are cases which are too complicated in searching and which bring about the audience to leave the site
- It is resulting much easier to listen to the music that is wished for on the Internet than doing it through the conventional radio.
- To sum up, thanks to YouTube and Spotify especially, the web has become not only an alternative to listen to music, but in the first option of many users, who have more facilities to find any type of music every time.
- Nevertheless, radio's audience hasn't got accustomed to the rhythm of the establishment of new distribution platforms; only in the music consumption is where a certain doubt about radio's survival as a source to listen to music can be approached. The changes that are discerned suggest a new stage with expectations for the audience.

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Operation and social participation in a radio local model

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Abstract:

The communicative map of a territory is formed by a few diverse mass media, which can differ in supports or in territorial scope. This research studies a specific typology: the local radio channels that broadcast in Catalonia. Thus, the local communication is analysed taking into account aspects such as the media organization, the broadcasting services or the professional profiles. The researched territory has 51 towns, with more than 40 operative mass media, 11 of which are local or regional radio stations.

The object of study is the set of local radio stations that operate in this Catalan region. In a globalized world, knowing what's close to us is of a great relevancy, and that's where the local media –and, in this case, the radio– play a crucial role. The choice of radio owes to its immediate and nearby operation. We have selected the stations that spread their contents from and for their territory across the Frequency Modulation (FM).

These local radios offer to their audience a gateway to the media that it is not possible in other general companies. In all the time dedicated strictly to the own information, these radios only speak about one town or at most about the region, but never about a wider area. The most relevant conclusion is the important role played by the collaborators, people who take part in the radios in different duties without any remuneration and, in many occasions, without too many theoretical and/or practical knowledge on the radio.

Keywords: radio, local, participation, operative

Introduction

The communication map of a territory can be defined by the media which operate there, which define the information reality of the host society and are diverse.¹

Apart from the distinction between types – press, radio, television and Internet – the media differ in their geographical scope. Thus, some are focused on a specific and limited area, such as a town or region, whereas others operate on a broader scale such as a nation or country.²

¹Keith, Michael (2001). 'La radio en el mercado global', in Martínez Costa, Pilar (Ed.), *Reinventar la Radio*. Pamplona: Eunat, pp. 105.

²Cebrián Herreros, Mariano (2000). 'Globalitat i proximitat (de l'aldea global a l'univers local)' in Ramon, Manel; Moles, Margarida; Font, Abel, et. al. *Les ràdios municipals en el llindar del 2000: Congrés de Ràdio Municipal: Barcelona, 4, 5 i 6 de febrer del 2000*. Barcelona: Federació d'Organismes i Entitats de Ràdio Local de Catalunya, pp. 27 – 29.

In this paper, we focus on a specific type of media, which operate in a particular area of Catalonia. We refer to the local radio stations broadcasting on FM from the Osona region. These stations generate their content from a very specific area and do so with their target audience in mind.³

Objectives

The objective of the research is to determine a communication model based on local and regional radio stations operating in Catalonia. It is aimed at finding out what their *modus operandi* is and how the roles of the people running them are organised. In this research, therefore, the current map of the local radio stations in the Osona region will be drawn, and we will identify the typologies and operation.

Methodology

To carry out the study, various research and data collection techniques were used to obtain detailed knowledge about the subject of the study.

First, a literature search was carried out on the subjects covered: radio and local media. In all cases, academic articles and publications were consulted, and, in the fields of communication and local radio, the focus was on published work referring to Catalonia rather than other work with a broader scope. In this way, we were able to delimit the study further and the research has been concentrated on a specific and local geographical area.

In the specific study of the local radio stations of Osona, various academic methods were used to obtain specific data and be able to provide relevant research results. Therefore, to gain in-depth knowledge about these specific radio stations, we decided to conduct the research based mainly on qualitative methods, such as structured interviews, while not ignoring the use of quantitative techniques, which helped in the analysis of data on local radio station programming.

The Greek media landscape in the international communication system: comparisons with east European broadcasting.

In depth interviews

Going into detail regarding the techniques used in the research, we must first address the qualitative tool of in-depth interviews. In this case, we took as a basis the work of Wimmer and Dominick,⁴ which distinguishes between two types of interviews, structured and unstructured. In the first case, the questions are set in advance in a pre-established order, while in the second case, more general questions are posed in order to add new questions during the interview.

Of the two types of in-depth interviews presented by Wimmer and Dominick, we decided to carry out structured interviews because it was considered that they could provide more specific and interesting data for the study. Regarding structured interviews, Taylor and Bogdan⁵ believe that all individuals should be asked identical questions so that the results can be compared. While Ander-Egg,⁶ on the other hand, believes that the structured interview takes the form of an interrogation in which the questions previously set are always asked in the same order and terms.

In-depth structured interviews were carried out in the research because it was considered to be the most direct method to obtain broad knowledge about the reality of local Osona radio stations. These interviews were

³ The research focused on the following stations: Ràdio Vic, El 9 FM, Ràdio Taradell, Ràdio Manlleu, Ràdio Troka, Ràdio Pista, Ràdio Ona, Ràdio Roda, Ràdio Voltregà, Ràdio Montesquiú, SER Osona i Els 40 Osona. When the field work had been completed, a new radio station appeared in the Osona region, El 9 FM, and another had disappeared, Ràdio Troka.

⁴ Wimmer, Roger D.; Dominick, Joseph R. (2006). *Mass Media Research: An introduction*. Belmont, CA: Thomson, Wadsworth, pp. 132.

⁵ Taylor, Steven J.; Bogdan, Robert (1998). *Introduction to qualitative research methods: a guidebook and resource*. New York: Wiley, pp. 101.

⁶ Ander-Egg, Ezequiel (1989). *Técnicas de investigación social*. Buenos Aires: Humanitas, pp. 227.

designed and defined for a very specific sample, the directors and heads of news programmes of the local Osona radio stations. This limited sample was chosen because it was considered that these individuals know the inner functioning of the radio stations best.

With the questionnaires, we obtained a specific definition of radio stations operating in the region and we were able to find out how they function, especially in terms of their programming and news, the elements that most influence the audience.

Quantitative content analysis

The use of content analysis enabled us to find out more about the subject of study, as it was considered that the results that can be obtained by structured in-depth interviews are insufficient to fully define the current radio model of the area studied.

In fact, when defining the use of content analysis,⁷ Sierra Bravo⁸ considers that this method represents a summary of the facts observed because it allows a classification of the results by grouping them and relating them to the research objectives. From the summary of data proposed by the author, it has been possible to obtain more specific knowledge of the operation of the subject of study.

Also in defining content analysis, we can consider the definition of Maurice Duverger,⁹ for whom this type of analysis has the great advantage of objectivity, because it removes the subjective side to the interpretation of texts to gain an independent interpretation. According to the author, content analysis is a very suitable technique for research on the media, especially radio, as in this case.

Another argument in favour of the use of quantitative content analysis in research is found in the work of Dorwin P. Cartwright,¹⁰ for whom the objective of this method is to convert observable phenomena into data which can be dealt with scientifically. In fact, this was the work method in the research on local radio stations in Osona, because a reality which was not conceived in these terms was converted into analysable data.

In this case, the analysis of the data has focused on the programmes offered by the various stations, taking the programming schedules as the clearest product that a radio station offers an audience. The analysis was carried out from two perspectives, and two specific aspects were studied: Firstly, a quantitative study was made of the time each station dedicated to its own programmes, meaning the items and programmes produced and broadcast from the station itself. Secondly, based on the results from the quantitative analysis, it was possible to find out the percentages of time that the Osona local radio stations dedicate to providing their own programmes and news services for their audience.

The Osona local radios within the communication network

The Osona region is an area of just over 1,200 square kilometres, with 51 centres of population and around 40 media of different types, all dedicated to local information, which concerns both towns with a few thousand inhabitants and the entire region. The communicative situation of the territory, as Fuller described,¹¹ consists of media that offer an alternative to the agenda of the general media and pursue social objectives beyond individual benefits.

⁷ In our research we use the technique of quantitative content analysis, understanding the radio networks of the local Osona radio stations as a text from which various elements or content can be studied. In our case, the subject of the quantitative study is the self-produced programmes and news services of the radio stations.

⁸ Sierra Bravo, Restituto (1998). *Técnicas de investigación social. Teoría y ejercicios*. Madrid: Paraninfo, pp. 458.

⁹ Duverger, Maurice (1966). *Méthodes des sciences sociales*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, pp. 160.

¹⁰ Cartwright, Dorwin P. (1966). 'Analysis of Qualitative Material', in Festinger, Leon; Katz, Daniel. *Research methods in the behavioral sciences*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, pp. 401.

¹¹ Fuller, Linda K. (Ed.) (2007). *Community media. International perspectives*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1.

Amongst this communication network, there are local radio stations, which are the focus of the research. It is understood that the radio stations are not isolated media which operate disconnected from their environment,¹² but are one of the elements that make up the media reality of Osona, and, for this reason, we think it is interesting to contextualise them through the study of current media in Osona. As several authors argue, including Fairchild,¹³ local radio stations do not operate in isolation, but must deal with various government institutions, therefore relationships between the parties must be smooth. In fact, according to Rennie,¹⁴ radio is the dominant medium for community expression in most parts of the world, because its contents are relatively easy to produce and radios are still cheaper than televisions.

The radio map of the Osona region

Currently, through FM, radio stations which broadcast from both inside and outside the region can be heard. According to the Radio Observatory of Catalonia,¹⁵ in Osona 29 different radio stations can be heard through FM, most of which are stations that broadcast to the whole of Catalonia or Spain. Alongside these broadcasters the local radio stations, producing their contents only from Osona and with a limited geographical range, have a significant presence. These stations are: Ràdio Vic, El 9 FM,¹⁶ Ràdio Taradell, Ràdio Manlleu, Ràdio Troka –from Prats de Lluçanès–, Ràdio Pista –from Balenyà–, Ràdio Ona –from Torelló–, Ràdio Roda –from Roda de Ter–, Ràdio Voltregà –from Sant Hipòlit de Voltregà–, Ràdio Montesquiu, SER Osona and Els 40 Osona.

Types of radio stations

The radio world in Osona is traditionally linked to its towns. Most of the stations which operate there in villages or towns were created with the intention of giving the town a means of communication for all the population.¹⁷ Today, most radio stations in the region are municipal. There are only four private radio stations, and of these, two are branches of SER and Los 40 Principales, offering radio news and programmes from Osona. The other two are Ràdio Vic, which belongs to the business group which broadcasts the weekly *Osona Comarca*, and El 9 FM, which belongs to the broadcaster of the bi-weekly *El 9 Nou*.

This majority presence of municipal stations reflects the existing situation in Catalonia. In fact, Montse Bonet,¹⁸ in the 2005-2006 edition of the *Informe de la Comunicació Local a Catalunya* published by the Institute of Communication, stated that, because of the way that radio has been structured in Catalonia, local radio, which is broadcast to a specific population taking into account the people and the area, is being reduced to the public sector.

The broadcasters' funding system

In this research on the local Osona stations, we need to look at the companies or public bodies which are responsible for them. In the case of private broadcasters, they are managed by companies which pursue a

¹² Bel, José Ignacio (1990). *El derecho a la información local*. Madrid: Editorial Ciencia 3 Distribución, SA., pp. 36.

¹³ Fairchild, Charles (2010). 'Social Solidarity and Constituency Relationships in Community Radio', in Howley, Kevin (Ed.), *Understanding community media*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, pp. 23.

¹⁴ Rennie, Ellie (2006). *Community media. A global introduction*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, cop., pp. 4.

¹⁵ *Observatori de la ràdio a Catalunya* [Electronic Document]. 2011, in <<http://www.l-obsradio.cat>> [01-04-2011].

¹⁶ El 9 FM began operating in February 2010.

¹⁷ In this case, the experience in Osona is the same as Corominas and Llinés were able to demonstrate for the whole of Catalonia. Corominas, Maria; Llinés, Montserrat (1992). 'La experiencia catalana de radiotelevisión local. Un importante fenómeno social y comunicativo' in *Telos: Cuadernos de Comunicación, Tecnología y Sociedad*, juny-agost; núm. 30.

¹⁸ Corominas, Maria; Moragas (de), Miquel. (eds.) (2007). *Informe de la comunicació local a Catalunya 2005-2006*. Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

financial return, and for public broadcasters, it is the councils which play an important role for municipal radio.¹⁹ Of the 11 radio stations operating in the region, seven are municipal. After talking with those in charge of the stations, it can be seen that there is a problem with the involvement of the councils in their operation, because in many cases the work of these media is not valued by the administration. While it is true that none of the radio stations reported interference by the municipal authority regarding content, it has been seen that it is a problem for municipal radio stations to depend financially on a municipal budget which often is not determined taking into account the needs of the medium. Here, several radio stations have complained they cannot carry out the necessary projects, such as improved techniques or the application of new technologies, because councils do not provide the necessary funding.²⁰

Apart from the municipal stations, in the radio stations which are part of larger groups, the interests of the management company prevail over the interests of the area.²¹ In the Osona region there is only one case with these characteristics, SER Osona, which is significant enough for us to take it into account. If these groups decide to set up in a particular place, in this case Osona, it is because they believe that, beyond being able to offer specific and quality programming aimed at the area, there is a market and they can obtain financial results.

The role of volunteers in local radio

Local radio stations, like the other regional media, offer the public a means of social expression which goes beyond the possibilities of expressing opinions in public outside of the media. This means that, through the local media, the residents of the various municipalities of the region find a way to publicize their motivations, concerns or complaints.²² This means of expression is much more difficult to access through the general media.²³ In fact, these local media incorporate, in their own base, a desire to provide a means of democratic expression to society in a more local environment.²⁴

In addition, following the research on the Osona radio stations, one can consider that, in general, these radio stations fulfil the function of publicising a reality which exists in the quarters of the towns, and enables that social activity to be made public. This is made possible by the close ties that most stations have with the cultural and social organisations of the municipalities in which they operate.²⁵ Through this research it has been found that it is common for organisations to take into account the local stations as a means of publicising their activities. This means that the radios in the region have managed to capture the social movement that is around them and become the spokesperson for the social reality of the area.²⁶ Furthermore, in many cases, they act as radio training

¹⁹ A detailed definition of local radio from the perspective of ownership of the radio stations can be found in Barbeito, María Luz et al. (1998). 'Políticas radiofónicas de comunicación local. El caso de Catalunya'. [Electronic Document]. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, número 5, La Laguna (Tenerife). Available at: <<http://www.ull.es/publicaciones/latina/a/99radio.htm>>. [15-03-2010].

²⁰ Chaparro, Manuel (1998). *Radio pública local*. Sevilla: Fragua Editorial, pp. 239.

²¹ In this sense, Corominas, Guimerà, Fernández and Bonet consider that public radio is limited to municipal stations, because regional or state media function as a group and give practically no coverage of smaller areas. As for the private local radio, "increasingly, it forms part of a nationwide or regional chain, from which it disconnects at certain times to provide its own programming," and in only a small number of cases is it not part of a group and operates autonomously and independently. Corominas, María; Guimerà, Josep Àngel; Fernández, Isabel; Bonet, Montse (2005). 'Polítiques públiques de ràdio i televisió local en l'entorn digital a Espanya (1997-2004)' in *Tripodos*, núm. Extraordinari. Barcelona: Universitat Ramon Llull, pp. 639 - 650.

²² In most cases, this contact between residents and the media is made by telephone, which, according to Lewis and Booth, is the system is available to broadcasters to open up to society. Lewis, Peter M.; Booth, Jerry (1990). *The invisible medium: public, commercial, and community radio*. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, pp. 142 - 143.

²³ López, Xosé, et al. (1998) "El valor social de la información de proximidad". [Electronic Document]. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, número 7, La Laguna (Tenerife). Available at: <<http://www.ull.es/publicaciones/latina/a/68xose.htm>>. [17-03-2010].

²⁴ Howley, Kevin (2005). *Community media. People, places, and Communication Technologies*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 2.

²⁵ Corominas, María; Llinés, Montserrat (1992). *Op. cit.*

²⁶ Corominas, María; Diez, Mercè; Bergés, Laura (1999). 'Vint anys de ràdios municipals'. *Quaderns del CAC*, núm. 4, abril, Barcelona: Consell de l'Audiovisual de Catalunya.

schools, bringing the media closer to the public, and, as Dunaway says,²⁷ many of the local radio staff started as volunteers and have gained knowledge in addition to their training in order to develop professionally. Having acted as volunteers for stations themselves, therefore, they have greater empathy with the volunteers who participate.

Another of the features observed, and which can be considered as very significant, is the role of volunteers in all the Osona radio stations. By this term we mean individuals who, altruistically and without any financial compensation, give up part of their time to local radio stations for different tasks, such as providing technical assistance or producing a weekly programme, or occasional contributions to a programme discussing a particular topic. These volunteers, who can be seen in all the Osona stations, including the private ones, are important for the social role of local stations.²⁸ Thanks to the contributors, the radios have a direct relationship with society, because they are the same people who make the programmes and find in the stations a place of expression. In addition, the fact that the citizens themselves are involved in radio causes the rest of society to perceive the medium as close, and each volunteer can easily reach other people who are of the same ideology or social group.²⁹

At five of the region's stations, all those involved are volunteers i.e. they are not paid for their work. It can be said that these radio stations deserve special consideration because it is commendable to take forward a communication medium without receiving any compensation. Managing a medium is highly complex, because you have to ensure optimal performance in terms of both content and technique. Therefore, we give a favourable assessment of the work carried out by the directors and the boards of these local radio stations where none of the members receive a financial reward for their work.

The radio programme: the prevalence of formula radio

Not all the 12 local and regional radio stations which broadcast from Osona offer the same type of broadcasting, or dedicate the same time to offering content which they have produced themselves.³⁰ The Osona radio stations allocate most broadcasting hours to hits and formulaic music (except SER Osona, which broadcasts general programming from Cadena SER). According to our research, the figures are 72% a week Ràdio Vic, 94.8% SER Osona, 71% Ràdio Taradell, 83.1% Ràdio Manlleu, 89.1% Ràdio Pista, 77.8% Ràdio Ona, 81.5% Ràdio Roda, 53% Ràdio Voltregà and 96.4% Ràdio Montesquiu.

The information provided shows that the Osona stations offer few programmes of their own, but it is worth highlighting that these programmes are in most cases produced by volunteers. Therefore, over 20% of the broadcast hours transmitted by the local Osona radio stations is of in-house production, with items and programmes produced in most cases altruistically by local residents.

If reference is made to the effective time that these radio stations dedicate to local information, it should be pointed out that of the five stations with their own news services, SER Osona is the one which devotes most time to news programmes, about 33% of the radio's programming time. It should be noted, however, that the

²⁷ Dunaway, David (2002). 'Community Radio at the Beginning of the 21st Century: Commercialism vs. Community Power', in Jankowsky, Nicholas W., Prehn, Ole (Eds.), *Community Media in the Information Age. Perspectives and Prospects*. Cresskill: Hampton Press, cop., pp. 79.

²⁸ Federació de Ràdios Locals de Catalunya (2008). *Llibre blanc de la ràdio local pública*. [Electronic document]. Barcelona: Federació de ràdios locals de Catalunya. <<http://www.radiolocal.cat/pub2/>>. [09-03-2009]. According to the *White paper*, the key to the success of local radio in Catalonia lies in the fact that, since its inception, the listener has been able to identify who was driving the communication and the market itself, which is one of proximity and where it is difficult for other media to compete. In addition, local Catalan radio has a feature that makes it unique, which is the large number of people who contribute to the media. These are people who like the media and go to local radio stations to make programmes without receiving any monetary remuneration, enabling the viability of the stations' programming.

²⁹ The former head of news at TV3, Josep Maria Torrent, argued at the Municipal Radio Conference held in Barcelona in February 2000, that local radio stations are an important element of cohesion in the towns in which they operate, and that these types of stations should structure the society which they serve, promoting its cultural, social and educational interests. Ramon, Manel; Moles, Margarida; Font, Abel, et. al. (2000). *Les ràdios municipals en el llindar del 2000: Congrés de Ràdio Municipal: Barcelona, 4, 5 i 6 de febrer del 2000*. Barcelona: Federació d'Organismes i Entitats de Ràdio Local de Catalunya, pp. 142.

³⁰ Barbeito, María Luz. (1998). *Op. cit.*

Osona branch of Cadena SER only devotes 7% of its total broadcasting time, Monday to Friday, to its own programmes, and that this 33% of the real time represents 35 minutes of news per day. As for the other stations, Ràdio Manlleu devotes 19%, Ràdio Vic 13%, Ràdio Ona 7% and Ràdio Taradell, 1.3%. It cannot be considered, therefore, that these percentages represent an important part of the stations' own programmes, because only in one case is it one third of the total, and in the remaining cases less than 20%.

However, all the time that the area's radio stations devote to news is focused exclusively on local news,³¹ and is used to discuss issues relating to a specific town or to the whole region. The Osona stations do not offer any news that is not related in one way or another, to a town or the whole region.

Conclusions. Lack of dialogue between the stations

Following discussion with the directors of the various local radio stations and their news services, we can say that the Osona radio stations face limitations of various types. Not only financial constraints, but also issues such as lack of equipment to provide better broadcasts, and a lack of time to devote to the production of news programmes.

One of the constraints facing these radio stations is that of transmission power. Most of them, basically the municipal and local stations, have a limit of 50 kilowatts, which prevents their voice reaching beyond the boundaries of their town. This means that their operation is restricted to the specific town from which they broadcast and makes it difficult for them to interact with other towns.

As a result of the study, we can affirm that the Osona radio stations, while they talk of proximity and the aim of forging links with society, do not relate to each other. From the interviews it has been shown that dialogue and collaboration between local radio stations, of all kinds, is practically zero. The only contacts established are those at a personal level between people who work there, but at a legal and formal level, there is no relationship between the stations. Therefore, this is one of the areas for improvement in the local radio world, as a good relationship and interaction between stations could help to create an interesting local situation which would be beneficial to the stations which take part. Thus, greater interaction would help to reinforce the concept of region within the local area, as it would be the towns and local residents themselves who would pool their efforts to provide quality programming. Therefore it is believed that it would be positive for the local stations in the region to combine efforts and improve their relationships, which, as far as we have seen, are non-existent.

Vision of the future

As a final consideration, it can be noted that radio in Osona is in good health, but cannot remain in the current situation if it does not wish to stagnate with a model that has been operating for almost thirty years ago. Those who are responsible for its operation need to be aware of the social role they are developing and try to achieve a closer and better relationship with society. Society evolves technologically with the use of social networking and technical innovations which facilitate the interaction between people, and it would be good for the Osona stations not to lose sight of this development and work to keep up with communication in society.³² These local radios have an important role in shaping the identity of the towns through the programmes they broadcast and the news that appears on their news services, where they exist, but they cannot limit themselves to analogue broadcasting – they need to take a step further.

³¹ As Legorburu points out, the local news offered by the local stations also explains what is happening in the region to the general media. Legorburu, José María (2003). 'La gestión de la información local en las cadenas radiofónicas' in López, Rafael; Vilar, Fernando i Fernández, Francisco (Coord.), *Radio y televisión en el ámbito local*. Castelló de la Plana: Universitat Jaume I. Servicio de Publicaciones, pp. 333.

³² Borja, Jordi; Castells, Manel (1997). *Local y global. La gestión de las ciudades en la era de la información*. Madrid: Taurus, pp. 124.

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Part IV :

Identity

Chapter 7 | Identity and community



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Internet radio as a means to construct community

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Abstract:

This paper deals with new possibilities of constructing and strengthening communities via Internet radio as a format. It is the result of an anthropological fieldwork at the Danish Internet radio, *Den2Radio*, and among the listeners of *Den2Radio*. The paper seeks to answer what kind of relationship the radio producers and their listeners have. The paper takes the reader behind the scenes and into the radio studio while recording. It shows how the sound technician and the radio broadcasters co-operate in the voice performance of the radio broadcaster. The paper follows the sound as it changes materiality in the many steps from the taped recordings, through the edited and compacted files uploaded to the Internet and finally to the output of radio sound in the listeners' homes. The paper also takes the reader into the private homes of the listeners and into their private soundscapes to investigate the listeners' experiences of the radio sound. In short, the paper investigates the many ways in which different actors enact the phenomenon of radio sound differently. The paper concludes that the radio process, which includes the practice of both the radio producers and the listeners, is a renewal and a clarification of the values of the radio producers and the listeners on which they base their community..

Keywords:

community, enactment, acousmatic voice, soundscape

Introduction

On the 1st of May 2008 a new Internet radio station started sending Danish talk radio online. From that day the listeners could tune in on a homepage and the pre-recorded programmes would start playing automatically. This new Internet radio station was the beginning of a 'new' way to enact a community. The broadcasters who started this station were former workers at the Danish Broadcasting Corporation (DR), who did not agree with a new development in the form and the content of the radio programmes at DR. Shifting from FM-radio to online-radio meant having new opportunities for designing their own radio programmes with no predetermined instructions on the form, the content or length of the radio programmes. This Internet radio station is called *Den2Radio*, which translated in to English means: the other radio.

In this paper I will present an anthropological investigation of a Danish community, whose foundation is the Internet radio station Den2Radio. The starting point of the investigation is the research question of how the radio broadcasters and the listeners construct a radio community. The Internet radio station differs from a traditional community radio by not belonging to a community, which has one specific locality. This means the radio programmes are reachable within the reach of the Internet, which broadens the horizon of the community radio station. This also means that the people involved in the community do not constitute the community on a regularly face-to-face contact. So how are they able to construct and maintain the community? The investigation

of this papers starts in the radio studio of Den2Radio and moves on to the homes of the listeners and ends in the radio community.

As a way to combine the space of the broadcasters with the space of the listeners I use theory of anthropological theatre performance. The Danish anthropologist Kirsten Hastrup has made a study of the social action in Shakespearean Theatre, which is combining the world of the director and the actors with the world of the audience (Hastrup 2004).

As a way to investigate the different enactments of radio sound I will use the Dutch philosopher and ethnographer Annemarie Mol's study of atherosclerosis (Mol 2002). In this study Mol investigates different enactments of the phenomenon of atherosclerosis, which helps to understand the different enactments of the phenomenon of radio sound.

The radio studio

Outside, to the right of the radio studio, a lamp is located to indicate what kind of performance is going on in the radio studio. If the lamp is turned on the surroundings need to be quiet, because the acoustic performance is being recorded. This lamp represents an essential part of the enactment of radio sound in the radio studio: that is the isolation of the radio sound while recording. The radio studio is both a place for the broadcasters to perform under direction of the sound technician, and a place for the sound technician to work on the radio sound after being recorded. I will start by analyzing the performance of the broadcasters and the sound technician, which constitutes their enactment of radio sound.

Ready, Set, Go!

In the radio studio the cooperation between the broadcasters and the sound technician is crucial for the enactment of the radio sound. I find this cooperation similar to the cooperation of a play director and an actor during play rehearsal, because of the similar social roles they play in the production. The theatre as a 'stage' for social action is inspired by the work of the Danish anthropologist Kirsten Hastrup, who investigated the social actions of a theatre company performing the plays of Shakespeare (Hastrup 2004). In a theatre constellation different actors fulfil different roles and to complete a performance a director, an actor, a text, and an audience are needed. A similar situation goes for radio communication when a sound technician, a broadcaster, a text, and an audience consisting of listeners are needed. The sound technician is directing the broadcaster to perform optimally and the broadcasters take directions from the sound technician while performing the text. The listeners are the distant audience for the radio sound and the sound technician is the immediate audience for the performance. Thus the sound technician plays a central part in the radio communication. Investigating the role of the sound technician I use the British anthropologist Tim Ingold's concept of skills. In Ingold's phenomenological view skills are acquired not by the means of genealogy, but by the means of social and cultural construction (Ingold 2000). Thus in the practical carrying out, the sound technical craft is important. The sound technician at Den2Radio has been working as a sound technician and radio producer for decades, and has a lot of practical experience with the craftsmanship of sound. She has a clear image of her work, as she explains:

"The most important is to know one's craft and have that musical sense of how to combine the sound elements in a composition...to be able to hear if the sound you make is good".

This statement supports the theory of Ingold that certain people can develop "a fine sense of hearing" (Ingold 2000: 283) as for example musicians. So the sound technician is tuned in for listening. In the next part I will take the reader inside the radio studio to a recording session with a broadcaster and the sound technician to investigate the different roles of the actors and to investigate the cooperation between the broadcasters and the sound technician.

The cooperation

In the radio studio the recording sessions often consist of either an interview or a 'speak'. The term 'speak' refers to a recording, which only consists of pure speak. The recorded speak is later going to be a part of a radio programme that consists of different sound elements.

The radio studio consists of a radio recording-"booth" and a sound registration-"booth" in one room. In the right part of the room is a table with a microphone surrounded by two sound isolating removable walls. This represents the recording booth where, the broadcasters sit with earphones while performing. In the left part of the room is the sound registration booth, consisting of a computer, which the sound technician uses to monitor and record the sound. There is also a mixer to control the recording level. The microphone wire connects the two places.

While conducting my fieldwork different broadcasters performed in the recording booth. A young broadcaster, Nalle, was one of the first broadcasters I got to experience during my fieldwork. He had prior radio experience, but as many of the others he still needed directions from the sound technician. The sound technician is connected to the sound performance by earphones, so she has an immediate access to the performance of the broadcasters. The programme, which Nalle was recording a 'speak' for, was a programme dealing with old cookbooks in a cultural and social view. Nalle sits in the recording booth rehearsing his text, while the sound technician connects the earphones to the mixer. They discuss the length from Nalle to the microphone, before recording. They also discuss the way Nalle speaks while reading aloud. The sound technician is of the opinion that it sounds a bit like a stewardess. Some of the sounds like s-sound and p-sound are difficult to record, because of the type of studio, so the broadcasters have to be aware of their diction. This is also the case for Nalle. The sound technician also tells Nalle to slow down while reading and to pronounce the endings of words more distinctly.

The sound recording example with Nalle shows that the sound technician functions as a direction for the performance of the broadcaster. The sound technician is the first listener. Another example, which supports the crucial function of the sound technician, is an example where the sound technician is *not* present. The broadcaster, Jesper, is living in France where he is producing radio programmes for Den2Radio. He has no sound technician helping him, so he has to be extra careful about his performance, as he explains:

"You have to be careful when performing your own shows... When you sit there 'talking to your self' you can be tempted to be too sincere or too relaxed... When you are in a studio it more feels like you are talking to someone else".

The statement of Jesper shows that radio communication is a specific kind of communication, which is supported by an immediate audience as represented by a sound technician. The Canadian micro-sociologist Erving Goffman developed theories of social interaction in the late 1950s, which is today still helpful to understand the performance of the broadcasters and the sound technician (Goffman 1992 [1959]). Goffman's theory of social interaction highlights the means of expression as important in communication. One needs to have control over ones means of expression (ibid.: 49). This is also very important in radio communication, because the communication is mediated through a non-visual medium. The communication then only consists of sound elements, so the sound elements have to be clear and correct. The broadcasters use their own voice to communicate, and the sound technician makes sure the voice is recorded under the best circumstances as possible by isolating the voice from any noise. In my work I found the voice of a broadcaster to be an essential part of the radio communication. In the next part I will investigate how the broadcasters use their voices.

The voice

The voice in radio broadcasting has a special double status as both being an object the broadcasters can modulate to fit the specific radio programme, but also as a representation of the personal 'self' of the broadcaster,

which can be used as a means to create a certain presence for the listeners. In her study of the Shakespearean Theatre Hastrup has investigated the roles of the actors and actresses, which can be helpful in understanding the double status of the voice. In the stage of play rehearsal Hastrup differs between the *character* and the *actor*. The aim is for the actors to feel at home in the play and be able to lift the character from the text (Hastrup 2004: 122-3). While rehearsing the actors have to 'meet' the text and in this meeting the shaping of character takes place (ibid.: 124). This shaping of the character and meeting the text are similar to the situation of the broadcasters. Several of the broadcasters informed me that gradually the broadcasters find their own style and own 'voice', which are the starting point of their performance. Also in the radio studio the text plays an important part in the performance of the broadcasters. A broadcaster told me: "a good text is a text one can read aloud. It goes from the eyes through the mouth and if that is not possible it is a bad text". In the radio studio the broadcasters often write their own text, which fits their own style and fits the programme in a whole.

In the studio the broadcasters are equipped with earphones so they are able to deepen themselves in their own voice and through that modulate their voice and get in character. Getting in character is a crucial moment for the radio communication. This is where the broadcaster is completely committed to the radio communication and has control over the means of expression. Hastrup describes this moment as "performance time" (Hastrup 2004: 129-130). At Den2Radio the performance is not sent directly to the listeners, so the performance does not need to be right in the first take. This means the sound technician can direct the performance of the broadcaster during the performance. The sound technician explains that she can sense when a broadcaster gets in character, because the voice gets deeper and she senses a strong concentration. This concentration is therefore important for an optimal performance. In the next part I will investigate how the sound technician, after recording, polishes the voice performance by editing the sound to optimize the performance.

The visual sound

The American English literature professor Walter J. Ong states that sound is difficult to fixate; because when sound is paused one can only hear silence. It differs from a visual image, where a still image appears when a motion picture is paused (Ong 1986 [1982]: 32). In a matter of investigating the voice the British literature professor Steven Connor investigates the relation between the body and the voice. He finds the voice as an element leaving the body as soon as the vocal chord is in motion (Connor 2000: 3-5). Both Ong and Connor can be used to emphasize the fleetingness of sound as a media. In an attempt to control a fleeting media as sound, the sound editing process at Den2Radio is made visual by a digital sound-editing programme. Following Connors theory one can visually observe the voice of the broadcasters as it leaves the body in a recording session, and also after it has left the body on the computer screen of the sound technician. The voice is illustrated as red sound waves during recording, and afterwards illustrated as green sound waves when it is saved on the computer. When the voice is saved, it becomes a part of other sound elements, which the sound technician uses to compose a whole radio programme. It is now the job of the sound technician to edit and modulate the voices. In the next part I will introduce the sound-editing programme.

The visual tool

The sound-editing programme used by the sound technician is called *Dalet*. This programme facilitates the sound editing process, by facilitating a structural approach to combine the different sound elements. On the computer screen the sound technician has several tracks, which give a structural overview of the sound elements. One track is for speak, one for interview, one for music, and one for 'cleansound'¹. In the process of editing, the

¹ Cleansound is an empirical term, which is a sound element recorded in the field often before an interview. This can be used as a means to create an atmosphere of the location.

sound changes materiality and becomes visual as sound waves on the computer screen. This process of visualization is similar to the visualization process performed by the doctors at a Dutch hospital in an attempt to diagnose and treat a patient for atherosclerosis. The Dutch philosopher and ethnographer, Annemarie Mol, has made a study of how atherosclerosis is enacted differently by different actors at the hospital in order to treat the patients (Mol 2002:79). By using Mol's approach I can study the radio sound as a phenomenon enacted differently by different actors. As I will show in the next part it is a challenge to enact the sound in a visual manner.

The challenge

The sound technician often refers to the sound editing work as plastic, because of the visual image it leaves on the computer screen. Even though the visualization process is making the digital sound editing process possible, it is also a challenge not to get fixated on the visual image on the computer screen. When the sound technician gets fixated on the visual image, he or she often forgets to incorporate brakes in the radio programmes. A sound technician emphasized that it was important to: *"Use your ears instead of using your eyes"*. This can be seen as a symptom of the favouring of visual perception in the Western world (Lundberg in Hastrup 2003). In the native lingo also visual terms are used to describe the enactment of sound editing as for example: *"I am composing an image, which is pleasant for the spectator"*. In the next part I will investigate how the sound technician composes this image.

The composition

After recording in the studio the job of the sound technician is to compose the different sound elements to become a whole programme. As the director in Hastrup's studies of the Shakespearian Theatre it is her job to create a whole of the narrative parts, and to combine them to become a joint and convincing story (Hastrup 2004: 197). The sound technician is focused on creating a story, which has a certain tempo and pulse and fits the theme and the voices. When editing a voice she is focused on the personal rhythm of the speech, but also focused on the listeners who will be receiving the product. It is important not to have many *"uhms"*, because it distracts the listeners. So the sound technician is trying to control the means of expression and isolate the radio sound, which then is transmitted to the listeners. In the next part I will investigate how the listeners receive the transmitted radio sound, and thus how they enact the radio sound.

The space of listeners

The listeners become the audience for the performance of the broadcasters the minute they turn on the radio sound and tune in on their selected programme. This process of 'tuning in' is a matter of focus of attention. The definition of hearing versus the definition of listening will help to understand the process. The Australian anthropologist Jo Tacchi has also investigated radio habits and has made a distinction between the background - and the foreground status of the radio sound (Tacchi in Askew & Wilk 2002: 249-50). When the radio sound has a background status people *hear* the radio sound, but when the radio sound has a foreground status people *listen* to the radio sound. The enactment of radio sound by my informants concerning Den2Radio was a matter of *listening* to the radio, where the listeners had their full attention on the radio sound. To obtain a full concentration on the radio sound, the listeners isolated the radio sound from other sounds. I will refer to this process as *soundscaping* (ibid.: 251). Soundscaping is when people can choose which acoustic elements they want in their surroundings. Many of the listeners use earphones to obtain this level of concentration. I will get back to the concentration level later in the paper, but first I will investigate how the listeners perceive the radio sound.

The acousmatic voice

As also emphasized by Tacchi, listening to radio is difficult for listeners to talk about, because it has become a natural part of everyday life and often a somewhat unconscious act (Tacchi in Askew & Wilk 2002: 249-50). But still some of the listeners reflect on the voice of the broadcasters entering their living room as a kind of a mystical situation. The voice, which seems detached from the body of the broadcaster, is often referred to as an acousmatic voice by sound scholars (see Samuels et al. 2010: 333). The Slovenian philosopher Mladen Dolar studies the effect of the acousmatic voice and refers to the myth about the Greek philosopher Pythagoras. The myth tells the story of Pythagoras' teaching methods. Pythagoras would stand behind a curtain during classes so only his voice would reach the students. Dolar explains:

"...the students, the followers, were confined to "their Master's voice," not distracted by his looks or quirks of behaviour, by visual forms, the spectacle of presentation, the theatrical effects which always pertain to lecturing; they had to concentrate merely on the voice and the meaning emanating from it" (Dolar 2006: 61).

So the teaching methods of Pythagoras focus on the effect that the 'isolated' voice can have on the learning process. In my study I find the effects the acousmatic voice can have on the listeners interesting. As I mentioned in the part of the broadcasters at page four the voice is used to create a presence for the listeners, so I was interested in investigating how the listeners experienced this presence. I asked the listeners how they perceived the acousmatic voice and if they imagined the person it originated from. Below I will present answers.

Ole is in his mid 50s and lives with his family in Jutland. To my question he answered:

"I don't put a face on the voice, it is more a feeling of a certain type".

Anja is in her mid 50s and lives on Zealand. She answered:

"I am not sure...I don't think so. I think I am content with the sound image".

Gitte is in her mid 40s and lives in Copenhagen. She answered:

"I never thought about how the voices I remember from my childhood and from Den2Radio looked like. They don't really exist as persons, just as voices and associations... If I hear a certain voice of a broadcaster I think about how it was being a teenager and the friends I had at that time".

So it does not seem that the listeners connect the acousmatic voice to the person it originated from. In fact the listeners have described the acousmatic voice as an advantage. The semi-present person in the shape of the acousmatic voice appearing from the radio gives the listeners an opportunity to create their own sound mediated personalized space. This depends on how successful the listener has isolated their soundscape, so the listener can enter a state of flow. The Hungarian psychology professor Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi has studied the importance of the state of flow in the so-called "optimal experience" (Csikszentmihalyi 1991 [1989]: 91). The state of flow is an experience of actions and consciousness melting together. In this case the person does not reflect on his or her actions (ibid.). This state of flow I would argue is achievable for the listeners when listening to the radio. But it takes a successful cooperation between the broadcasters and the listeners. In the next part I will investigate this cooperation between the broadcasters and the listeners.

The partnership between the broadcasters and the listener

Again Hastrup's study on the Shakespearian Theatre is helpful to understand the social actions of the different actors in radio communication among the broadcasters and the listeners at Den2Radio. Hastrup states that to obtain a successful theatre experience the actors and the audience have to become 'partners', which means the actors have to consider the audience as equals and actually as potential co-actors (Hastrup 2004: 298-9). In the field of radio communication the listeners are co-producers of the soundscape, so the broadcasters also have to consider them to be co-soundscaping partners. An example showing that the broadcasters consider the listeners as partners is when recording the sound. Both the broadcasters and the listeners emphasize the sound

quality as a key element to a successful radio communication. If the sound quality is bad the state of flow gets unobtainable for the listeners and the 'communication line' is disconnected. Hastrup explains the process in which the partnership between the actors and the audience is established. This is a process towards a transformation, which is the goal of the theatre (Hastrup 2004:299-300). The situation of radio communication is similar, because a transformation is taking place in the communication from the broadcasters to the listeners. The British media scholar Andrew Crisell makes an interesting analysis on the process of transformation in a British radio historical context. Crisell investigates the different terms of "broadcasting" and "transmission". Broadcasting is a previous term used for the radio communication, which supports an idea of the broadcasters announcing to the listeners. The term transmission refers to radio communication as being more complex than announcing. It refers to something crossing over to the listeners (Crisell 1996 [1986]: 12). The term transmission is useful in the investigation of the communication between the broadcasters and the listeners, because in the process of transformation it is not a matter of the broadcaster announcing to the listeners. It is a matter of the broadcasters transmitting radio sound to the listeners, which the listeners will use to create their own sound-mediated personalized space. And this space is up to the individual listeners to organize and decorate with images, thoughts etc., which is taking place in the minds of the listeners.

In the paper so far I have shown that the broadcasters enact the radio sound in another space and time than the listeners. And when the sound is enacted by the listeners it only 'exists' in the sound-mediated personalized space of the listener. So how can the different actors in radio communication, who operate in different spaces and in different periods of time, create a community? In the next part of the paper I will argue how this is possible.

The resonance

"Den2Radio is a new haven I found. It has more obvious relevance for me [than other forms of radio communication]. It inspires and informs me. It brings substantial information in a constant flux of information. We have so many platforms to obtain information, which has lowered the standard quality and made the information superficial. Certain calmness is needed in order to make in depth journalism [which, Den2Radio supplies]."

Thomas, a Den2Radio listener

Thomas' statement illustrates qualities associated with Den2Radio by both the broadcasters and the listeners. In this part of the paper I will argue that these qualities constitute the radio community of the broadcasters and the listeners. As shown in this paper the broadcasters and the listeners do not have an actual physical encounter, but there appears to be a kind of resonance among the different actors. The different actors belong to a so-called "imagined community". The Irish political scientist Benedict Anderson is the first to systematically use the term imagined community. Anderson was investigating the feeling of belonging to a nation, where the face-to-face contact, which is significant for a smaller community, is impossible in an entire nation. Anderson argues that the feeling of belonging to a nation was easier to imagine by the means of the development of media, because the media can cross over large geographical distances (Anderson 1991 [1983]). I will investigate Den2Radio as an imagined radio community. For this investigation I will use sociological theory on "distinction" by the French sociologist and anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1984 [1979]).

A taste of radio

As mentioned above, the community of Den2Radio agrees on certain qualities associated with Den2Radio as calmness and in-depth journalism. The broadcasters and the listeners have certain ideas about what constitutes a good taste in radio and in the media in general. They also have an idea about what constitutes a bad taste in radio and in the media in general. Bourdieu has made a large study of the preferences of taste in different groups

in France in the 1970s. Bourdieu explains how different groups in society navigate and position in reference to other groups in society. In my investigation I can use Bourdieu's study to explain how the community of Den2Radio enacts a certain kind of radio tradition, which the broadcasters and the listeners find in good taste. The Danish journalist and cultural analyzer Rune Lykkeberg's (2008) study of the Danish political situation after the change of government in 2001 can be used to explain why the community of Den2Radio enacts this certain radio tradition. Lykkeberg investigates why certain values in the Danish society changed after a long period of social democratic values. Lykkeberg uses Bourdieu's theory of distinction and taste to analyze the Danish society and studies how different groups in the Danish society position in reference to other groups and also in the political scene. This change in the political scene with a new government affected the Danish Broadcasting Cooperation (DR), where many of the employees of Den2Radio used to work. As a result of the structural changes the former employees at DR started Den2Radio. Starting Den2Radio meant that the former employees could keep producing radio in their chosen radio tradition. Thus Den2Radio was started as a reaction to the structural and substantial changes at DR, which I analyze as the Den2Radio-community positioning in reference to DR and to the new political scene. I will now show empirical examples of how the listeners speak about good and bad taste in media consumption as a way of positioning.

Good taste, bad taste

Rune is a listener in his mid 30s living in Copenhagen. He is especially fond of one of the programmes of Den2Radio. It is a weekly programme where a broadcaster in eight minutes gives his opinion about the political scene. Rune explains his fondness: *"He is a sharp analyzer...I consider his analysis of high quality in relation to the other low standard analysis in the press"*.

Gitte is fond of the programmes concerning literature and she shares the same dislike of other media coverage as Rune. Gitte is fond of the tempo of the programmes and she explains: *"Listening to Den2Radio means listening to uncovered topics in the mainstream media. Den2Radio has comfortable slow dialogs, compared to the upbeat dialogs at other radio stations... The topics remind me of the topics broadcasted in the 1970s...It has a different pulse and a certain calmness"*.

Both Rune and Gitte compare the programmes of Den2Radio to other media and have a specific idea of what they prefer. Gitte's consumption of Den2Radio can be seen as an act of nostalgia in the same way that Jo Tacchi detects among her listeners (Tacchi in Bull & Back 2003). Listening to a radio channel only playing music from the 1960s and 1970s Tacchi's informants can connect with the values of that time. This nostalgic act is a way to connect the past with the present and the future. The case of Den2Radio is similar. By enacting values of 'the past' they act towards values of the future. This goes for both the listeners and the broadcasters.

An imagined radio community

In this closing part I will again use Hastrup's study of the Shakespearian Theatre to explain how the relation between the listeners and the broadcasters can constitute a community. I will start with a quote:

"The joint creation of a space of shared meanings is the point of theatre. 'Shared meaning' does not refer to a canonical interpretation of texts, but to sense in which the actions and words hurled out from the stage free the audience's imagination and resonate with whatever capacities the audience have" (Hastrup 2004:299-300).

In this quote Hastrup explains the aim of the theatre as being a frame where resonance is made possible because the social actions take place within a space of shared meanings. This is also the case in my study of radio communication. The space of shared meanings consists of a certain taste, which refers to certain ideological values. The radio community, which the broadcasters and the listeners of Den2Radio constitute, is not a face-to-face community. It is an imagined community. According to the British anthropologist Michael Herzfeld the idea

of an imagined community only makes sense if it is realized socially (Amit 2002:8). I argue that the broadcasters and the listeners realize the imagined community socially when they become 'partners' in a radio programme through the enactment of voice performance, sound editing, isolation of radio sound, and sound-mediated personalized spaces.

Conclusion

This paper presents an anthropological investigation of the relation between broadcasters of Den2Radio and their listeners. The investigation is constituted of the different actors' different enactments of the radio sound. The broadcasters are performing orally while the sound technician is directing the voice performance of the broadcasters. After recording the sound technician is optimizing the radio sound by digital editing, which requires certain listening skills. The listeners are tuning in on the radio sound and make sure to isolate the radio sound from surrounding sounds. This process is called soundscaping. In a successful soundscaping process the listeners can get in a state of flow, and in this state they are able to create a sound-mediated personalized space. Cooperation between the broadcasters and the listeners is necessary to establish a successful radio communication. The cooperation is based on an existing frame of shared meanings consisting of a common taste in radio based on a common ideology. The paper concludes that the relation between the broadcasters and the listeners is a matter of an imagined community, which is realized socially by the different enactments of the radio sound.

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Free, Pirate, Community – the representation of identities on FM radios in São Paulo/Brazil

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Abstract:

This paper proposes to offer an up-to-date perspective of the FM radio broadcasting scenario in the city of São Paulo (Brazil), focusing on its commercial, educational, pirate and community radios. Special attention is given to pirate and community radios in an attempt to demonstrate the impasses encountered in developing a radio broadcasting system able to represent the city's ethnic, religious, geographic, political and culture diversity. The term "community radio" used herein refers to radio stations that have been authorized to broadcast within this modality based on legislation passed in 1998. The current situation of community radios in the city will be looked into and, because of its importance within this scenario, a more detailed description will be offered of the Heliópolis FM Radio Station (87.5 MHz), created in 1992 and which in 2008 became the first legal community radio in São Paulo.

Keywords: radio in São Paulo; Brazilian community radios; heliopolis radio; pirate radios in São Paulo.

The objective of this paper is to furnish an up-to-date overview of the radio broadcasting scenario in São Paulo (Brazil), with special attention given to the potential of community and pirate radios in expressing the city's cultural diversity. Keeping in mind that we consider "community" radio stations only those that have been granted legal authorization to operate, it should be noted that this is a considerably recent development as the first authorization was obtained only in 2008. Besides listing a few of the community radio stations in the city, we present a more in-depth study on Heliópolis FM 87.5, created in 1992, which is probably the most active to date. The authors would like to express their special thanks to researcher Gisele Sayeg Nunes Ferreira for her generous contribution to our work.

São Paulo is the biggest city in Brazil. The capital of the state of the same name, it is located in the Southeastern Region of the country and is home to an approximate population of 11 million inhabitants, and increasing to 19 million if we consider its larger metropolitan area (Greater São Paulo) comprised of 39 municipalities. Throughout its history, the city has been the destiny of a large number of foreign immigrants, making up the large Italian, Spanish, Japanese and Arabian communities, among others. The city has also seen the influx of a large contingent of domestic immigrants hailing, in their majority, from the Northeastern Region of Brazil, less developed than the Southern and Southeastern regions.

This present study focuses on the city's FM stations that operate between 87,5 MHz and 107,9 MHz. In Brazil, FM frequencies began to be commercially exploited during the second half of the 60s, mainly for broadcasting music.

The city has commercial, educative and community FM stations, besides a significant number of illegal radios, traditionally known as “pirate” radio stations.

We would initially like to offer a brief description of these terms.

Commercial Stations: In 1932 Brazil adopted a commercial radio model in which the frequencies belong to the State and are allocated in the form of concessions to private groups. The terms of these concessions, which may be renovated indefinitely, is 10 years for radio and 15 years for TV. The concessions are offered up in public tenders with the rights going to the one who offers the highest acquisition price. A concession in a centrally located region of São Paulo can cost up to a couple million dollars, which led to the concentration of broadcasting companies in the hands of large economic groups. Considering, as well, that in Brazil radio stations are not a very lucrative business¹, concessions are frequently resold or leased by their owners to large broadcasting networks or religious groups. We will go into more detail on São Paulo’s commercial radio stations further on.

Educational Stations: A non-profit radio broadcasting station unable to transmit commercials. The concession of this type of station is traditionally allocated to non-profit organizations (that may or may not be educational) and should be used to broadcast educational and cultural programs. Only two radio stations in São Paulo can be considered as being educational: Radio USP, of the University of São Paulo (the largest public university in Brazil) and Radio Cultura, belonging to a foundation associated with the São Paulo State government. Radio USP transmits basically traditional programs revolving around music (mostly Brazilian) and news. It presents a few journalistic programs in connection with the university’s scientific production and a few music programs revolving around specific musical traditions but offers little space for any of the students’ broadcasting productions. At the present, the station has no experimental projects or radio-drama productions in its program schedule². Radio Cultura in turn, transmits practically only classical music over its FM station, leaving news and Brazilian music to the Foundation’s AM radio station.

Community Radio (RadCom): In Brazil, the term “community radio” (radcom) refers to a type of station created by law in 1998. Although it is an undeniable conquest towards the possibility of increasing the democratization of the air waves – a consequence of the “free radio movement” from the 80s and connected to country’s re-democratization process (Nunes Ferreira, 2006: 99), one must recognize that legislation has imposed many limitations on the operation of community radio stations and major difficulties in obtaining a license to broadcast. According to Brazilian law, those entitled to work with Radcom (community radio) are non-profit community foundations and associations, as long as they are legally instituted and duly registered, with headquarters in the community in which they intend to provide their services, headed by native born or Brazilians who have been naturalized for over ten years. Authorizations granted are valid for a term of 3 years, with the possibility of renewal for the same term. The potency authorized for the community radios in which to transmit is extremely reduced: equal or inferior to 25 watts. The limit of coverage area is a mere 1 km radius. Community radios should divulge culture, social life interests and local events; provide news on community events and of public interest; promote educational activities and others to improve the overall living standards of the community. They may not, according to the law, transmit publicity³ or be connected with political parties or

¹ According to data from 2008 from the Inter-Meios Project, radio transmission accounted for only 4.2% of the country’s publicity expenditure that year, check Publicity market grows 12.8% in 2008 at http://www.direitoacomunicacao.org.br/content.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=4777

² It is worth mentioning that in Brazil there are no traditions of College Radios either, similar to that seen in the USA. Thusly, Brazilian university radios traditionally direct their program schedule to adult audiences from classes A and B.

³ The sole possibility for transmitting propaganda over community radios is so-called “cultural support” that allows to merely mention the name of an announcer in connection to a specific program.

religious institutions. Community FM's must as well, according to the law, operate all on the same frequency which, in the case of São Paulo, is 87.5 MHz⁴.

Illegal Radios: São Paulo probably possesses hundreds of radio stations not authorized by the government to function and are, therefore, illegal. Normally, and in an evidently negative manner, the term "pirate radio" is used to define them, although many of these illegal radio stations refer to themselves as being "community". The term "free radio" is presently little used in the country. The term originated in movements that took place in the 70s in Italy and France where many of the broadcasting companies began politically contesting the government (AMAYO, 1992, p. 78). In Brazil, the existence of stations that could be called "free" is today practically restricted within academic spheres, and especially to the activities of student groups from public universities. We have no knowledge, up to the moment, of any AM or FM radio station operating in São Paulo under this denomination – something that demonstrates the clear decline of a movement which had significant repercussions in the country during the 80s. A report on the scenario in that period can be had at MACHADO et al. (1986). The site <http://www.radiolivre.org/node/640> carries information on a few of the free university and alternative radio stations still active in the country, besides debates on the theme. Another site, <http://www.dissonante.org/site/index.php> presents "radios and collectives that practice the principles of dissonant communications", but which transmit their programs mainly over the web.

We would like to now give a brief presentation on commercial, illegal and community radios in the city of São Paulo.

São Paulo's commercial radio stations

Considering the size of the city it is not possible to furnish an exact number of radio stations in operation in Greater São Paulo. Data from research groups tend to agree on a group of 36 FM broadcasting companies with the highest audience rates⁵. Most of them carry predominantly musical programs. One important characteristic of musical consumption in Brazil is that it is strongly based on a domestic repertoire⁶. Music radio stations traditionally divide audiences into three categories: adult-qualified, young and popular. The "adult-qualified" denomination refers to radio stations that target classes A and B and mostly transmit genres such as MPB⁷, classic rock, instrumental music, more sophisticated pop music, classical music and jazz. Educational stations in São Paulo (USP and Cultura) are associated to this segment, as are diverse commercial radios in the city. At least two of these radio stations are specialized in specific musical genres: Nova Brasil which plays MPB and Kiss which plays exclusively classic rock. The other stations play a combination of the above mentioned musical genres. The "young" segment refers principally to national singers and bands part of the teen segment, as well as musical genres such as international pop and electronic music. São Paulo possesses at least six radio stations focused on this segment, some of which are considerably successful such as Band FM and Mix. The Disney FM radio has recently begun to operate in São Paulo as well, with a musical program targeting this teen segment.

But the most-listened to radio stations in the city are, without a doubt, those that play music classified as "popular", principally *sertaneja* or Brazilian country music, a musical genre characteristic of the State of São Paulo which has become that most consumed throughout the entire country. Some radios play exclusively *sertaneja* music. But most play Brazilian and international romantic music, international pop hits and hits from other popular

⁴ The minimum distance between RadCom radio stations is set by law at 4 km. For more information on Brazilian radio laws I recommend the Ministry of Communications at <http://www.mc.gov.br>.

⁵ <http://www.audiofive.com/blog/audiencia-das-emissoras-fm-na-cidade-de-sao-paulo/>

⁶ Data furnished by the IFPI (International Federation of the Phonographic Industry) historically points to a consumption rate of domestic music superior to 75% in Brazil.

⁷ MPB (Brazilian Popular Music) is the most sophisticated genre of popular music in Brazil. It appeared in the 60s and is connected to traditions of Bossa Nova.

Brazilian music genres such as *axé* (from the state of Bahia). Some popular radio stations play still *techno brega* and *forró* (created respectively in the Northern and Northeastern regions of Brazil). The radio with the highest audience ratings in São Paulo (Tupi FM) plays exclusively sertaneja music. Worth mentioning in this segment as well is radio 105FM, specialized in Brazilian black music. The station's program is aimed mainly at the outskirts of São Paulo where the less-privileged portions of the populace reside, and plays mostly *pagode* and rap⁸.

The city also has a few religious radio stations. Nossa Radio, Aleluia, Vida FM and Deus é Amor transmit a program comprised of gospel music – predominantly Brazilian – and religious teachings, with most of them being connected to Pentecostal protestant churches. Surprisingly, the city possesses no catholic FM radio station, despite the populace being predominantly catholic⁹. The city has one esoteric radio station as well, Mundial FM (<http://radiomundial.com.br/>).

In journalism, there are two radio stations transmitting in the traditional All News format (CBN and Band News) and a third in the All News & Sports format (Estadão ESPN). There is also a radio station dedicated exclusively to providing city traffic information (SulAmérica Trânsito).

There are a few general issues concerning FM radio stations in São Paulo that are worthy of mention. The most important is that of divulging music. Although no data exists as no research has been carried out on the subject, the custom of divulging a few chosen artists and musical genres of major repercussion is evident. The use of *jabaculé* – the Brazilian version of payola – is widely diffused and publicly admitted by the radio stations: it is no longer the result of informal negotiations between musical promoters and DJs and has turned into a divulgation contract between radio stations and the company that hires them (usually a recording company). This makes access to radio programs extremely difficult for independent artists.

And so, despite the existence of thousands of music groups and artists in the city, working with practically all the main genres of national and international music, apparently no commercial broadcasting company in the city provides any space for new names or independent artists.

Also worthy of mention is the major economic concentration of the radio stations in one sole network, that of Bandeirantes, controlling many of them. There is also a growing presence of customized radio stations in the city – as is the case of Oi, Mit, Fast and the already mentioned SulAmerica and Disney¹⁰. This tendency could denote a certain lack of the stations' financial autonomy who would be resorting to this type of partnership to stay in business.

Another characteristic that seems to be modifying the FM radio station scenario is the increasing approximation of their program schedule with that of the AM stations. This occurs more evidently in the coverage of soccer games and in sports' news programs. Once an exclusive activity of AM stations, these programs are already an integral part of the program schedules of various FM stations. Traditional news programs have also migrated to FM, both through the All News broadcasters as well as transmissions on both AM and FM of news traditionally produced by a network's AM bands. Although no research exists on this subject, it seems likely that the increasing difficulty faced by AM reception in a city like São Paulo, together with the arrival of other possibilities of musical consumption (internet, mobile phone, Mp3 players) can be the motive behind this phenomena.

⁸ Pagode is an offshoot of samba that became extremely popular in Brazil during the 90s. São Paulo has many artists working with this genre. In the same vein, the rap music heard over the radio is mostly Brazilian. It is worth mentioning that in the state of São Paulo rap has become the black music genre most representative of the urban outskirts (in Rio de Janeiro this function is fulfilled by funk). Contrary to rap, where social criticism predominates in the songs, pagode revolves more around romantic themes. 105FM also has programs dedicated to reggae, especially that produced in Brazil.

⁹ But, the most popular radio program in the city and the entire country is probably "Moment of Faith" by Padre Marcelo Rossi. It is transmitted on AM by Globo Radio of São Paulo and by over 100 other affiliated stations throughout Brazil. Padre Marcelo is the most important name in the conservative catholic movement called "Charismatic Renovation", very active in Brazil.

¹⁰ Oi FM is associated with a mobile phone company, SulAmérica with an insurance company, Mit to Japanese car manufacturer Mitsubishi and Fast is a partnership between a traditional FM radio station in the city with the Nestle corporation.

Pirate radios in São Paulo

No in-depth research exists concerning pirate radios in São Paulo and, considering the illegal nature of the activity, this type of information is not easily come by. But, there is surely a large number of them. According to the National Telecommunications Agency (Anatel), 1252 radios were shut down in the country only in 2008, with São Paulo accounting for 315 of them¹¹.

Most of the radios that have been shut down in the city are connected with protestant Pentecostal churches although a few reports of catholic radio stations facing the same fate are known as well. According to researcher Gisele Sayegg Nunes Ferreira, many of these churches find it easy to substitute the confiscated equipment and quickly take up activities again due to the collaboration of their religious communities. This could indicate that, in some cases, despite operating illegally, these stations may truly play a relevant role within their communities. The other cases which have appeared in the news apparently have to do with exclusively commercial stations that basically transmit music and publicity for local businessmen. Some of the cases refer to considerably sophisticated projects, as is the case of three stations shut down on the same day which apparently belonged to the same group. In one of them “a 2.5 thousand watt transmitter was coupled with a program computer and was operating inside a reinforced concrete bunker”¹².

Also worth mentioning is the absence of information on the shutting down of radios with a more political profile, confirming the tendency already pointed out in this text of the decline of more politically inclined discourses within this scenario (or, perhaps, of its transference to the web).

Evidently, many of the stations operating in districts on the outskirts of town and poorer communities have still been unable to regularize their activities and are occasionally part of the statistics of those stations shut down by the authorities. But, as we will see further on, various stations fitting this profile have been found among those that have obtained their licenses to operate as community radios.

Community radios in São Paulo

As we have seen, the first community radios in São Paulo were granted their operating licenses in 2008. Data from April 2011 furnished by Gisele Sayegg Nunes Ferreira reveals the existence of 15 community radios in the city of São Paulo operating legally, 10 others with provisional licenses and 9 in the middle of the approval process. We would like to now present a brief descriptive list of a few of these stations that help demonstrate both the diversity of their propositions as well as a few tendencies that predominate within the scenario. And then, we will present a more detailed report on the history and present-day profile of the Heliópolis Radio Station, the first community station in São Paulo to be granted its license.

Many of the community radios seem to be connected to some religious group (catholic or protestant). Community radio Agape FM 87.5, for example, inaugurated June 2011 belongs to the Imirim Community Cultural Association (North Side of São Paulo), operates in an annex of a catholic church and was founded by a Priest and the staff of the “communications pastorate”, a local catholic group¹³. The “Message of Hope Association”, in Bom Retiro (downtown São Paulo), develops social projects in different areas and is connected to a pastor from the “Assembleia de Deus” Pentecostal protestant church. The radio stations Ternura FM (<http://www.radioternurafm.com.br/>), from the “Ternura de Perus Community Cultural Association” and SoulVida FM (<http://www.radiosoulvida.com/>), from the “Princes Isabel Community Cultural Association” transmit an exclusively musical and religious program (Pentecostal protestant) and neither furnish the names of the community associations to which they belong on their web page.

¹¹ <http://www.noticiasgospel.com/policia-faz-cruzada-contra-radios-piratas-evangelicas/>

¹² <http://m.estadao.com.br/noticias/cidades,tres-radios-piratas-sao-fechadas-em-sp,418665.htm>

¹³ <http://www.saopaulodefato.com.br/inauguracao-da-radio-agapefm-87-5-do-imirim/>

Radio Cantareira FM 87.5, licensed in 2010, has been in existence since 1995 and belongs to the Cantareira Association, a NGO created that same year on the North Side of São Paulo. The Association seems to have connections with the more progressive sectors of the Catholic Church and subsidizes projects revolving around themes such as the environment, human rights and teaching basic literacy to youngsters and adults, among others¹⁴.

On the other hand, Studio 100 FM 87.5 operating out of Pirituba, on the West Side of the city, licensed in 2011, was founded in 1996 by "a group of young friends in Pirituba who organized parties in local schools but decided they needed to expand their activities and increase the community's integration and participation". The station's objective is to "promote social activities, entertain and integrate the young people in the Pirituba community."¹⁵

Radio StarSul, still working under a provisional license, began in 1996 and has ties with an association that promotes social assistance projects such as "campaigns for providing the needy with warm clothes, beneficent shows, basic groceries, toys, candy and entertainment", in the Perus district, on the West Side of town¹⁶.

In turn, Ideia FM 87.5 works under the auspices of the "Friends of Brooklin Cultural Association" and operates in one of the wealthier regions of the city. Its music program is focused on MPB and Rock. The station also transmits various sports and cinema programs and even one in both English and Portuguese¹⁷.

Radio Nova Paraisópolis was licensed to operate in August 2010 and is connected with the Multidentities Forum that "congregates the neighborhood NGOs and was created in 1994"¹⁸. Radio Paraisópolis works out of the South Side of the city and is the second largest favela in São Paulo, smaller only than Heliópolis.

Finally, we have Radio Show FM 87.5, that belongs to Abraqua – Brazilian Radio Training and Qualification Association of Vila Monumento (Southeast Side of city). The Association is connected to Radioficina, a professional training school for radiocasters. The station also creates an "opportunity in which to place its students, future radiocasters, in real live broadcasting situations"¹⁹.

A quick glance at these radio stations' program schedules will allow us to draw up a few conclusions on their profiles.

Music, for example, reigns absolute in the programming of all those stations that, in a general manner, follow the same tendencies of the commercial stations from the "popular" segment, transmitting mainly sertaneja music. But, it is also common to find those transmitting international music, especially American pop or black music. Besides these, a few stations transmit programs dedicated primarily to specific genres such as rap, MPB, rock, romantic music, etc. The protestant radios on the other hand play exclusively gospel music. Besides being an easy way to fill up the program schedule, playing music creates greater identification between the station and the community it is aimed at.

The strong presence of religion is another marking characteristic of the stations, as even some of them without any direct affiliation with religious groups have nothing against transmitting mass for the Catholic Church and/or protestant programs for local pastors. This seems to indicate that religion continues to be a strong source of support and intermediary between the community and radio stations in general.

Besides this, interviews with guest speakers or high-standing members of the community are also common, since they are news programs, like debates and surveys revolving around local issues. In stations operating in favelas, the transmission of messages to locals is a constant, as well as requests for favors extended by the needy or sick in the community (medicine, clothes, medical equipment for the physically impaired, etc.) It is

¹⁴ <http://www.cantareira.org/>.

¹⁵ http://www.studio100.com.br/home/index.php?pg=a_radio&id=2.

¹⁶ <http://www.starsulfm.com.br/aradio.htm>

¹⁷ <http://www.ideiafm.com.br/>

¹⁸ <http://paraisopolis.org/>

¹⁹ www.jornaldocambuci.com.br/edicoes/ED_1223.pdf

worth pointing out that there are also NGOs specialized in producing radio programs on specific themes such as the environment, women's rights and health issues, domestic violence, among others, ready to be transmitted over community radio stations. But it still isn't clear, through the research done, if any of the radio stations mentioned here use this type of program (that may be downloaded over the Internet) or not.

A quick glance at the sites of some of the radio stations mentioned here is able to furnish more information on their specific profiles. In some cases, it is obvious that the station is connected much more to an individual than a group, be he/she a religious leader or the person heading an association that has been granted a broadcasting license. In others, the commercial character of the project is clear, with precarious sites offering advertising space while at the same time not even mentioning the community association that the station supposedly represents. But, on many of the sites what becomes clearly evident is the station's solid connection with sound social projects, as well as the long organizational process and struggle for recognition carried out by extremely needy communities lying on the outskirts of São Paulo. And we believe that the example provided by Radio Heliópolis, that we present below, illustrates this very well.

Radio Heliópolis

Sérgio Pinheiro da Silva (2010) provides us with a short history of the Heliópolis neighborhood and its radio station. The community began in the 70s, on the South Side of São Paulo, "as a housing project for one hundred families coming from the Vila Prudente region who... were suffering from the region's frequent floods" (SILVA, 2010: p. 22). Around this nucleus, other homeless families began constructing their shacks and forming what is known in Brazil as a favela. The large influx of migrants, coming mainly from the Northeastern region of Brazil, brought by the job opportunities in the rapidly growing city of São Paulo, led to the rapid expansion of the community as well, with some improvements being made as it grew. Thusly, in 2009, according to data furnished by the São Paulo State Housing Authority, Heliópolis had approximately 125,000 inhabitants residing in a little over 18,000 houses and occupying an area over 700,000 square meters belonging either to town hall or privately owned property (trespassed upon). Of this total, only 83% had regular water supply and 62% had access to a sewage system (Silva, 2010: 23). This makes it the largest favela in São Paulo and the second largest in Brazil and all of Latin America.

According to information found on the station's site²⁰, the Heliópolis radio began in May 1992 as the "Popular Radio of Heliópolis", transmitting its program over loudspeakers hung up on light posts in two points of the community. The radio was founded by UNAS – Union of Heliópolis Residents Nuclei, Associations and Affiliates and São João Climaco, a NGO born from within the Heliópolis Residents Association²¹. It operated only on Sunday, between 10:00 and 12:00 am, to provide news on "meeting activities, services and requests for help by the needy, as well as a music program" (Silva, 2010: 28). Because of its modus operandi it was known as "trumpet radio". It was only in August of 1997 that FM transmission began with equipment bought with the financial support of a German NGO. The radio station began operating at 102,3 MHz (Silva, 2010: 23). But soon commercial radio stations began complaining of interference and forced Heliópolis to change their transmission frequency various times. In 2003, as stated on their site, the station was awarded the "Public Spirit for Promotion of Citizenship Award" from the APCA – São Paulo Art Critics Association. "In recognition of Radio Heliópolis's struggle for the right in which to communicate". Even so, and since it did not possess any official authorization to operate, the radio was fined a couple times and, in 2004, prevented from transmitting over a certain period when their equipment was confiscated by police authorities. According to Silva (2010: 28), the mobilization of the

²⁰ <http://www.heliopolisfm.com.br/>

²¹ São João Climaco is a neighboring district into which the Heliópolis favela has extended forming that which many call the Heliópolis/João Climaco Complex.

community, politicians, NGOs and a nearby university helped the station recuperate its equipment and start transmitting again.

In 2006, the station was once again shut down by Anatel (National Telecommunications Agency), but only for a short period, and then in October of that same year it was granted a provisional license under which to operate. Their definite license was granted in March 2008, making it the first official community radio in São Paulo. In June of the next year it was determined that it would change to the frequency it occupies still today, that of 87,5 MHz. The sluggishness of the whole licensing process as well as that of the Ministry of Communications in granting licenses helps illustrate the enormous difficulties encountered by community radio stations when trying to adapt to all the legal demands made upon them.

According to the station's site, "Radio Heliópolis has two studios: one for the production and recording of commercials, jingles, signature tunes, etc. and another in which to transmit their programs. All their computers, printers, microphones, amplifiers, sound tables and other equipment have been acquired through donations or purchased by the radio itself"²².

The radiocasters are all local residents. They alternate in putting on two-hour shows from 6:00 am to midnight, Monday thru Saturday, and from 6:00 am to 11:00 pm on Sunday, with many of the shows being presented by two radiocasters. The radio thus has up to 12 different radiocasters on weekdays.

Music predominates in the station's program schedule and they have programs dedicated to specific genres such as rap, *forro*, *joven gurada*, *sertanejo*, black music (both Brazilian and North American) and pop and techno, as well as programs playing music from all genres as requested by listeners²³. Religion is also included in the station's programming, as in November 2009 they began to retransmit a program by Father Reginaldo Manzotti.²⁴

In his survey on the station's program schedule, Silva (2010) mentions, among others, the "Catraca Livre" (free turnstile) program, that gives "tips on free or low-cost cultural events, besides discussing theater, cinema and shows with listeners", as well as programs by doctors from the region's health center who elucidate doubts the local populace may have and, in the case of a specific program on AIDS, even carry out exams and distribute condoms at the station's facilities. Silva also emphasizes the other services they offer and the messages passed on to the community during their programs, besides mentioning that the radio station has already had specific shows in which to debate issues of common interest to the community, which are no longer part of their program schedule. In this aspect, although some of the participants of The Heliópolis Radio Project interviewed by Silva affirm that during the regular musical program schedule social problems may be discussed and debated by the radiocasters with the community, others lament the lack of a more in-depth commitment of the radiocasters with social issues and their tendency to reproduce the same program models used by commercial stations and question up to what point the radio fulfills its communitarian obligations (Silva, 2010: 38-43).

In relation to this last point, there is no doubt that the community radios could be more socially inclined, as there are even indications that some of them – as was mentioned before in this paper – are susceptible to being used as an instrument for personal, religious or even commercial gain. But we understand that these issues should not prevent the perception that, despite all the difficulties and sidetracking, community radios possess an extraordinary potential for local integration, self-expression, and the strengthening of identity bonds and self-esteem of the populace living on the outskirts of São Paulo. And, as this paper also tries to demonstrate, this is even more true if we consider the ever increasingly limited profile of the city's educational and commercial radio stations.

²² <http://www.heliopolisfm.com.br/>

²³ The "Jovem Guarda" movement became popular in the 60s and is a romantic music genre based freely on North American and English rock music. Its main singer, Roberto Carlos, became the number one record seller in the country. Radio Heliópolis's program schedule is available on the station's site.

²⁴ <http://www.padrereginaldomanzotti.org.br/index.php/noticias/radios/radios-irmas-novembro>

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Radio, Citizenship and Social Identity

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Abstract:

This article is about the issue of citizenship, identity and media, namely radio. With industrialized societies, the development of capitalism and the complexity of modern society, people stopped having direct contact with facts, they depend of the mediation of the media. The means of communication lead to new identities and behavior models. Media acquired a very relevant social importance in the social construction of reality. Radio, a mean of communication that this study is about, has caused important changes in the society of the 20th century. It has become bigger, it has become universal. All over the world, radio is still the most broadcasted mean of communication according to UNESCO. Radio participated actively in the construction of social meanings due to its strong presence in the daily life of its listeners. With this perspective, a survey in the city of Palmas, Tocantins – Brazil was done with 600 women. The objective of this survey was: to diagnose the main themes that interfere in the quality of life of those women, to evaluate radio as a promotional form of identity and the feminine citizenship. The results confirmed radio's potential as a tool to make conscious criticism and women's political and social development easier.

Keywords: gender, citizenship, consciousness, radio

Introduction

This present article about women's citizenship and the problematic of gender has the objective of bringing together the areas of communication and education to diagnose the main themes that interfere in the quality of life of the women of Palmas, Tocantins – Brasil. It is fundamental to discuss the role of the media as one of the main forums of discussion in democratic societies as they have acquired a relevant social importance in the social construction of reality (Berger; Luckmann, 1985). It is through the media that social issues are discussed. Robert Park (2009: 43), for example, refers to the news article as a form of knowledge, said that news guides the public more than it informs. The circulation of news determines the level of participation of the member of society.

The means of communication, namely journalism, can contribute for the development of society by broadcasting information, debates and opinions. This way they can collaborate with the construction of citizenship with educational and informative actions that can make the public reflect. In this perspective this research was developed in the city of Palmas, the capital of the state of Tocantins in Brazil and is based on the project *Mulher e Políticas Públicas: conectando mulheres, parlamentares, movimentos e organizações de mulheres e audiências de rádio* (Women and Public Politics: connecting women, parliamentary, movements and organizations of women

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and radio audiences)². The base of the project took place in João Pessoa in Paraíba. The conductor of the project created 25 radio programs about the main topics: Women and Politics, Women and Health, Women and Education, Women and Work, and also Women and Violence.

The citizenship of women is marked by the fight for equal gender rights. The exclusion of women from the political process lasted for a long period of time demanding the affirmation of the gender so that it was possible to obtain rights they were forbidden to them.

Women, as an unequal group in terms of structural position, have not had the same accessibilities to every political instance. Besides that and differently from men, women's life cycles target their life, particularly motherhood. For women, the cost-benefit relation is different from the one established by men because they have historically obtained less political benefits.

The oppression women suffer is due to the role society gave them. The critical thought, that has the objective to bring knowledge and respect to speeches, as well as the way those speeches reverberate in the objective reality, have to do with the conscience of the gender relations lived in daily life.

ONU defends that social development does not exist without the development of women. They are the ones who have held the main responsibility of the biologic and social reproduction tasks, domestic violence and the neglect of public politics. These cannot be created nor implemented by an abstract citizen but more and more they have to take in consideration the specifications of social groups.

Education becomes a fundamental process to help people to promote the process of change in their lives. Paulo Freire (1977: 69) adds that "[...] education is communication, it is dialogue in a way that it is not the transfer of knowledge but an encounter of speakers that seek significance and meanings". This way, this author suggests the union between communication and education.

In this perspective of oppressed groups, the theoretical path chosen to work was the approach of the gender that, according to Eleonora Oliveira (1999:70), "is the category that explains the relation of power among sexes and that gives us the social dimension of sexual inequality based on the naturalization and *biologization* of the sexes", with methodological support of problem-based education proposed by Paulo Freire (1980), that prioritizes that work of consciousness formation essentially in the explored sectors.

So, besides the identification of the main themes that affect the everyday life of the women of Palmas, this light work has also the objective to evaluate radio as a tool capable to promote the awareness, reflection and debate about gender issues, looking for the emancipation of women.

As a methodological procedure, the first step consisted of the amplification of book and document readings that approach the theme of radio as a tool for popular education, historical and political context of the country and state, namely related to the issue of gender. The proposal of radio programs came from the understanding of the themes that affect the daily life of the women of Palmas. For that, research was done using the available literature in local documental sources like: the CEDIM (Conselho Estadual dos Direitos da Mulher); Casa da Mulher 8 de Março; Coordenação da Mulher, Direitos Humanos e Equidade; and Delegacia da Mulher - A variety of themes that approach the feminine universe. This bibliographic and documental research culminated in the suggestion of the following themes: Work and Citizenship Law; Civil Law, Physical and Psychological Integrity, Women's Health. Each theme was subdivided in topics also based on the bibliographic research.

The second stage consisted of the application of questionnaires about the main urban sectors of the city of Palmas. We looked to know by order of what importance the women in Palmas give to each topic of each theme. As a statistic technician on field, we target women in function to their residential concentration: north and

² The project Women and Public Politics was developed in 1999 by the Federal University of Paraíba, by the department of Social Communication and Tourism of the Social Sciences and Arts Center and The Pedagogic Habilitation Department of the Education Center, and by the Women's Center 8 de Março, with the support of the DFID (Department for International Development of the English government) and the British Council.

south regions of Plano Diretor, Aurenys, Taquaralto, Taquaruçu, (Santa Bárbara e Taquari), that give a total of a feminine population of 68.620 (IBGE, 2000 Census).

For being an unpublished work and so, for not existing any previous information about the researched variants, we used the percentage for occurrence (success) defined by a "P" and nonoccurrence by a "Q" of 50% each, which is a usual procedure in these situations. A level of trust defined by $Z = 98\%$ was used, and the margin of error was established at over or below 5%. After applying the formula used to determine the samples of the finite populations with a normal distribution of probabilities existing in the majority of statistic books, a sample of 600 was scaled.

Radio and its role for citizenship

Since modern democracy's advent, the means of communication have taken an important role in the constitution of spaces to exercise citizenship. Some authors have almost joined the ideas of public space and media as a consequence for the society having become extraordinarily complex making it physically impossible to assure an effectively democratic process through physical spaces (of discussion and social interaction). Due to this fact, some questions are asked, such as: how can the media help citizens learn about the world, about debate and how to make informed decisions in the context of this research of radio, especially in their journalistic role? (Dahlgren, 1997: 1).

The technological accessibility and the portable receivers, says Paula Cordeiro (2010: 50), gave and still give today a huge importance to radio, mainly in poorer and illiterate countries. Radio has a cultural influence as well as the power of social intervention. Research shows its important contribution mainly related to local experiences where more direct and specific interests of public life are shown. In this perspective, radio acts like an educational instrument and the researches about it have occurred preferentially in the scope of communitarian communication. Cordeiro (2010: 61) says that radio participates actively in the construction of social meanings through its strong presence in the daily life of its audience. Vera Lúcia Raddatz (2006: 1) agrees with Cordeiro's thought and says that radio is the mean of communication that comes closest to the citizens.

Media have become part of key public spaces and the meditation of citizens and authorities. In relation to radio, Winocur (2002: 71) says that its programs are based on citizen's lives: experience with the city's government, life conditions and other issues relation to their emotional and private life. For the author, radio creates a privileged scenery to talk about the demands and necessities of the citizens. It offers a space for debate and free circulation of ideas with direct participation from citizens.

In his analysis, Winocur (2002: 101) highlights radio as a suitable tool to make the learning process easier. This process is necessary to acknowledge and this depends on the development of the capacity of critical reflection about social reality to be able to transform it. She affirms that radio has a new place in homes and cars due to its capacity to diversify, making it different from television that is more and more uniformed and predictable. With the globalization of television, radio is responding better to people's necessities (Kautz apud Winocur, 2002: 75).

Radio, for Winocur (2002: 97) can be considered to be a public sphere in the new globalization and *deterritorialization* of culture and information, not in the sense of a unique sphere, homogeneous and separated from state and private life, but exactly the opposite, in the fragmentation of multiple spaces of diverse and heterogeneous conception.

Paulo Freire's perspective and the contribution of the feminist movement

The first step for awareness is, like Freire's education, the co-participation of subjects in the knowledge process that starts with a dialogical process that makes subjects reflect about reality, looking to understand their situation in society. This co-participation of subjects in the act of thinking starts in communication.

This way, the culture of power learner (his/her relations/processes and forms/structures) through the capacity of objectifying and knowing reality in a critical way is a reason for the transformation of reality and for the liberation of individuals and groups from what limits their social, intellectual and political participation (Freire, 1980).

One of the methods for that conscience to emerge consists in allowing the subjects to relive and reconstruct their experiences by the effort of, in the form of group work, to expose their life, thought and feelings according to the topics that were approached. Radio is an excellent tool for this awareness process.

For this awareness to happen, it is fundamental not only to obtain the theoretical knowledge of the theme, but also for the acquisition of that knowledge to initiate an attitude to change that reality. This is what gives the historical dynamic of society and places men and women in a position of subjects of history.

The feminist movement expresses itself as a result of many other movements that inform about the most varied forms of oppression and struggle for the overcoming of social inequality. The emergence of feminism is the breaking point of the traditional hierarchies and authoritarian political models, establishing a narrow connection between interpersonal relations and political organization.

Jane Souza (2002) explains that feminism not only introduces new aspects in the struggle of political contestation, approaching topics such as family, sexuality, domestic work, child care, etc. emphasized the political and social issue, the way men and women are educated, produced as "generic" subjects, politicizing the sexual identification and gender. Due to that, they refer to men/women, mothers/fathers, sons/daughters, etc. as a form of distinguishing a clearly discriminatory social reality.

Maria Eulina de Carvalho (2003: 60) adds that genders, defined as a pair of opposites, constitute a relation of power, or in other words they are social representations subject to political disputes for the attribution of meanings. The author explains that gender relations involve inequality and domination: "they integrate a complex system of male domination, strongly institutionalized and internalized and structure all the aspects of social life, expressing itself in culture, ideology, violence, sexuality, reproduction, division of work, state organization and discursive practices".

Valquíria Souza (1997) highlights the role of educational process that initiates within family and continues outside it, in social life, through means of communication and in school. This creates a clear differentiation between the male and female world. She adds that the term gender is used to speak about the cultural and symbolic construction of the men-women relationships.

Nowadays, gender theories have become important references for the development of methodologies and educational actions. The feminist though has always come back to the analysis of the gender relations in different contexts and periods, but it was only in the 1980s of that the term "gender" has the meaning it has today, becoming an important category for the analysis of social relations. Souza (2002, p.3) quoting Louro (1995), says that "[...] besides a theoretical tool potentially useful for social sciences, gender emerged as an important analytical category for History, especially for History of Education".

Themes about gender issues have been approached by many social scientists. The debate got more intense, especially after acknowledging that the gender differences have a bigger social content than biological, taking to the conclusion that the woman, based on Paulo Freire, is subjected to a "pedagogic submission" (Silva, 2004).

An important tool that connects education to communication reached a great level of importance in the deconstruction process of that pedagogy – the "Educommunication" (Soares, 2001). In this context, research shows that radio is a tool capable of overcoming difficulties created by the dynamism of the contemporary work, where the daily tasks do not allow people to have enough time against the main means of communication. Indeed, the day-to-day activities are not incompatible with the audio tool.

The historic condition of women and their struggles

The theme women and citizenship has a few basic questions. Where is the feminine citizenship if women are excluded from the educational, political and social process of society? Where is women's citizenship in a society where men and women, in their great majority are excluded from social wealth? How to conciliate citizenship with the absence of equal or compensatory politics? How to help reconstruct the states so that citizenship becomes a meaningful concept? The answer for these questions and many others will allow the enlargement of what is possible, even in a society that excludes and is hierarchical and that also can allow us to understand where our citizenship is.

Women are number one when it comes to unemployment in the Metropolitan Regions of Brazil. Women continue to have to deal with domestic tasks. Women continue working without pay. Women continue to shyly assume management positions, and so on. In the 21st century a reflection is necessary when it comes to the educational model which we have so that we can question its effectiveness related to equal rights and gender. Is it true that we do not have a conservative model, stereotyped and full of repression towards women? Is it true that women have full conscience of their role in society? Can women know how to exercise citizenship?

The struggle of women for equality in everything in society, work, home, school was and still is a solitary struggle marked by great tragedies. It is not by chance that the 8th of March is internationally considered to be Women's Day. That day was marked negatively by a great tragedy. North American women organized women's first exclusive strike that fought against the workday reduction and by the end of the terrible and inhuman work conditions. One hundred and nine weavers from the Cotton Factory crossed their arms as a form of protest to demand their rights to their employers. It was then, on the 8th of March of 1857 that one of the biggest crimes of all working history happened. The police, ordered by the employers closed the exits of the factory and set it on fire. The women were stuck and defenseless and died carbonized and asphyxiated in the middle of the smoke and flames. Fifty three years after that terrible episode, in 1910, during the II Women's International Conference in Denmark, Clara Zetkin, an activist, proposed that the 8th of March would be declared as Women's Day. Today that day is still marked by demonstrations and protests, being commemorated by the fighters all around the world as a symbol of workforce resistance, mobilizing the ample feminine groups against the capitalist oppression (Guimarães, 1999).

The 154 year struggle remains the same. The restructuring process that the big capitalist companies have gone through and the neoliberal politics in many countries reinforce the condition of exploitation and condition of oppression of women. In Brazil, everyday has been a struggle against social exclusion, unemployment, withdrawal of social rights, the reduction of salaries, the lack of conditions of a worthy life that affects mainly women. They earn 50% less than men, working in the same position and unemployment among women is almost 6% higher than among men.

Facing this picture of discrimination suffered by women, many times even legitimized by the state norms and as a rule, women have started organizing themselves in small groups or even isolated. They would fight for the change of that legal picture, in the sense of amplifying feminine citizenship and changing the asymmetric cultural pattern that characterized Brazilian and worldwide juridical culture. They would make an effort to make way for an alternative right that meant the amplification of women's citizenship in the political right's sphere.

Only nowadays women receives special society attention when comes to education. The come next to children and people that have special needs, like the new educational subjects. After millenniums of social and educational subordination, exclusion from school and instruction, women is now more and more in the spotlight of the educational scene. The feminine educational problems and women's instruction have gained attention of all society. Social ascension of women has produced a profound shuffle in education. The educational practice has now been worked out for a new subject, women, children, people with special needs. The training institutions,

family and school, the factory, etc were renewed, giving life to a new process of socialization of those practices and to articulation and sophistication.

The feminist movements – that started in the 19th century were destined to save women and help them affirm themselves politically, giving them the right to vote, to learn, the social guardianships for feminine and maternity work – have put in the center of educational consciousness and the pedagogic reflection the problem of gender. They have also questioned the traditional model of learning, characterized only by the male model, seen as superior and universal but marked by the prejudice of machismo: from domination to violence, to formal abstract rationalism, to the repression and sublimation of instincts that would deny the feminine gender and, for that, now women are getting their identity back and social role back, something that before was completely denied.

Feminism claimed equal opportunities and the emancipation of women. This meant the struggle for scholarship, also in women for an opening of more jobs and “masculine” careers; for a maternity support that would allow their job permanence: with day care centers, kindergartens, etc. They also claimed the specificity of feminism, of the culture of feminine, affirming the educational priority of the gender. So, a “pedagogy from the difference” was implemented. This had a discrete diffusion and proposed to make a name for itself in pedagogy and not only in education the values, the principles, the praxis and the ideals of the feminine universe, operating a radical transformation also in the philosophy of education: opening it for feminine values being thought for women by women.

From the diverse historic moments: the struggle for the right to vote in 1934 to the creation of worker’s rights in the decades of 1930 and 1940, the amplification of the rights of married women in 1962 and the general amplification of feminine citizenship from 1970, we can say that women’s situation, in the context of Brazilian legislation, has suffered a positive evolution, but unequal, in many areas of law.

Radio as a tool for education in the feminine universe of Palmas-TO³

This research was about the following: the habit of listening to the radio, important information for the evaluation of the mean and the ways of using it, we concluded that there was a significant audience. Like we can see in figure 1, about 65% of women listen to the radio for more than thirty minutes a day while only twenty does not. This indicates the characteristics of the mean that can follow the listener any day of the week and in any place.

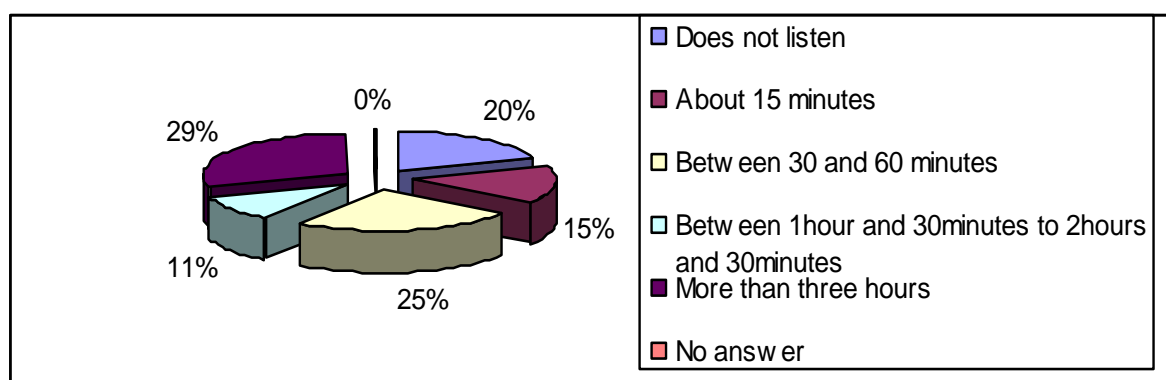


Figure 1: Time women listen to the radio. Source: on field 2005

³ The students of Social Communication the the CEULP/ULBRA (Centro Universitário Luterano de Palmas) Jaklene da Silva and Whilker Santana Wanderly collaborated in this research.

The radio program can be an instrument to incentive the reflection of diverse themes. According to Giroux and McLaren (apud Souza, 2002), pedagogy is present anywhere there can be experience and reality, not matter what level of depth.

In this way, the comprehension of the facts is more accessible to all social layers, like Lopes (1988: 120) confirms:

The effect of speech is the establishment of an intimate and affective relation between the communicator and the listener. Through colloquial and emotive language, the communicator always accomplishes his functions as a friend, family member or a counselor. This allows a commercial, moral, aesthetic, affective speech that comes through easily due to the fact they are all part of the same ideological investment.

Maria Inês Santos (2004: 46) affirms that radio looked for a different space than television and that made it more regional and local. For her, radio has looked for its involvement with community since they, through public services.

[...] by the use of comic and melodramatic language, redeeming that way, substrates of humoristic programs of the 40s and 50s and radiodrama – a genre that, by radio soap operas, best characterized radio at that time – re-updated a sensorium, like Barbero would say, characterized popular taste [emphasis of the author].

As we can understand, radio can be a promoting agent for the development of citizenship of women and especially, in this case, of women from Palmas. Through simple and dynamic programs it is possible to discuss matters that promote more knowledge by women, of their rights as citizens. Not counting orality that has shown to be fundamental to help expand the self-esteem of any person and, in women's case that is a very important point in the search for citizenship.

Evaluation of the main themes about gender, done by women from Palmas-TO

Related to the matters they like to listen to on the radio, within four great themes presented, we can understand a certain anxiety and necessity to approach matters like: Guardianship of children and food pension; marriage and separation; payment and maternity benefit equality; sexual and domestic violence; sexual transmitted diseases; cancer and abortion.

For each theme, some matters were presented so they could order them by order of importance, the ones they would like to be discussed more in radio shows. For each theme, an option of non-interest was also presented. The percentage of non-interested was noticed to be very low, at a level of almost zero in the theme of women's health. In fact, from the six hundred interviewees, only one affirmed that she had no interest in any of the matters in relation to that theme. Figure 2 shows the order of interests of the women of Palmas for each theme.

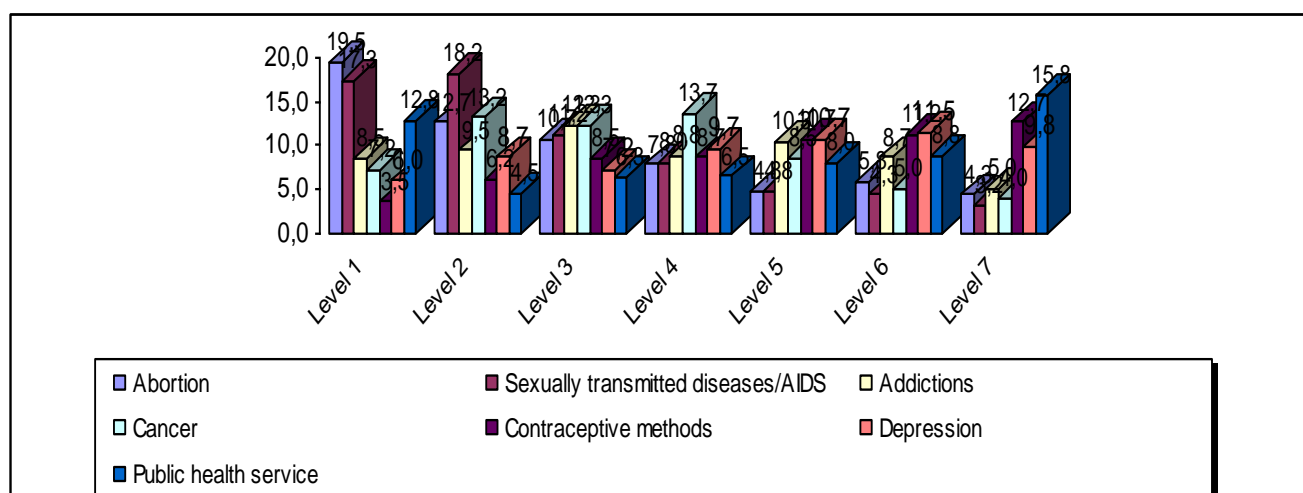


Figure 2: Themes in the area of health for discussion on the radio. Research: on field 2005

Although we can conclude that women are interested in all matters, the results show that in relation to the theme women's health, the interest level is higher.

The research shows that, in the specific case of Palmas, the fundamental role that radio has in the political and social education of women, since it is a mean with a great audience for this public, and does not get in the way of women's daily tasks. Communication produced by and for the organized subaltern sectors, like Peruzzo affirms (2007: 2) has contributed to expand the education appearance about the exercise of citizenship. For the author "the achievement of citizenship means the transformation of subjects to citizens, whose social framework requires the involvement with people, conditioning their citizen status to the quality of participation". That participation happens through education, in a way that people have knowledge and the conscience of their rights and duties. So, radio has a fundamental role in this process.

Final thoughts

We understand now that women are interested in hearing about matters related to their lives and that radio, being the massive mean of communication it is, it can and it has the obligation to accomplish its role to inform. As Gisela Ortriwano (1985) says, this mean of communication mobilizes masses, making them participate actively in life. Bringing citizenship and media closer, or media and citizenship, make us recognize new scenarios of constitution to live in democratic societies and it also makes us understand that we do not understand citizenship fully without looking closely to the function of power through media speech.

The participation of the public in media has its origins from the times the newspaper appeared, but its importance in terms of opinion happened when telephone became popular due to the radio in the 60s (Winocur, 2000: 89). The role of the media in democracy should be to give to citizens the information they need to play their roles. The way that information affects the understanding and compromise with democracy molds the identity of each citizen. For Cruz (2000: 285) the increment of the importance of the means of communication and the speed in which information is broadcasted have made the capacities and opportunities to learn grow, and have helped to define social conflicts. With the growth of the media, the demonstrative effect of the collective action multiplies.

Media are a pre-requirement today, even though they are not a guarantee to mold the democratic character of society because they are the porters of political communication besides the face-to-face

communication (Dahlgren, 2009: 3). The comprehension of social sense of the media reveals that the rules that daily structure the circulation and reframing of the messages, and as we can understand, radio is the mean of communication that can better play this role and can really give women their social identity and active participation in society as real citizens.

Differently from men, women have never learned how to think by themselves, to believe that they had rights and not only obligations. Women absorbed the machismo culture and assumed a submissive role towards men, transmitting inclusively this culture to their children, using a form of education that she made different for the two genders. Women have always been great fighters. First she learned to fight for the others, or in other words, for her husband, for her family. Only later on, women became conscious that they also had to fight for themselves and other women, in the search for recognition as a participative citizen of all the historic process.

There is still much more to work on, mainly when it comes to the search of equality in work relationships, struggle for equal salaries in the same positions, the struggle against sexual and domestic violence, the right to health and education. These facts for which the results in this research in Palmas evidenced a need for permanent discussion about gender and issues related to the construction of citizenship. Radio, as a mean of peculiar characteristics, shows that it is the ideal one for this activity and redemption for the social identity of women due to having a low production cost and to the service of elaborated proposals for its programs.

All the issues presented here point in one direction: education. Not any regular education, but education as a practice of liberty, proposed by Paulo Freire (1981) and also not any kind of freedom, but a responsible freedom. To assume this responsibility it is necessary to be conscious. That will only happen if, first we can identify the concrete problem, feel a part of it and then understand it that problem is in a bigger situation, of a collectivity and to transform that reality it is necessary to take action together. In our opinion radio is one of the main tools for promotion of the consciousness that will generate the development of citizens that participate in the construction of a society that is more and more fair and also in the construction of their own identities.

We hope that, with this research, there can be more radio programs capable of illustrating the feminine universe to: i) disquiet women, not only the ones from Palmas, in relation to many aspects of their daily life; ii) provoke necessary debates for the awareness related to their gender condition; and iii) incentivize their political participation and citizenship exercise.

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The German-Speaking Radio in Silesia (Poland)

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Abstract:

Approximately 200 thousand people, belonging to the German minority live in the voivodships Silesia and Opole. The situation of the German media there is of special interest for the research, for the very possibility of radio and TV shows being available in German is a relatively new phenomenon.

In this paper I focus on two radio programmes which are produced by the German minority. My research does not necessarily put on to the radio listeners but furthermore concentrates on how the radio stations represent a region by (the) means of programme planning in order to foster a regional identity.

Keywords: Radio, Silesia, Language Minorities, Regional Identity

The focus of this paper lies on the German-speaking radio stations in Silesia (Poland).

The main questions are which function the stations have with regard to the representation of the "German" minority and how they possibly influence the development of regional identities by the use of German.

My research does not necessarily put on to the radio listeners but rather concentrates on how the radio stations represent a region by (the) means of programme planning in order to foster a regional identity.

I firstly describe the situation of the German-Speaking People in Silesia then I move to the theoretical background and finally I will present some first results of my research.

This article is based on my ongoing research about German-Speaking radios in Poland and Belgium.

Short History of German-Speaking People in Silesia

Today, Silesia is not a national state or a common administrative area. Moreover parts of the "historical" Silesia belong to Poland, the Czech Republic and to Germany.

Due to the place reasons I can provide only a very short excursion into the complicated history of Silesia, but for the context an understanding of the history of the German minority is important.

In very early times the first "German" knights, priests and courtiers settled Silesia (Pikorski, 1994: 13).

In the 18th century Poland was divided into three parts (a Russian, an Austrian and a Prussian part). In all the three parts lived German - speaking people (Lasatowicz, 2008: 147).

In 1918 after the First World War an independent Polish State was developed. There was a plebiscite about the belonging of Silesia in the future in march 1921. Due to the absence of the clear result, Upper Silesia was divided into two parts. The western part came to Germany and the eastern part to Poland (Lasatowicz, 2008: 152).

After the Second World War the ethnical minorities experienced some severe problems in the Polish State. Many people of German origin left Poland or were banished. Theoretically the Polish constitution claimed the equality of all peoples and ethnic groups, however in practise the existence of national minorities in Poland were denied in favour of the „socialistic homogenisation” (Garwich, 2003: 24).

After the political change in 1989 essential changes in the minority policy of Poland appeared; the homogenisation politics was abandoned (Pikorski, 1994: 13).

Aspects of the constitution from 1997 providing protection of national and ethnic minorities are of an ultimate relevance for my research (Pan, 2006: 370).

In the course of all these political changes in Poland some of the ethnic Germans began to return to their German origin. One could assume that because of the “new” situation of the German minority some “special” mechanisms occurred in the production of identity and in recovering their language. In the following I will describe shortly the situation of the „Germans” in Silesia.

The “Germans” in Silesia

In Poland there are different regions where people live, who identify with German culture or language. Most of them live in the voivodships [regions] Opole and Silesia. These two regions, that are often called Upper Silesia, are located in the south west of Poland near the Czech and Slovakian borders.

The question who can be called „German”, who belong to this minority and who not is very difficult to clarify. In 2002 a population census in Poland tried to identify who belongs to a national or ethnic minority, but in the case of the „Germans” there was no clear result.

Official authorities both in Poland and Germany name a different number of „Germans” in Poland; both sides dispose different criteria to “be counted as German”.

Moreover the national belongings are fluent, so the definite classification is rather impossible and many people prefer to identify themselves as “Silesians” (Sakson, 1994: 113).

Due to the fact, that speaking German language was forbidden after the Second World War and before 1989, and due to the new possibilities to live German identity according to the constitution from 1997; one could assume the appearance of some (new) mechanisms for German identity production, construction and support. So in my research I argue that radio is one of the identity producing agents.

In Upper Silesia, not least due to the decades of the suppression of German language, self-identification as German does not necessarily correlate to the ability to speak German.

The generation born before 1945 often speaks German or a regional German dialect. The people of the “middle” generation, born between 1945 – 1980, often do not speak German, for them German disappeared, due to the prohibition, almost completely from public and private lives of the people. Among younger generations, born after 1980, German language is in use again, however, not learned in family, but in school or in German organisations.

Silesian language/dialect is referred to as mother tongue by some speakers in Upper Silesia. This is a Polish dialect with a lot of loanwords and grammatical similarities of German (Wojcik, 2009: 48).

The consequence of this linguistic peculiarity is that not all „Germans” do speak German respectively it can also be an indication that many people in Upper Silesia call themselves as Silesians, for the link of the language among these people is lost (Berlinksa, 1994: 172).

These specifics of the German language in the region should be kept in mind, while researching on the radio.

Media Law in Poland

The current Polish constitution provides new approaches to media laws, which is essential in the context of this paper. The media law creates a legal basis for the existence of the non-polish, inclusively German-Speaking Radio Stations (Garwich, 2003: 217).

In 1989 the monopoly of the national broadcasting service was abolished and since 1992 the law of Radio and Television came into force. In this law the duties of the public broadcasting are described. Inter alia, this law provides the national and ethnical minorities with the right to broadcast radio and TV shows in their own minority language. The media law was specified in some points over the years and so the national broadcasting services are obligated to develop minority radio and TV programmes (Pan, 2006: 382).

For the German minority as for all minorities in Poland this law is very important because now they had the official authorisation to produce media content in their own languages.

The German-Speaking Radio Stations

In Poland no German-Speaking radio stations exist, which would produce media content in German only. There are only some radio shows which are broadcasted on several Polish private or public law radio stations. Most of them are broadcasted in regions where a lot people of German origin live. So the biggest number and variety of radio programmes can be listened to in the voivodships Silesia and Opole.

I present here two examples of German-Speaking radio programmes which are produced in Silesia and Opole.

Radio Mittendrin¹

The first one is the radio programme „Präsent“ that is produced by the German-Polish Radio station „Mittendrin“ (the translation of the name is “in the middle of it”) in Raciborz which is located in the region of Silesia. The German-Speaking radio editorial department „Mittendrin“ exists since 1997 and it was established as a wish of the Social-Culture Community of the Germans in the voivodship Silesia.

Up to now, it has been a semi-professional Radio Station that mostly consists of young radio-programme-makers. First of all the radio-broadcast „Die Stimme aus Ratibor“ (The voice of Raciborz) was produced which was mostly a musical request programme in German language. This programme can still be heard once a week on the private Polish-Speaking Radio Station Vanessa. The second transmission in German, „Mittendrin“, existing since 1999, is mainly focussed on young people. This programme is a mixture between entertainment and information.

Since 2006 the whole station is named after that show „Mittendrin“ and broadcasts the whole day through the internet. The station broadcasts a lot of German and Polish music there and the programme is a mixture between German-Speaking and Polish-Speaking Radio programmes.

2010 there was a relaunch in the programme structure and the new mostly German-Speaking programme named „Präsent“ (Present) was established. This programme is broadcasted, besides the internet, every second Monday on Radio Katowice at 10 p.m. Radio Katowice is a radio station under public-law and is receivable in the vovoidship Silesia.

The topics of that programme are mostly information around the German Minority in Silesia; sometimes also regional topics, for example Silesian celebrations or customs. The music is only German popular music.

¹ This part is based on interviews with two members of Radio Mittendrin and on the homepage <http://www.mittendrin.pl/>

Pro Futura²

The second programme which I am dealing with is „Schlesien Aktuell“ (Current Silesia). This programme is produced by the production company „Pro Futura“.

„Schlesien Aktuell“ was firstly broadcasted on Radio Opole in 1998 and addresses German minorities in the voivodships Opole. Radio Opole is a station under public law and receivable in the voivodship Opole.

„Schlesien Aktuell“ is broadcasted at 7.45 p.m. between Monday and Friday and lasts about 15 minutes.

Content of these transmissions are reports, interviews and short features about the German minority.

The programme „Schlesien Aktuell“ is financed by the Institute of Foreign Relations and therefore by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs“ of Germany. Due to the place reasons the dependencies between the contents of the programme and programme’s financing sources cannot be addressed here, although they are part of the ongoing research project.

Interesting, although not in the focus of my research is the programme „Kaffeklatsch“. It is a German-Polish musical request programme on Radio Pak, a Polish Private Station. They broadcast German folk music and reports about the minority like „Die Stimme aus Ratibor“ does it. So, this kind of programmes seem to be popular among the minorities, one can conclude this from their being the most persistent shows on the particular station.

Media and Regional/Minority Identity³

In the following part I would like to present the theoretical background and try to explain the effect of media on regional identities.

Collective identity and in some respect also regional identity is described as a human conception of equality respectively homogeneity with other human beings or groups (Wagner, 1998: 46-70). So, one group delimits itself through certain attributes from others. Interesting is the relation between personal and collective identity; collective identity can only exist if several people project their personal identity on the same collective.⁴ The process of collective identity formation is described by Frank Berge and Alexander Grasse as a “[...] dual process, that on the one hand contains the act of separation, i.e. differentiation and disentanglement and on the other hand the act of assimilation and homogenisation [...] (Berge, 2003: 78)“.

Regional Identity is a special form of collective identity, because in a region on the one hand one also separates from other regions or the main country and on the other hand it could be an act of assimilation with the people who live in the same region and have some attributes in common.

Regional identity is always locally limited, that means, that the region always imposes a territorial boundary. This marking of boundaries has a central meaning in the expression of regional identities (Hepp, 2003:99).

The formation of regional identities could be affected by media; and the border regions with different language population groups present a very specific phenomenon, best suitable for such creation of identities, for the language-region interrelation provides the possibility to observe identity creation, directed towards a specific clearly defined audience. Certainly one cannot start by looking at a one-dimensional effect of media and that media supplies could cause different interpretations and consequently achieve different outcomes. Nevertheless, in the media and communication science it is undoubted that the media has an influence on the construction of identities, both individual and collective. Friedrich Krotz writes in his article “Media as a Resource for the Constitution of Identity”: “If media contribute something to the identity of individuals, they probably don’t do it only for an individual, but also for a whole group of persons, maybe for a whole cohort.” (Krotz, 2003: 27). This is a

² This part is based on interviews with two members of Pro Futura and on the homepage: <http://www.pro-futura.com.pl/>

³ This part is based on an article which was published after the Summer School on “European Union Studies” in Strelna (Russia)

⁴ Ibid.

central aspect, because it is the question of how media messages could be the base material for the formation of collective and regional identities. This can happen because through the media we learn what is coded well or badly in our society (Dorer, 2003: 120). Thus, media give us the orientation necessary to delimit values and standards and to communicate traditions. It delimits the area of our conceivable realities. As a result the human being or even groups take up identification supplies, which become available via the media and use them to as part of their own identity (Christmann, 2003: 154).

Brigitte Hipfl describes in her article "Medial Spaces of Identity" and that media could construct geopolitical areas even through the way they report (Hipfl, 2004: 16). Furthermore, the media brings together different territories with certain behaviours, peoples and cultural practices and they present an area in a different way in comparison to another (*ibid.*).

Therefore, members of a region could have the area they live in delimited by the media and recognize the community as concrete through media representation.

Some first results

As already stated in the introduction, this article is based on an ongoing research and presents here some first results.

My research focus on the radio programmes itself and the producers of the programmes and I want to show how the radio stations represent the minority through their programmes and how they might foster a minority identity. And how they talk about oneself and the others.

I interviewed some producers and experts of the both stations "Radio Mittendrin" and "Pro Futura" and I observed the two programmes "Präsent" and "Schlesien Aktuell".

Here I will present some statements of the interviews and connect them to the theory.

He stations regard themselves as a kind of "megaphone" or spokesman. The editor-in-chief of Radio Mittendrin says to that point:

„The aim is always the same, we are the megaphone of the German minority [...] But not only, because we are here in the Raciborz area, we can't only concentrate on the German minority, but on the whole area who listens to us.“⁵

In this statement you can recognize a deep connection to the region. The radio producers of Radio Mittendrin do not only want to broadcast for the German minority, but they understand themselves more as a regional medium.

A very important aspect in view of the promotion of regional identities is the language. In this case the language is especially remarkable, because of the notable situation of the German language in Poland.

The editorial departments of the both stations always discuss about the language, especially about the voice-over. In the programme "Präsent" the Polish and Silesian parts, for example interviews, are not voiced over. In contrast in the programme "Schlesien Aktuell" all the Polish and Silesian parts are translated into German.

So the editor-in-chief of "Schlesien Aktuell" says:

"There is often a discussion about that, the goal mainly in the beginning was to broadcast a German-Speaking programme and not a German-Polish one. And when it is a German-speaking programme, then the whole programme has to be in German and the originally Polish statements will be translated."

The people from Radio Mittendrin see this point in a little different way.

"Also our goals are, to report about the German language, topics and culture and to get the people interested into that...This is the reason why we won't do it all in German, because it should be German-Polish, so that everybody can get the best out of it..."

⁵ The quotations are originally in German and are translated into English by myself.

These different approaches show, that there are two different conceptions of target group. On the one hand there is "Schlesien Aktuell" that produces the programme only for the people who can understand German and on the other hand there is "Mittendrin" that is more an integrative and, as a region itself, stays multilingual, using Polish, Silesian and German language, leaning to specific language situation in the region.

For the stations it is something very special to broadcast in German, because Germans are a minority, living in a Polish Speaking surrounding, furthermore, for the most Germans in the Region, and also for those, making the broadcasting, German is in most cases not their first language. So it is natural that discussions about the voice-over appear.

Let me come back to the assumption that the broadcasting in German promotes the identity to a great extent.

While listening to the stations one can easily notice that the radio announcers, reporters and speakers do mostly have a kind of regional accent in their language. In this way the language can convey certain regionality. So a cultural belonging can be shown by the language and regional boundaries can be defined, as already shown above. This might provide the development of regional identities.

So a member of the editorial staff of „Schlesien Aktuell“ says:

"We need not be here all brilliant speakers of the mother tongue, who all speak perfect German, because there should be people from this area, who produce the programme for the region."

Still, it is very important that the spoken language is German. Moreover, the stations transmit plenty of local and regional information that would not without the stations (besides some local newspaper) reach the persons who are concerned.

The producers of the programmes would like draw a picture of the minority, as an editorial staff member puts it: *"A picture from the German minority in Silesia should be drawn through the programmes."*

The German minority gets, promoted by the radio, information's of their region and can possibly realize things which maybe relevant for them. The radio stations select thus for their broadcasting the news, which they believe to be especially relevant for the German minority. This constructs to the certain extend the picture of the minority, which is being further on transmitted to the minority itself.

The stations mediate with help of the way of information spreading (regional information from and with people from the region – language/dialect) and the way of communicating a certain view about the collective, in this case for the German minority in Silesia.

A member of the editorial staff of „Schlesien Aktuell“ says about the promotion of identity through the radio programme:

"With every report we support the identity, because we show that it is something beautiful to be different...We are a medium of the German minority."

Through the stations the people can get the awareness for a common collective in order to orientate themselves towards their individual identity.

Boundaries are also described through the way stations transmit their programmes and present themselves. This description of limits is properly relevant for the German minority and makes the stations – in certain way – to a donator of identity.

For a formation of collective regional identities a description of boundaries is always relevant. So the stations provide references to see, who is inside and who is outside.

Silesia is not only "conveyed" by face-to-face contacts but also by media, in this case represented by the radio stations.

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Basque and Gael speaking radio journalists: background and work patterns

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Abstract:

Radio studies have been very much sensitive with broadcasting movements established by small communities giving voice to those media that escaped from powerful national broadcasting companies. At the present time, there are radios created within influential communication companies that still maintain their differential nature. These media address its audience in a non-dominant language without underestimating their professional journalistic work patterns. In this paper we have studied Euskadi Irratia (EITB), the Basque language public radio station, and BBC Radio nan Gaidheal, the Gaelic language public radio station. Thereby, the main focus has been made on the flair and skills of these radio journalists, which have lead to establish characteristics of the XXI century's radio journalist profile working within a minority media scope. A qualitative approach to the issue has enabled as to conclude that despite the minority nature of the Basque and Gaelic language public radios, the way its journalists deal with the everyday content output reveals a sense of professionalism that equals the one of dominant language media. These radio journalists' perception is that their journalistic crafts and skills are sufficiently qualified as to work in any other Spanish or English speaking media.

Keywords: Euskadi Irratia, Radio nan Gaidheal, journalists, radio

Conducting research on the profile of journalists can incorporate different types of analysis. One of them is examining journalists through their professional standards. In this way, the formal education of the news-people will be of central interest as well as their attitudes and moral ethics and values within their everyday working life routines. Based on the sociology of work and occupations studies of the time, Americans McLeod and Hawley (1964) established the indicators that would measure the professional orientation of journalists. The pioneering survey obtained a dignify acceptance among a vast majority of the academics on the field and similar analysis were carried during the following years concluding that: journalists with a high professional orientation level look after the professional ethics and value of information; are in favour of the specialization of different knowledge areas (science, economics, social matters, and so on); and they circumvent the excessive influence of their sources of information (Pollard, 1984; Nayman, 1973); so much for journalists located throughout North America and Canada, since each area of the world experiences its own particular situation. A study on the Pacific Islands journalists profile (Layton, 1995) for example demonstrated that although overall journalists were found to be well-educated, middle-class young people comparing to the remaining population, regional and national distinctions were obvious: While in Melanesia journalists show to be high-educated indigenous and male, in Polynesia were less likely to own university degrees.

Following the latter line of study, it should be said that employees on the media can also be studied from a sociological viewpoint, that is, the one that referred to their social parameters. Thus, this standpoint becomes crucial when the working tool of a group of journalists' is a minority language. As we have seen on the study about Pacific Islands' professionals, journalists were linked to their own different identities; that will ultimately have an effect on their media output. Then, it can be state that it is vital to analyse the sociological elements of a group of journalists' which will lead us to get an insight on their identity, which will be tightly related to their work patterns and skills too. Indeed, one of the central elements of national identity is language (Edwards, 2009; Fishman 1989), as it is by verbal communication how we share our identity with others (Clément, Baker, Josephson and Noels, 2005). Language is one of the main resources when constructing and reproducing an identity (Sheyholislami, 2010) and national identities exist and are mediated by a discourse that is shaped in the language of a particular community.

Certainly, mediated communication is the most important form of communication between cultures (Barnett and Lee, 2002). The media are able to develop the use and awareness of new identities which may involve different languages, whilst creating production and consumption patterns which demonstrate cultural distinctiveness. Therefore, it can be said that media consumption is at the heart of identity construction (Bly, 1996; Kellner, 1995; Kroker and Cook, 1988; Willis, 1990). Concurrently, the media turned out to be an essential tool for transmitting discourse to a mass audience, since they can empower the weight of a language within a society (Fisk and Hartley, 2003). However, it is essential that the group of professionals in charge of producing communication through the mass media have sufficiently developed journalistic terms, a field that in fact shows deficiencies in some of the European minority language media (Zabaleta et al., 2008). In this paper we would like to establish some of the issues concerning the quality of the language used in two minority language radios and their journalists' approaches to them in their everyday working life. It must be taken into account that regional or minority language speakers living within a society have often been marginalised. It was not until the late 20th century that minority languages began to be promoted and tolerated as equals to dominant ones (Wright, 2007).

Case studies: Euskadi Irratia and Radio nan Gaidheal

Euskal Irrati Telebista (EITB), the Basque Public Radio and Television Corporation, was created at the beginning of the 1980s as a result of the Basque Autonomous Community's right to "regulate, create and maintain its own television, radio and press, and, in general, all the social mass media for the fulfilment of its aims" (Organic Law of 18 December 1979). Nowadays, EITB is formed by four companies: EitBnet, S.A. (Internet Company); ETB, S.A. (Television Company); Radio Vitoria, S.A. and Eusko Irratia, S.A. (both radio companies). These companies manage the group's different media in Basque and Spanish language. Eusko Irratia S.A. is the one in charge of the management of our main object of study that is Euskadi Irratia, the only Basque-language public radio and the one which more listeners' assembles among the rest Basque speaking radio stations.

The first media owned by the Group was Radio Vitoria. Created in 1934 during the Republic, the Spanish language station became part of the property of the Basque Government in 1981 after it bought it to Vital Kutxa bank. However, the first medium created under the law that established the Basque Public Radio and Television Corporation (May 1982), was Euskadi Irratia, created on November 1982. The first entirely Basque-speaking channel had as predecessors the Popular Radios of Loyola and San Sebastian (Agirreazkuenaga, 2009) which began to spread bilingual (Basque and Spanish) radio programming during the last decades of the Francoism. Indeed, the Popular Radio of Loyola proved to be a key figure in the formation of professional Basque speaking radio journalists, as well as on the creation of new journalistic concepts and forms of expression that the language would need to cope with the modern world. Moreover, at the time when the Basque public radio was launched, besides of the lack of professionals there was the question of the usefulness of the Basque language, that is, whether the language was sufficiently developed as to be able to use it equally to inform on the Sunday's football

match as about last European Union's agreement. In this first period speech-based and music programmes fill the airtime, but as it has been demonstrated in recent years, broadcasting hard news in Basque language has been one of the main challenges of the radio channel.

In March 1996, Euskadi Irratia's new headquarters were established in the Miramon Park in San Sebastian, with fully digital facilities that integrated recording, editing, broadcasting and archiving digital information systems. In October 2008, the Basque Public Corporation changed its Internet corporate strategy and integrated its media WebPages -including the one of Euskadi Irratia- in www.eitb.com new web site. The design of this latest site would prioritize multimedia content and citizen participation. Thus, the Basque media group followed the BBC single-brand model -www.bbc.co.uk- and thus, it placed Eitb.com as the main identification symbol of the group in the Net.

BBC Radio nan Gaidheal, the Gaelic Public Radio, was founded in 1985 within BBC Scotland, the branch of the BBC (British Broadcasting Company) in charge of producing content specifically for the Scottish nation. Like Euskadi Irratia, Radio nan Gaidheal did not start from scratch. The previous attempts to establish Gaelic language radio services came by the hand of BBC Radio Highland in Inverness, which began broadcasting in 1976 on VHF, and BBC Radio nan Eilean (www.bbc.co.uk/alba). Those endeavours helped to establish news programmes that are still on air as "Aithris Na Maidne" and "Aithris an Fheasgair", the morning and afternoon news programmes respectively. The Gaelic language radio was expanded in 1996 (Cormack, 2004), and nowadays Radio nan Gaidheal's leading programmes are the two previously commented newsreels as well as its music programmes, "Rapal" and "Crunluath" amongst others.

Regarding the audience of these radios, it is not surprising to find despairing taking into account the socio-linguistic differences in both nations. Euskadi Irratia reaches 83.000 listeners per week (EGM April 2010-March 2011) -27.6% is the number of Basque speakers (779.788 people out of 2.829.750 people living in the whole Basque Country) (*Soziolinguistika Kusterra*, 2001). Radio nan Gaidheal reaches approximately 44.000 listeners per week -1,2% is the number of Gaelic speakers (58.652 people out of 5.062.011 people living in Scotland (UK Census, 2001).

In this study we will settle a pattern that, base on specific journalistic aspects, attempts to establish comparisons between radio journalists working in minority language media. Similarly, referring to the general title of this conference, in this paper we will comment on the evolution that has occurred on the journalists reporting on a minority language. Likewise, we will also be addressing media convergence processes which, in one of the case studies, have served to establish an economically efficient journalism.

Methodology

A qualitative methodology has been applied employing in-depth interviews as its main tool. This methodological approach studies the Basque and Gael radio journalists' crafts and skills from an oral perspective, which leads to the establishment of new, unpublished sources. Nevertheless, in addition to oral sources other type of data lying on archives or written sources have also been used. Equally, methods derived from ethnography (Murchison, 2010) have been applied especially when carrying out observation practices among Euskadi Irratia and Radio nan Gaidheal main newsrooms. The *in situ* observation stage has been of great significance in order to design strategies and questionnaires that would abet us in obtaining our goals.

When establishing the journalists' sample, we decided to move away from quantitative methodologies opting for a smaller but much pertinent sample. The interviewed professionals, twenty in total, were chosen depending on their post and time spent on the medium.

This research fits into a larger PhD project, and below we can observe the steps that have been followed for data acquisition:

- Linguistic and sociological study of each media's location.

- Understanding both radios media production processes (administrative structure, internal journalistic structure, programming, and so on).
- Contact and formal meeting with both stations chief editors.
- Contact, meeting and interviewing both radios staff.

Criterion for the establishment of particularities and commonalities

A number of research papers on minority media languages have examined the specific circumstances of a medium located in a specific environment. These studies are very enlightening when it comes to raising questions about the implementation and development of these media as well as the kind of journalist working there. Besides, there are also studies that take into account the development, knowledge and use of minority languages among different European media (Zabaleta et al., 2008).

Indeed, studies comparing media and journalism in different parts of the world have notably increased (Zabaleta, 2010), although there is still disagreement on its validity and value arguing that this type of research incorporates an inherent statement of some sort of universalism and Western bias (Joseph, 2009). Recently, comparative studies on minority language media and their relation with governments linguistic policies have also been developed (Kelly-Holmes, Moriarty, Pietikainen, 2009).

In this study seven variables have been taken into account to establish the profiles of two minority language radios' journalists. Firstly, we looked at the different generations that come together in both newsrooms. Assuming languages and identities are living aspects of a society, it is interesting to be acquainted with the thoughts of professionals belonging to the same culture but at the same time to different historical periods. In both cases there are quite young newsrooms, around 35 years old on average. The age difference refers to the radios' different epochs as well as to the diverse perspectives on the evolution of the journalistic language on the same medium. This comparative element helps us to establish how far apart are the self-image perceptions of the journalists belonging to different times of the history.

The professional experience of the staff is another unit for discussion and comparison. This element may seem surprising and even irrelevant to those who only think about mainstream media in majority languages. However, it is a crucial question in our two case studies, since journalism university degrees in these two lesser-used languages did not begin to develop until the 80s and 90s and therefore, the first professionals responsible for the functionality of the radio would probably come from different fields of study. This factor would also allow us to notice the criteria followed when hiring professionals for minority language media, what is praised and what downplayed: "Many people used to think it was enough to get a job because you have the language, whereas you would never go to join any other broadcasting network just because you spoke the language [...] My time in recruiting for a long time is that we have always looked for that extra knowledge. They may not have the experience but if they have the interest and if they consume the media and are aware of, then you can teach media skills" (Marion MacKinnon, Managing Editor of BBC Radio nan Gaidheal).

Furthermore, we wanted to define the different professional practices carried out in each newsroom. The creative routines and sources of information used by journalists' mirrors the medium's personality, as well as its capacity to offer relevant programming and information. The daily life of journalists has been the subject of numerous investigations (Domingo, 2008; Tuchman, 1978; Deuze, 2001) but few of them consider the situation of a professional working within a minority media scope. But, it must be underlined that the chances of finding relevant sources in a minority language are lower than in a dominant one. What is more, their everyday working life discussions would involve the lack of direct witnesses that would speak the language correctly, the excessive use of clips on the dominant language (English, Spanish) or the correct combination of local, national and international news.

Besides, journalists' routines also vary significantly depending on the degree of media convergence established in each medium. One of the main challenges –of today's media corporations –some of them have already achieved, for example, BBC Scotland– is to create integrated content and newsrooms. Nevertheless, the convergence foster in minority language media is often driven by economic pressures, that is, by a necessary to adapt to a reduced budget; this is the case of the Gaelic language journalists who need to produce news for the radio but also, from 2008 onwards, for their television counterpart.

Moreover, studying the programming is also interesting since it can show the type of audience to which the radios refer. Indeed, as these radios are producing contents for a small community –comparing to the community belonging to dominant languages–, one can assume that they programming reflects a homogeneous audience. However, including in its news not just local but national and international stories as well, suggests that practitioners of these stations do not want to exist as a pure traditional community-attached radio, an often attributed personality to radio in minority language (Cormack, 1993).

Another of the turning points refers to the self-image of these journalists. We consider vitally important to observe the journalistic self-esteem of these professionals that work in the field of minorities. Considering the short life of Euskadi Irratia and Radio nan Gaidheal so far, 30 and 27 years respectively, it is worth paying attention to the perception that these professionals have of their work: If they feel that their work is necessary for society, if it helps in some way, if it is performed rigorously or, conversely, not having much competition results in a less rigor product, and so on. The assessments they create of themselves comparing to their counterparts working in dominant languages, show us the degree of professionalism inherent in each version; thus, this point is used with a hidden aim that is establishing the perceived degree of professionalism.

The professional challenges of Euskadi Irratia's and Radio nan Gaidheal's journalists seemed interesting to include in the study after observing the differing views involved in each newsroom. We believe it is quite relevant that while some work is firmly committed to a more activist point of view –to save and develop the language and culture–, others would not mind to leave the station to work in the dominant language media. Sometimes it will also appear that those working in minority language media are living a much relaxed life as a result of working in a less competent market; this will once again depict different type of profiles from those develop din other type of media.

Results and conclusions

This study is embedded in a larger research in which data will be obtained from both quantitative and qualitative methods. This paper seeks to share data related to the qualitative methods, in fact, the section that provides more meaningful data to access a more detailed profile of radio journalists in minority languages.

Generation division is evident in both cases. On the one hand, nowadays Euskadi Irratia joins together three type of contemporaries: Journalists coming from the Popular Radios that were established during the last stage of the Francoism (Agirreazkuenaga, 2009) and although did not own any journalism title, they did bring professional and linguistic knowledge acquired in the Popular Radios; professionals that began to work on the channel in the middle of their university studies, either in journalism in Basque language or Basque Philology; and finally, the young professionals that having studied journalism in *Euskera*, enter the channel as trainees and generally stay as news speakers. Overall, the newsroom mostly consists of the second generation, that between 30 and 40 years old that own journalism or Basque Philology degrees and have spent more than 10 years in the medium. On Radio nan Gaidheal two generations have been distinguished. In this case the prevailing one is the second, consisting of professionals with university studies mainly in Celtic Studies or English literature, and with more than 10 years of experience in the field. In both cases the principal element that differ the discourse of some contemporaries from others is the prospect towards the language. Nonetheless, there is a slight difference among both cases: In Radio nan Gaidheal people belonging to the older generation make special emphasis on the

impoverishment of the language in terms of grammatical and lexical problems. In Euskadi Irratia, however, dissatisfaction stems from the lack of imagination and easiness that the language suffers on radio: "We should enjoy ourselves more. We need to work more on scripts writing and learn to have fun with our listeners" (Julian Beloki, Euskadi Irratia's weekly cultural programme's main presenter).

Coming to the production routines, for both journalists the first contact with the day's news comes from the computer program (for example, ENSP), and after, reporters from each newsroom come to the scene to collect first-hand sources of information. In both cases the major difficulty results in finding relevant testimonies on the language. Here both radios professionals agree that sometimes they feel forced to use clips in the dominant language, either because of the lack of time for translation -Euskadi Irratia-, or due to the believe that the original clip will offer added expressiveness to the story -Radio nan Gaidheal-. In both newsreels the editors try to balance the amount of local, national and international stories, but Radio nan Gaidheal professionals are more aware of the importance of local issues. Therefore, each channel have different perceptions as to what makes them special comparing to the other media. Radio nan Gaidheal considers that is its localness what provides an added value to its radio service, and, consequently, keeps its audience closeness: "There's an emphasis on the local stories because that makes our program distinct" (Angela Maclean, Radio nan Gaidheal's news presenter). In Euskadi Irratia the progress made on being able to broadcast stories from any part of the world in Basque language is highlighted, since in this way people do not have to change the channel to hear the news from Iraq in their mother tongue: "

Euskadi Irratiak lortu du mundu osoari buruz euskaraz hitz egitea. Lehengo astean Ejiptoko istiluak egon direnean han egon da kazetari euskaldun bat eta horren berri eman digu handik bertatik. (Manu Etxezortu).

As for convergence, while Gaelic language public radio journalists also work for the Gaelic television of the same corporation, the channel BBC Alba (launched in 2008), the newsroom staff on Euskadi Irratia produce Basque language content only for the radio, although specific collaborations can occur but primarily with other radio stations. Hence, Radio nan Gaidheal's professionals have to adapt their journalistic crafts and skills for each media output and be able to select which news will be more suitable for radio and which for TV. This has an appreciable impact on the construction of Radio nan Gaidheal's personality, as while the television is responsible for providing a more modern Gaelic culture, it is understood that the radio should strengthen community identity, and therefore, offer a more traditional outlook of the culture.

The imagined audience appeared to be quite different for each radios professionals. While in Radio nan Gaidheal, regardless of the program, the pictured audience is composed by their journalists- parents or grandparents (traditionalist values vision), in Euskadi Irratia the perception of the audience changes depending on the type of the program, thus referring to a wider modern public. "We always imagine our potential listener in the car. It has little time and it needs to collect lots of inputs in that short time. Thus we try to produce a fast and dynamic programme" (Jaime Otamendi, Euskadi Irratia's afternoon magazine's main presenter).

Although in general the editors and journalists of both newsrooms (Euskadi Irratia and Radio nan Gaidheal) agree that the adopted journalistic practices are as professional as the ones on their counterparts working in dominant languages, in Radio nan Gaidheal are attitudes that allude to a greater professionalism on its counterpart Radio Scotland's news team; it is said that the latter's news directors are very specialized people on the direction on newsreels. Apart from news, on the features one of producers and speakers on Radio nan Gaidheal's everyday chat and sport afternoon magazine affirms that if he could, he would produce the same program in English, because his ultimate goal as a professional communicator is reaching the widest and most diverse audience he can. In this case we should consider whether the mere fact that a professional of this radio has this thought does not raise a satisfactory commitment to the station and the product it offers. It should be mentioned that this speaker uses English words and phrases continuously in his programme. When it comes to

journalists' professional challenges, the ones in Euskadi Irratia advocate more creativity, whereas the Gaels emphasize the importance of providing quality local news in order to ensure more and more listeners.

To sum up, the Basque and Gaelic journalists share some aspects of their profiles: The average are between 30 and 40 years old; they come from places where the language has been historically spoken and today is the home of most of the speakers in the language - these are the province of Gipuzkoa in the Basque Country and the Highlands and Islands in Scotland-, although in both cases the biggest cities -Bilbao and Glasgow- are being home of increasing speakers; they are native speakers and own university degrees in journalism or Basque/Gaelic studies; they feel their crafts and skills are just as professional as those performed on other radio newsrooms working in majority languages; the major difficulty they need to deal with in their everyday working life is the lack of relevant sources in the language (Basque/Gaelic); overall they feel that there has been a deterioration on the quality of the language they offer. Both groups of journalists assent that one of the greatest advances of the station has been to be able to offer international news in Basque/Gaelic and so the listeners do not feel forced to switch to another radio in Spanish or English anymore. At the same time, journalists' profiles diverge on overall perspective towards the strategies followed by the station: While Radio nan Gaidheal pursues a very community-attached radio profile, Euskadi Irratia want to look like a modern radio station, and its professionals are clear that they have to follow that path.

Euskadi Irratia's and Radio nan Gaidheal's last 30 years evolution has mainly focused on achieving one goal: Being able to provide all kind of news in their respective minority languages. However, these general-service radios will have to start looking for other goals so as to last on nowadays competitive media market. They would need to renew the programming and take a chance on the genre of fiction, a file by which minority language radios' may regain their unique self-expression.

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The Brazilian Culture through the Radio Waves

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Abstract:

The following article is intended to explore the Brazilian culture in different historical moments, through the study of the radio production in Sao Paulo. We will work with musical, humoristic, sports and entertainment programs, radio journalism, politics and habits (so well portrayed in the radio soap operas). In the 1920's and 30's, radio rapidly reaches the masses and is considered a popular media. Through radio, Brazil goes through a process of self-discovery, discovering itself, being able to see itself. Brazilian culture is disseminated through the radio waves in regional, local and national levels, and contributes to build the chapters of the country's history. As an example, the PRB-9 Radio Record de São Paulo was "the radio of the 1932 Constitutionalist Revolution" and the radio broadcaster César Ladeira was considered "the voice of the Revolution". Nhô Totico was one of the greatest comedians in the Brazilian radio, within Radio DKi – the voice of Juqueri (the first great *pirate* radio in the country), later called PRE-4 Radio Cultura de São Paulo – the voice of outer space. Also, one of the greatest artistic expressions in the country, Luiz Gonzaga "the king of baião"¹, became famous nationwide through the microphones of PRA-6 Radio Gazeta de São Paulo– an elitist radio broadcaster.

Keywords: Brazil radio; Brazilian culture; radio and culture; history of media

Culture: Brief References

The culture field has raised great interest among researchers of many areas, with different emphasis and methodologies. The perspective of cultural studies in the area of history, for example, in a retrospective to the passage from the 19th to the 20th century, is seen from two aspects: the perspective of traditional history, meaning the view of the State concentrating on great deeds, on the nation's heroes, on great men and on the Marxist perspective which emphasizes the discussions about the ways of production and the labor relations.

Sociology and anthropology are modern sciences, belonging to the end of the 19th century, and the concerns of sociology with culture in that period relates to a homogenizing view of society. Émile Durkheim is representative of such view. The concerns of anthropology, in its beginning, are to investigate the primitive cultures, but already having culture as an important item for the social studies. Levy Strauss, one of the most influential thinkers in the human sciences and one of the founders of the structuralism, believes in the cultural approach as a basis of study.

In communication studies, a more modern field, the concerns about the communicational phenomenon begin to shape at the beginning of the 1950-60's, and, in Brazil, such concerns are born within the context of social, educational and political changes, the revolutions, the military coups, the dictatorships, mediated and

¹ Baião is one of the first nationwide popular styles to concur a wide popularity. The style has developed in the Northeast of Brazil, in and round Bahia as a unique sound the use of the accordion. (CULTURAL EXCHANGE BRAZIL NETHERLANDS, 2011).

translated by the communication medium. For the communication field, generally, culture is an object of research associated to the mediums, whereas for history, source is the main basis of research. In that sense, many authors have influenced and still influence the communication and cultural studies in Brazil, such as Richard Hoggart and the *Cultural Studies*, which reflects on the relations amongst contemporary culture, the institutions and cultural practices and its relation with society and social change; Jesús Martín-Barbero, who deals with medium and mediation – the reception and interaction of popular sectors in their will to own the media information; Bragança de Miranda, when dealing, conceptually, with the aestheticism as a foundation for culture, and culture as a historical construction; Lúcia Santaella, with a diachronical analysis of culture, from the media culture to the cyberculture; José Marques de Melo, when approaching the Anglo-American and the Latin-American paradigms of media production, and popular media and cultural.

In the 20th century, with all the social, political and economic changes in the 1960's Europe, a discussion around culture was created (the golden years) originated from the great monetary flow, the industrialization, young people being better educated and with more access to university and, precisely, the rise in number of university students changes the whole systematic of the capitalist logic, of the culture, the arts, and the State. In that period, the media communication marches to its climax and radio is an important part in the process. A new culture flourishes then in the 60's, in circumstances of contestation: a new way of being, of seeing the world, of living, and the culture field becomes a priority focus, with new social actors.

Brazil also experiences the excitement of this period and the decades of 1950 to 1980 are important and transforming in terms of culture, politics, arts and communication, with an explosion in popular culture. According to Napolitano (2006, translated from the Portuguese), "The old rural Brazil, of countryside and semi-rural communities, coexists now with a more urban and industrialized Brazil, especially from the end of the 50's. In this period the culture of the traditional elite, inherited from the 19th century, now coexists with new mediums and modern and cosmopolitan artistic-cultural languages". In that respect, the newspaper and especially the radio production are essential to the cultural, political and communicational changes in sight.

Aspects of the Brazilian Culture

Analyzing the culture of a country, of a nation, is always very complicated because culture is something intangible, so simple and at the same time sophisticated, that we can lose ourselves in the ways of abstraction, and even of passion, and forget our own culture, the feeling of belonging to a certain region, to a certain part of the world, of having an identity. Culture in general is a very broad field of study and, Brazilian culture in particular, a beautiful, intriguing and contradictory space, since it relates to the culture of the indigenous people, the blacks, the Portuguese whites, the Italians, the Spanish, the culture of the elite, the culture of the workers, the dynamic culture and the blend of races, or, roughly, in a country of contradictions, of many cultures in conflict.

Analyzing the Brazilian culture is, first of all, to deal with an enigma that chases us since we became an independent nation. The topic of national culture is linked to the need to respond, to ourselves and the world, "who we are" and "what we want" for our country. Single answers are not possible in such a divided, contrasting and conflicting society such as the Brazilian one, a cultural mosaic. According to Napolitano (2006, translated from the Portuguese)

The way we face culture is not boring and inert, understood only through the concepts of theory, as it may isolate culture from a broader social reality. We have decided for a perspective which intends to emphasize the Brazilian culture as lively, dynamic, and inserted in the reality of all of us, citizens pursuing an identity. This is something impossible to be classified in a cold and objective way, since being the kaleidoscope of the country, contradictory, dynamic and plural in itself.

Radio as a medium in Brazil

The radio in Brazil was launched in September 1922, in Rio de Janeiro, for the celebration of the Centenário da Independência (Brazilian Centenary). The speakers transmitted, as an experiment, the sound of CTB – Companhia Telefônica Brasileira, founded by the Emperor Dom Pedro II in 1879. CTB distributed and interlinked speakers in the venue's pavilion, all set up by the North-American company Western Electric, at Praia Vermelha. This equipment helped assemble the first official broadcaster in Brazil, the Radio Sociedade do Rio de Janeiro, founded by Edgard Roquette Pinto e Henrique Morize, president, at that time, of the Academia Brasileira de Ciências (Brazilian Academy of Sciences). This first radio station operated with 500 watts of power and starts its broadcasts in April 1923, aiming to work on behalf of culture.

It has been a long time since radio stations were born, in each city, as the voices to announce the value of its inhabitants work. The local broadcaster represented a mark of prosperity which could not be ignored by anyone in town. It was the phase of the "radio clubs", result of a collective wish materialized thanks to various ways of contribution: the "Golden Book", autographed by the most notable citizens when handling their checks according to their financial resources; the "honorary-partners" plan, integrated by people of all social classes, committed to paying a monthly fee until the radio station could make enough profit to survive. Other types of donation also took place, sometimes by the initiative of the town hall, which would donate, free of tax and fees, the land where the transmitter, tower and antenna would be installed. As a retribution, every contributor, according to their contribution, earned the right to be remembered and/or receive tribute in the "Social Movement", the institutional program designed especially for this purpose, even before the launch of the radio station. (translated from the Portuguese)

At first, another way of raising funds was intended in order to obtain, immediately, financial resources allocated to equipment and wages for the technicians and employees needed for such enterprise. This formula could be called "Kindness", and consisted in the transmission of music offered - or "dedicated", as it was usually described - by listeners to their family and friends, for all sorts of occasions such as birthdays, anniversaries, graduation parties, or related to festive dates. (translated from the Portuguese)

From 1922, the radio of "this tropical country" rapidly reaches the masses and becomes popular. Through radio, Brazil goes through a process of self-discovery, discovering itself, and being to see itself. Brazilian culture is disseminated through the radio waves in regional, local and national levels. The radio journalism interacts and performs the mediation with society. The radio soap operas integrate the country in all regions. The humoristic programs offer a representation of the governors and the social struggling. The music through radio promotes the gathering of crowds around the artists. The radio is a source of information, leisure, socialization and culture. A mass phenomenon since the 30's, basis of the expansion of the rich Brazilian music culture, the radio broadcasting becomes a great mass media by the end of the Second World War. In the second half of the 40's, radio is consolidated as an everyday phenomenon, linked to both the urban and the rural popular culture. In the 30's though, Brazilian radio shows its power as a mobilizer of the masses, when at the climax of the paulistas² agitations against the authoritarian and dictatorial position of Getulio Vargas, the Radio Record de São Paulo was acclaimed as "The radio of the Revolution" and César Ladeira "the voice of Revolution". Besides Ladeira, Renato Macedo, Licínio Neves and Nicolau Tuma were the great radio hosts who even through the night would campaign for the Revolution on Record. The Revolution march became the signature theme in the beginning of each transmission. The PRB-6 Radio Cruzeiro do Sul was also present in favor of the revolutionaries, but not with the same strength as Record. Without a doubt, this is another aspect of the Brazilian culture through the radio waves: the Brazilian political culture.

Quoting Marcos Napolitano, from 1945, the battle which had started in the 20's by more conservative moralists and educators for an educative radio representative of both a superior Europeanized culture and a

² The terms "paulista" refer to the native of the estate of São Paulo (the whole state, which includes the capital and the countryside). When referring to the native of the city of São Paulo only (the capital), the correct term is "paulistano".

folkloric and nationalist culture, was lost. The popular passions triumphed, the humbler musical taste, the search for leisure by the majority of the population with game shows, humor, that is, a type of information with universal appeal. Napolitano (2006, translated from the Portuguese) writes:

In the most popular approaches to radio, cinema and music in the 50's, a certain collective face of the Brazilian people is formed as a synthesis of the practices, social values and symbolic representations. The cultural production at that time is perfectly shown to us by such approaches: the naive malice, the natural sense of humor, smartness and dignity in the face of life's ethnic and material challenges, spontaneous solidarity for the underdog, the romantic spirit, the mixture of subtle critic and conformism in the face of social order. Such characteristics, broadly perceived in the products of mass culture of the 50's, cannot be analyzed, for obvious reasons, without the inherent tensions and contradictions, but one way or another, they marked the popular representation which would last through the decades despite the fact that other ways of people's representation emerged in television, theater, music, cinema, in the magazines and newspapers, and also from many political experiences.

In reference to the above quote, there are three major cinema companies: Cinédia, Cinestri e Atlântida, all presenting film works focused on the ordinary man who falls in love. We highlight actors such as Grande Otelo and Dercy Gonçalves amongst many others. The erudite music faces the Bossa Nova revolution, with simpler narratives, soft voice, beach and love cases. Bossa Nova also faces the precursors of the Jovem Guarda, that seemingly does not worry about politics or any other questions apart from youth, cars, motorcycles: "everything else shall go to hell" (translated from the Portuguese), lyrics of Roberto Carlos, icon of the Jovem Guarda. On the other hand, the *Tropicalista* movement of Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil, Chico Buarque de Holanda, Tom Zé, Torquato Neto, brings the electric guitar and the rock style to the MPB (Brazilian Popular Music), what was criticized by the Bossa Nova enthusiasts, and also causes a revolution in music and culture. Also in that period, we have the movements originated at the CPC - Centro Popular de Cultura (Center of Popular Culture), where culture, art and education are engaged in a political and extremely revolutionary way. This is the time of Paulo Freire, of the theatre of the Teatro Oficina, Teatro de Arena. This is also the period before the 1964 military coup, which would cease with creativity, replaced by the brutality of the military ruling. All in all, the radio was present in all of these aspects of the Brazilian culture, with professionals who came from different ideologies, but well aware of everything that was happening.

The following list is the official listing published in 1936, a decade marked by an explosion in numbers of radio broadcasters in São Paulo and Brazil, according to the information of the Ministério de Viação e Obras Públicas³.

³ This governmental department was responsible for the maintenance and improvement of roads and general constructions for the public sector. At the time, it was also responsible for matters related to the radio stations and radio broadcasting.

RELAÇÃO DAS ESTAÇÕES BRASILEIRAS DE RADIODIFFUSÃO

PREFIXO	NOME DA SOCIEDADE	LOCALIDADE	FREQUÊNCIA	
			Kilocyclos	Metros
PRA 2	Ministerio da Educação	Distrito Federal	780	13851
* PRA 3	Radio Club do Brasil	Distrito Federal	820	13661
PRA 4	Radio Soc. da Bahia	São Salvador — Bahia	1.090	1275,21
PRA 5	Radio São Paulo	São Paulo	1.260	1238,11
* PRA 6	Soc. Radio Educadora Paulista	São Paulo	800	13751
PRA 7	Radio Club de Ribeirão Preto	Ribeirão Preto — São Paulo	670	14481
PRA 8	Radio Club de Pernambuco	Recife — Pernambuco	730	14111
PRA 9	Soc. Radio Mayrink Veiga	Distrito Federal	1.120	1267,91
PRB 2	Radio Club Paranaense	Curitiba — Paraná	1.480	1202,71
PRB 3	Radio Soc. Juiz de Fora	Juiz de Fora — Minas	620	14841
PRB 4	Radio Club de Santos	Santos — São Paulo	1.450	1206,91
PRB 5	Radio Club Hertz	Franca — São Paulo	1.480	1202,71
PRB 6	Soc. Radio Cruzeiro do Sul	São Paulo	1.200	12501
PRB 7	Soc. Radio Educadora do Brasil	Distrito Federal	900	13331
PRB 8	Radio Rio Preto Soc. Anon.	Rio Preto — São Paulo	690	1434,81
* PRB 9	Radio Soc. Record	São Paulo	1.000	13001
PRC 2	Radio Soc. Gaúcha	Porto Alegre — R. G. do Sul	1.170	1256,41
PRC 3	Soc. Radio Pelotense	Pelotas — R. G. do Sul	580	5171
PRC 4	Radio Club de Blumenau	Blumenau — Santa Catharina	1.370	12191
PRC 5	Radio Club do Pará	Belém — Pará	670	14481
PRC 6	Soc. Radio Philips do Brasil	Distrito Federal	1.160	1258,61
PRC 7	Soc. Radio Mineira	Belo Horizonte — Minas Geraes	690	14351
PRC 8	Radio Soc. Guanabara	Distrito Federal	1.360	1220,61
PRC 9	Soc. Radio Educadora de Campinas	Campinas — São Paulo	1.170	1256,41
PRD 2	Soc. Radio Cruzeiro do Sul	Distrito Federal	1.240	1241,91
PRD 3	Petropolis Radiodifusora Soc. Anon.	Petropolis — Estado do Rio	1.480	1202,71
PRD 4	Radio Cultura de Araraquara	Araraquara — São Paulo	1.090	1275,21
PRD 5	Instituto de Educação	Distrito Federal	1.470	1204,11
PRD 6	Radio Club de Piracicaba	Piracicaba — São Paulo	630	14761
PRD 7	Radio Club de Sorocaba	Sorocaba — São Paulo	1.320	1227,31
PRD 8	Radio Club Fluminense	Niteroy — Estado do Rio	1.320	1227,31
PRD 9	Radio Soc. de Sorocaba	Sorocaba — São Paulo	690	14351
PRE 2	Soc. Radio Cajuti	Distrito Federal	1.430	1209,81
PRE 3	Radio Transmissora Brasileira	Distrito Federal	1.220	1245,91
PRE 4	Soc. Radio Cultura "A Voz do Espetro"	São Paulo	1.340	1223,91
PRE 5	Soc. Triangulo Mineiro	Uberaba — Minas Geraes	1.170	1256,41
PRE 6	Radio Soc. Fluminense	Niteroy — Estado do Rio	670	14481
PRE 7	Soc. Radio Cosmos	São Paulo	1.410	1212,81
* PRE 8	Soc. Radio Nacional	Distrito Federal	980	13061
PRE 9	Ceará Radio Club	Fortaleza — Ceará	1.320	1227,31
PRF 2	Radio Club de Rio Claro	Rio Claro — São Paulo	725	1413,91
PRF 3	Radio Difusora São Paulo	São Paulo	960	13131
* PRF 4	Soc. Anon. Jornal do Brasil	Distrito Federal	940	13191
PRF 5	Co. Radio Internac. do Brasil "Hora do Brasil"	Distrito Federal (Ondas curtas)	9.500	131,581
PRF 6	Radio Club da Bahia	São Salvador — Bahia	630	14761
PRF 7	Radio Cultura de Campos	Campos — Estado do Rio	1.450	1206,91
PRF 8	Radio Commercial da Bahia	São Salvador — Bahia	580	5171
PRF 9	Empresa Radio Porto Alegre	Porto Alegre — Rio Grande do Sul	1.367	1219,41
* PRC 2	Radio Tupy Soc. Anon.	São Paulo	740	14051
* PRC 3	Radio Tupy Soc. Anon.	Distrito Federal	1.280	1234,41
* PRC 4	Radio Club de Jaboticabal	Jaboticabal — São Paulo	1.470	1204,11
PRC 5	Soc. Radio Atlantica	Santos — São Paulo	720	14171
PRC 6	Soc. Radio Mantiqueira	Cruzeiro — São Paulo	1.500	12001
PRC 7	Radio Club Jahuense	Jahu — São Paulo	1.340	1223,91
PRC 8	Baurú Radio Club	Baurú — São Paulo	1.250	12401
* PRC 9	Radio Excelsior	São Paulo	1.100	1272,71
* PRH 2	Radio Soc. Farrroupilha Ltda.	Porto Alegre — Rio Grande do Sul	600	15001
PRH 3	Radio Piratimunga	São Paulo	1.160	—
PRH 4	Soc. Radio Cultura de Pelotas	Pelotas — Rio Grande do Sul	1.330	1225,61
PRH 5	Radio Cultura do Poços de Caldas	Poços de Caldas — Minas Geraes	—	—
PRH 6	Soc. Radio Guarany	Belo Horizonte — Minas Geraes	—	—
PRH 7	Louzada, Bueno & Cia.	Ribeirão Preto — São Paulo	—	—
PRH 8	Radio Ipanema Soc. Anon.	Distrito Federal	1.080	1277,81
PRH 9	Soc. Bandeirante de Radiodifusão	São Paulo	—	—
PRI 2	Radio Club de Marília	São Paulo	1.370	—

ATTENDENDO AOS PEDIDOS DE INNUMEROS LEITORES, "CARIOCA" PUBLICA HOJE O QUADRO GERAL DAS ESTAÇÕES DIFFUSORAS BRASILEIRAS, COM A SUA RESPECTIVA FREQUENCIA. AS ESTAÇÕES ASSIGNALADAS POR UM ASTERISCO SÃO AS QUE DISPOEM DE CANAIS EXCLUSIVOS PARA A AMERICA DO SUL. EXISTEM AINDA OS CANAIS 720, 1.040 E 1.220 E O 880, RESERVADO PARA O GOVERNO DE MINAS.

Figure 1: Relação das Estações brasileiras de Radiodifusão

NOTE: Check the footnotes⁴ for the English translation of terms of the above document.

⁴ Translation of the items described in the above document – Main title: List of Brazilian Radio Stations – Headers: Prefix; company name; area/town; frequency; kilohertz; megahertz – Bottom paragraph: "In order to attend the request of many readers, the "Carioca" [newspaper] publishes, today, a list of the Brazilian radio stations and their frequency. The radio stations signaled by a star have exclusive channels for South America. There are also the channels 720, 1.040 and 1.220 and the 880, reserved for the Minas [Gerais] government". – The other terms are the actual prefixes, names of radio stations, their location (cities/state) and frequency, not possible to translate.

After 1922, with the radio in Brazil finally starting, many radio stations were founded in the city of Sao Paulo. In the mid 30's, 65 radio stations are regularly broadcasting in Brazil. From this total, 16 radio stations were based in São Paulo downtown and 8 in the countryside.

All radio stations try to establish their branding and set their prefixes in order to become commercially sustainable. The need for an audience opens space for the creation of slogans, and each radio station looks for an approximation to its audience. The slogans represent the branding of the radio broadcaster, its style, programming and public. The following slogans are highlighted below:

PRH-9 Rádio Bandeirantes (1937) – “The most popular paulista radio”.

PRA-6 Rádio Gazeta (1943) – “The elite’s broadcaster”.

PRF-3 Rádio São Paulo (1923) – “Your home’s friendly voice”.

PRB-9 Rádio Record (1929) – “The greatest” or “the voice of Sao Paulo”.

PRG-2 Rádio Tupi de São Paulo (1937) – “The most powerful paulista broadcaster”.

PRG-9 Rádio Excelsior (1936) – “The biggest auditorium in Brazil: an armchair in each home”

PRE-4 Rádio Cultura (initially operating as a *pirate* radio station with the name Radio DKi – “The voice of Juqueri”, and later,

PRE-4 Rádio Cultura (1933) – “The voice of outer space”.

As one may notice, the prefixes of the radio stations are different, as designated by the Ministério da Viação e Obras Públicas. In January 1929, the paulista radio broadcasters change their prefixes to PRs. First, we have the radio stations with SQ prefix, and later the PR prefixes: PRA, PRB, PRC, PRD, PRE, PRF, PRG, PRH. Even though Radio São Paulo has the preceding prefix (PRA-5), Educadora is the first radio station to operate regularly. In Distrito Federal, The PRA-2 belongs to the Ministério da Educação (Ministry of Education), part of the federal government; PRA-3 is the Radio Club do Brasil, also in Distrito Federal, and PRA-4 is the Radio Sociedade da Bahia, in Salvador. The fact that a radio broadcaster could have a prefix which preceded another broadcaster’s prefix but their operations started at a later date is not a phenomenon only in Brazil. It occurs in many countries, for example, in Spain, as cited by Balsebre (2001, translated from the Portuguese) “The EAJ-6 Radio Ibérica is the first to operate, but its prefix belongs to EAJ-1 Radio Barcelona, the second to operate but the first to be legally established”.

In the end of 1920’s in Brazil, many radio broadcasters started operating, some as speaker radio on the streets, churches and squares, others as a business structure with a board of directors, marketing department, etc., and others yet as amateur radio stations run by young people for the fun of handling the paraphernalia of wires, speakers, piano, microphones, etc.

The 1930’s were about the expansion of radio in Sao Paulo. Many dozens of radio stations were founded in this decade, already operating professionally with broad studios, high class casting, big auditoriums and radio-auditoriums⁵ and even radio-cinemas. Some of these radio stations were equipped with fine restaurants and dancing halls broadcasting live. The 1940’s were a period of total consolidation of the medium, with professional programming, great names and professionals already graduated in radio, great competition from the public and sponsors, intentional segmentation of the programming, that is, an era of very little amateurism and great commercial interest, similar to the model we know today. In fact, according to recent data provided in an article

⁵ Term used from the 20’s to mid-50’s to represent a radio station build inside an auditorium, with shows broadcasted live. These shows were normally a dance venue for partners and guests. The transmissions were also made from cinemas. Some radio stations had programs about the films, making comments about the lives of actors and directors. Such transmissions were usually accompanied by jazz and classical music orchestras, and also erudite Brazilian popular music. Time passed and, unfortunately, for different reasons which include safety, cinemas today are located in shopping malls and the orchestras in upper-class locations, or have disappeared, also taking some of our history.

published in February 28, 2011 on the "Mercado" (Market) section of the newspaper Folha de S. Paulo, written by Mariana Barbosa, the Brazilian marketing sector has, in 2010, made transactions worth R\$ 35,96 billion Reais (€ 15,6 billions of Euros) and radio has made a profit of R\$ 1,51 billion Reais (€ 655 million Euros), 4,2% of the total profit. In 2011, this amount tends to grow, especially in view of the new businesses possible in the digital era and also based on the investments being made in Brazil, now more present in the international scene. This last piece of information is part of the project "intermeios" (intermedium), a partnership between the group Meio e Mensagem (Medium and Message) and the consultancy firm PriceWaterhouseCoopers. Such numbers and also the evolution of this medium are owned to the pioneers of radio marketing in Brazil, particularly Radio Bandeirantes de São Paulo, the first one to think of defining specific times for commercials and to think of the whole commercial production the way we know today. The new businesses and the new business models within digital radio, should consider such history in order not to become "one-legged".

Below, we will present some of the main radio broadcasters in São Paulo, where the great masters of comedy, radio soap operas and radio journalism have performed, helping to build this immense amusement park of entertainment and information that radio represents. When highlighting these radio broadcasters, our intention is to briefly analyze, through their history, some of the Brazilian culture produced in the 1920's, 1930's, 1940's and 1950's, years of the launch and consolidation of this medium in Brazil. Today, we live the era of digital radio, a sonosfera (soundsphere), as quoted by the Catalan Professor Armand Balsebre (2009), but we have in the history of this medium and the history of the countries, this medium as an ally in many different struggles for democratization and the rule of law, as the example of Brazil and Spain.

The Brazilian Culture through the Radio waves of São Paulo

1923 - São Paulo

PRA-6 SOCIEDADE RÁDIO EDUCADORA PAULISTA

The first decade of the paulista radio broadcasting starts in November 30, 1923, when SQIG – Sociedade Radio Educadora Paulista was founded. According to the Anuário Estatístico do Brasil, Radio-difusão Cultural 1937 (attached)⁶, the official year of the setting of SQIG by Leonardo Jones Jr., Otávio Ferraz Sampaio, George Corbisier, Luiz Ferraz de Mesquita and the businessman Luiz do Amaral César is considered to be 1925. The transmissions start only in February 1924 and in March 6, 1924, the first complete musical hearing with a programming of great artistic value executing Chopin, Haydn, amongst other classics, is broadcast. Many artists, technical professionals and others which would later become part of the history of radio in São Paulo, were "born" then. Nicolau Tuma, the "machine-gun speaker", was one of them, and defined a unique way of broadcasting football games move-by-move. Also the broadcaster (later producer) Raul Duarte, the comedian Zé Fidelis, Cornélio Pires (the "king of caipiras"⁷), Oduvaldo Vianna, the minstrel singer Paraguassú, Walter Forster, the Baron Wilson Fittipaldi, Pilé, Raul Torres (notorious singer and country music composer, in particular "Cavalo zaino"), the maestros and pioneer broadcasters Erlon Chaves and Gabriel Migliori, the samba singer Sindô, the celebrated and pioneer author of radio soap operas, and later also television soap operas, Ivani Ribeiro, a singer for children's program at the time.

1923 - São Paulo

PRF-3 RÁDIO CLUB DE SÃO PAULO / RÁDIO SÃO PAULO

⁶ Official directory which has helped in this research with information; the term "radiodifusão" (radio broadcasting), in Brazilian Portuguese, used to be written "radio-difusão" in those times.

⁷ *Caipira* is the term used to define the cultural heritage of the countryside, its music, folklore, food, etc. The equivalent to *música caipira* (caipira music) in English is "country music".

Founded in June 17, 1923, goes on and off and closes soon after. It was born as a pastime of amateur radio partners and treated that way for a long time. Its main founder is João Batista do Amaral, known figure of the broadcasting at the time, who along with other friends, produces musical programming with piano and guitar solos, always of great quality. According to the Anuário Estatístico do Brazil, Radio-difusão Cultural 1937, its official setting date is 1925. The Rádio São Paulo is one of the main centers of radio-theater in the country, also performing great humoristic programs. It has a grand and rich casting and produces the first national radio soap opera "Fatalidade" (Fatality), written by Oduvaldo Viana, who also writes dozens of other radio soap operas and is a legend in the Brazilian communications, having worked in many radio stations producing the most memorable programs. He is also the pioneer in the implementation of television in Brazil.

From Rádio Cruzeiro do Sul came the morning humoristic program "Cascatinha do Gennaro", created by João Batista de Almeida who performed three of the characters: Pimpinella, later called Conchentina; Fernandes, the Portuguese man and Gennaro, a Venetian Italian; Itagiba Santiago, performing the Italian Beppo; Maria de Lé, performing the little girl from the countryside Nhá Zefa; Chico Carretel, performing the Cachorro Viralata; Bruno de Lucca, as a Syrian man; the dog called Passa-Fome and, later, also Nhá Tuca; the great "Capitão Furtado", represented by Ariovaldo Pires, one of the "caipiras" and also writer of poetry sketches and programs' director; Gino Cortopassi, better known as Zé Fidelis, parody maker and humoristic singer, amongst many other great names that were part of the casting of Rádio São Paulo. Another program of great success of PRF-3 is "Hora Alegre – uma hora de alegria para quem geme todo dia" (Happy time – an hour of happiness for those who moan every day), slogan of Armando Bertoni, and having Tom Bill and Seu Libório (a drunk created by Aluísio Silva Araújo), as part of it. This is culture of Brazil and São Paulo through the radio waves and its influence from the Italian, the caipiras of the countryside, the Portuguese and the everyday life of the paulista and Brazilian people.

One of the greatest innovations of PRF-3 is in the field of radio journalism with the "reportagem-volante" (flying report) in South America, broadcasting the celebrations São Paulo's anniversary from the top of a motorcycle in movement.

1927 – São Paulo

PRB-6 SOCIEDADE RÁDIO CRUZEIRO DO SUL

Cruzeiro do Sul is owned by the Byinton family and takes on many prefixes: SQB1, SQBA, PRAO and finally PRB-6. According to the Ministério da Viação, the setting date of Rádio Cruzeiro do Sul was May 2, 1927. This radio broadcaster has a great influence in the innovation of the paulista scene, and also launched important names in the history of communications, popular music, broadcasting, and radio soap opera. As an example, the revelation, as a calouro (novice singer), of the samba singer João Rubinato, better known as Adoniran Barbosa; another example are the brothers Mauro e Ariovaldo Pires, both broadcasters, programmers and directors, father and uncle of the radio broadcaster José Mauro Pires. The Cruzeiro do Sul also launches icons of the sports world, such as sports commentators Geraldo José de Almeida and Pedro Luis; the broadcasters such as Salomão Esper and Ribeiro Filho and radio-actors such as Milton Ribeiro (the cangaceiro⁸ of the cinema). This radio station is funded basically by its partners, with a monthly contribution of 5 thousand Réis⁹ and is considered the first radio station in Brazil with long range network transmissions possible by joint transmissions with PRAX – Rádio Phillips do Brasil, PRAK – Rádio Sociedade Mayrink Veiga-RJ, PRAJ – from Juiz de Fora-MG and PRB-4 or PRAS- Santos-São Paulo.

⁸ *Cangaceiros* were poor people of the backlands of Brazil who lived in groups, usually wearing leather clothes and hats and possessing weapons such as knives and revolvers and were considered the outlaws of the Brazilian Northeast.

⁹ *Réis* is the Brazilian currency of that time – nowadays the Brazilian currency is Reais (R\$).

*1929 – São Paulo**PRB-9 RÁDIO SOCIEDADE RECORD*

This radio station was founded in 1929, property of Alvaro Liberato de Macedo. In 1930 it was bought by Jorge Alves de Lima, Leonardo Jones, João Baptista do Amaral and Paulo Machado de Carvalho. According to the Anuário Estatístico do Brasil, its official setting year is 1928. One of the most important passages in the history of Record is indeed its part on the 1932 Constitutionalist Revolution, taking the role of accomplice of the paulista raise against the Vargas dictatorship, for the compliance of the Brazilian Constitution. When the paulista protestors fought, on May 23, 1932, the members of the Legião Revolucionária (Revolutionary Legion) – transformed in the Partido Popular Progressista (Progressive Popular Party) under the leadership of Miguel Costa – and the four young students: Martins, Miragaia, Dráusio and Camargo, are killed, Record's coverage was the closest to the actions, as they developed right in front of the number 17 of Praça da República, where the radio station is located. The studios had been invaded by the protestors shortly before the killings of the young MMDC. The students enter the office of Paulo Machado de Carvalho, owner and director of Record, and demand that he opens the microphones and broadcasts the reading of a petition. Rádio Record has already positioned itself on the matter, but decided to give all it had for the Revolution. With the invasion and the takeover of the radio station, this historical piece was read live: *"We, who signed this petition, declare that we have invaded, valiantly, the studios of PRB-9 Rádio Record de São Paulo, and we come to call the people for the change of the current political situation in Brazil"* (translated from the Portuguese).

After reading the petition, the protesters also read, in the Record studios, the name of each person who signed the manifest against Getúlio Vargas. From that moment on, the manifest's reading and the beginning of the Revolution, Rádio Record no longer would report to the federal government, which controls all radio broadcasters in Brazil, apart from São Paulo and Mato Grosso, showing thus, as predicted by Getúlio Vargas, the power of the medium to move the masses as a great and fast instrument of communication. In that moment radio demonstrates, for the first time since the launching of the first Brazilian radio broadcaster in Rio de Janeiro in 1922, its massive informative and political potential.

Many were the great artists who grew and made history at Record but, without a doubt, one of the greatest ones was João Rubinato. We believe it's important to register that Osvaldo Moles is extremely important for Record and in the career of Adoniran Barbosa, artistic name chosen by both of them. Moles is essential for Adoniran's career as a radio-actor, singer, comedian and composer. As a radio-actor, Adoniran became famous with the character "Charutinho", part of the show "História das malocas", successfully written by Osvaldo Moles, and staying on air for 11 years, from 1955 to 1966.

*1933 – São Paulo**PRE-4 RÁDIO DKi (A VOZ DO JUQUERI)*

Known for its slogan "The voice of Juqueri"¹⁰, it was founded in 1933. DKi is later known as Rádio Cultura "The voice of outer space", but between 1933 and 1934, operates illegally. In that period becomes an object of desire of those times and everyone who has a radio equipment wants to tune in the "little radio station" that goes on and off without warning. Its founders are Álvaro Macedo Jr., Dirceu Fontoura, Geraldo Macedo, Maurício Assunção, Nei Moreira, Nhô Totico, Olavo Fontoura. At first, the intention is to play with the equipment and with creativity. In that sense, they perform political parodies, mocking and irony in a radio station installed in the garage of the residence of Cândido Fontoura, a pharmacist and industrial man. It is considered the radio of the dreamers, the first *pirate* radio in São Paulo, on Rua Padre João Manuel, 34, and later on Av. Jabaquara, 2983, in a land of 11 thousand square meters. The madness broadcasted by DKi was so great and successful that, after being

¹⁰ Juqueri is the name of a famous facility for psychiatric treatment, therefore we understand the "voice of juqueri" as the voice of the "crazy".

chased down by the police, its founders decided to make it legal, and then the joke became serious. In 1959, it was bought by Assis Chateaubriand and became part of the Emissoras Associadas (Associated Broadcasters), changing its location to Sumaré, leaving their facilities, known as “the palace of radio”, for the “city of radio” of Rádio Difusora/Tupy. In 1967 the prefix becomes Fundação Padre Anchieta, belonging to the São Paulo state government, and is today located at Rua Carlos Spera, in the Água Branca neighborhood, and operates both AM and FM, and also TV Cultura. It is one of the precursors of FM radio, with a musical segment and leading the classic and cultural programming.

As Rádio Cultura, we highlight the work of comedian Nhô Totico; “Sítio de Dona Benta pelo espaço”, daily children’s program directed by Monteiro Lobato; we highlight, yet, the “novela sertaneja”, de Ariowaldo Pires, as Capitão Furtado, and comedian Ronald Golias and Fernando Baleroni, amongst others.

1937 – São Paulo

PRH-9 RÁDIO SOCIEDADE BANDEIRANTE DE RADIODIFUSÃO

Founded in May 6, 1937, is later known as Rádio Bandeirantes. According to the Anuário Estatístico do Brasil, Rádio-Difusão Cultural 1937, its official setting year is 1936. It was first located on Rua São Bento, 365, São Paulo downtown. It was founded by José Nicolini. In 1945, this broadcaster was bought by Paulo Macho de Carvalho, in order to join the “Emissoras Associadas” network, formed by Rádio Record, Panamericana (later Jovem Pan), São Paulo, Excelsior and Difusora Hora Certa de Santo Amaro. In 1947, Paulo Machado de Carvalho sells his shares for the elected Governor of São Paulo, Adhemar de Barros and, in 1948, the radio station goes to João Jorge Saad, son-in-law of Adhemar. Saad takes control the following year and in the 1950’s, it becomes the most successful of all paulista radio broadcasters in an era marked by the transition from live to recorded programming and also the radio journalism. The sports team, led by the broadcasters Pedro Luís and Edson Leite, reaches historical records of audience during the 1958 World Cup and, since then, has kept a great team and a beautiful history in the sports radio. Today, it is the biggest audience in sports transmissions and one of the biggest in radio journalism.

In fact, on the radio journalism front, one of his most notorious programs was Vicente Laporace’s “O Trabuco”, (counting on his great experience from the times of Rádio Atlântica de Santos). He reads and comments on news in a very personal manner. Laporace is hired in 1961, coming from Record, and produces a program making his own comments on the news of the day not only reading them, but fulfilling a role that later would be called “âncora” (radio/TV anchorman). The radio presenter, born in Franca, countryside of São Paulo, tells in an interview to José Mauro Pires¹¹ that he performed his news comments according to his mood on a given moment, sort of outraged, sort of happy, sort of desperate. He passes away, unfortunately, at age 66, on April 16, 1978, leaving the legacy of his radio journalism style which became characteristic of this radio broadcaster, of the excellent chronicles of Joelmir Betting, of José Paulo de Andrade’s broadcasts, and also of the excellent mediation of Salomão Esper, in the always current “Jornal Gente”. Rafael Colombo, the youngest in the team, is also an anchorman in this program, and always learning from these men who were the masters of paulista radio. Milton Parron, historic radio broadcaster, also keeps the Bandeirante’s style, critical and challenging. As the audience, we realize that, without a doubt, this style doesn’t get old, as it continues to grow, ever more current and resourceful to society as time goes by.

1937 – São Paulo

PRG-2 RÁDIO TUPY SOCIEDADE ANÔNIMA

PRG-2 is founded in September 3, 1937, by Assis Chateaubriand, who adopts the slogan “the most powerful paulista broadcaster”. The slogan makes sense because this radio station was launched with 3 studios,

¹¹ Dissertation of Master’s Degree, quoted in the References.

one big auditorium and a technical structure greatly superior to its competitors. It innovates by bringing international stars to its programming (Josephine Baker, Agustín Lara, Pedro Vargas), and paid them, half and half, in a partnership with Cassino da Urca, from Rio de Janeiro. It is considered the school where Homero Silva, Ribeiro Filho and others trained for their careers in television later on.

In 1942, during the Second World War, the program “Grande Jornal Falado Tupy” was launched, created and directed by Corifeu de Azevedo Marques, one of the most important names in the paulista radio. The Difusora/Tupy has the biggest and most prestigious casting of that time. All great names are or have been there, such as: Otávio Gabus Mendes, Walter George Durst, Mário Fanucchi (a master of radio, later also on TV, an example of generosity and peacefulness). Ariowaldo Pires (Capitão Furtado), Zé Fidelis, Genésio Arruda, J. Antonio D’Ávila, José Bonifácio de Oliveira Sobrinho, the “Boni” (como produtor), Sarita Campos. Directing such professionals and using his diplomacy to promote a harmonic co-existence of Difusora and Tupy, is the “big boss” Demerval Costa Lima”.

Tupy gives great emphasis to comedy and music, highlighted by the show “A cadeira do barbeiro” (The barber’s chair), where Manuel da Nóbrega, in an informal chatty way, plays with politics and public service, in a funny manner, making everyone laugh. Another interesting fact is that this radio broadcaster has a “quick-fix” person, Nelson Ferraz, and every time a singer is missing, there would be Nelson. Hired to go on a tour in Europe with a vocal group, ends up staying in Germany and is never heard of again.

1943 – São Paulo

PRA-6 RÁDIO GAZETA

It was founded in January 25, 1943, by the businessman Cásper Líbero, owner of the newspaper “A Gazeta”. It is impossible to talk about Gazeta without bringing up the Educadora, because Gazeta inherited the prefix of the pioneer Educadora de São Paulo. Gazeta is launched as a cultural broadcaster, aimed at the paulista elite, reason why it adopted the slogan “the elite’s broadcaster”. With erudite music and “fine” programs, this radio station started operating from its own building, on Rua Conceição, later named Rua Cásper Líbero, as a tribute to its founder who died still young, a few months after the launch of the new PRA-6. We highlight great masters of the Brazilian music who were part of its cast such as Luiz Gonzaga “the king of baião”, Elis Regina, Taiguara, Toquinho, and so many others. This radio station was branded by Brazilian popular music. Nowadays it’s located on Av. Paulista and remains with the same editorial style.

1944 – São Paulo

PRH-7 RÁDIO PANAMERICANA

It is founded during the Second World War, in May 3, 1944, with a prefix made of the first notes of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony, meaning “V”, as in victory, in Morse code. Its founders are Oduvaldo Viana and Júlio Cozi. It is the first broadcaster with a much segmented audience in Brazil, the beginning of specialization, in this case, in the area of sports. Only after Panamericana’s launch and experience the sport broadcasts began to be performed by teams, as before that it was a single host’s broadcast. That means that the speaker would start the transmission alone, then there would be music during the interval as there was no commentator, then the speaker would narrate the second half of the game and then the transmission would be ended. Pan created the role of the commentator, and later, also, the field reporter. In 1945 it became part of the Emissoras Unidas (United Broadcasters) group, of Paulo Machado de Carvalho, along with Record and Rádio São Paulo. In 1963, Walter Guerreiro becomes its director and changed the name to Jovem Pan, which belongs, to the present date, to the Machado de Carvalho family, and is the base of jovem-pan-Sat.

1953 – São Paulo

RÁDIO NOVE DE JULHO

Founded by São Paulo's Town Hall in 1953, when politician Jânio Quadros was elected the mayor of the city replacing Armando de Arruda Imprata. This radio broadcaster was launched in order to perform the official broadcasts of the IV Centenário¹² celebrations, in 1954, covering the whole estate of São Paulo. At the end of the celebrations, Café Filho, then Brazil's President, offered the radio station in MW - mediumwave and SW - shortwave for the 4-century-old city institution. Such donation was well received by the Cardinal Carlos Carmelo de Vasconcelos Motta. The Mitra Arquidiocesana handles the legal procedures and founds the Sociedade Comercial Rádio 9 de Julho Ltda in order to receive the concession. It was formed by the Cardinal Archbishop, four Deputy Bishops and 2 Priests, in 1955. This radio broadcaster was sealed by the military dictatorship in October 1973 and re-opened in July 9, 1999. In this phase, the first director was Francisco Paes de Barros, with whom I had the opportunity to work with and direct the program "Giovine Europa". The history of this radio station is mixed with the history of the political struggles in São Paulo and in the Catholic Church, represented mainly, during the "years of lead"¹³ in 1970 by Dom Paulo Evaristo Arns. The military ruling had him as an enemy of the Estate. Today, Rádio Nove de Julho remains being the official radio station of the Arquidiocese de São Paulo, with great audience. Religion is also an aspect of the Brazilian culture through the radio waves.

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¹² IV Centenário was the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the foundation of São Paulo.

¹³ The term Years of Lead (*Anos de Chumbo, in Portuguese*) refers to the period of greatest repression during the military ruling, when torture and other means of violent repression were being used by the military against those who fought the government.



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The presence and the future of community radio in Poland

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Abstract:

Community radio in Europe is maturing more and more. However, in Central and Eastern Europe, in which countries are still coping with a fatal heritage of the totalitarian history, community radio is now struggling for its rightful place. This is also the case in Poland. Because of insufficient legal recognition of the community sector in media law, radio stations with non-commercial goals exist often outside the official licensed third sector of media. These are, for example, religious stations, student broadcasters as well as stations run by NGOs and local governments. Moreover, in some communities closed circuit radio stations play a significant role – for example, in prisons, at schools and student hostels. There are also a lot of internet radio initiatives in very diverse communities. In this article I would like to explain the legal situation of community broadcasting, to characterize the community media movement as well as to shortly present stations with non-commercial goals in Poland. Moreover, a research project about such stations in Poland will be discussed

Keywords: radio, internet radio, community radio, media in Poland

Introduction

The great value of democracy is not that it guarantees peace and quiet, and good decisions, but that it offers people the right to judge, and to reconsider the quality of their decision (Byrne 2006: 43). Nowadays it is rather hard to imagine the fulfilment of this assumption without media. Media should provide an opportunity for a continuous diversity of opinions and a forum for discussion. In Poland and in many other countries the dual public-commercial system of media makes it more and more difficult. The answer is, to some extent, community broadcasting. However, as an alternative to public and commercial broadcast media - community radio and television have increased their presence in some Western European countries they have grown much slower, not only in Poland but in almost all countries in this region.

Community Media World Wide

The history of community radio is almost as long as the history of radio itself. The expectations connected with radio as a new medium that is accessible almost to everyone were huge. In radio's early amateur phase, low economic barriers and diverse voices gave rise to an almost limitless development. Churches, clubs, universities and sports entrepreneurs launched radio stations. By the end of 1924, more than two million radio sets capable of broadcasting had been sold in America (Coll 2011). One of the first lobbying campaigns for amateur radio of limited scope dates back to 1906 and was initiated by an 11 year old New Yorker, Jessie Walker (Rennie 2006: 62). It is true that in the following years the radio market in the USA was no longer so open and

diverse mainly because of Federal Communication Commission regulations and the development of big and powerful media groups. However, the US remain an example of rather open access to the airwaves. One of the most important forms of community media development regulations was the Federal Communication Commission's decision to make the frequency between 88.0 and 92.0 MHz only for non-commercial stations available (Buckley and others 2008: 211). To this day, the American non-commercial radio and TV sector is one of the most developed in the world with over 2 500 non-commercial, licensed radio stations and over 400 TV stations of the same type (Buckley and others 2008: 211).

However, community media are not only an American domain. Three segments (public, commercial and community) broadcast media systems are present in over 100 countries in the world (Jakubowicz 2008: 44). Many countries in Europe have introduced advantageous legal regulations which have resulted in the development of this type of media on an unprecedented scale. Presently, there is legal regulation supporting the existence of the third sector in many European countries such as France, the Netherlands, Denmark, Austria, Ireland, Sweden, Finland, Germany and Great Britain (Doliwa 2010a: 67). The list of friendly to community media countries is, of course, not limited to 'old' EU countries. One other country in which this media sector is considered particularly developed is Hungary where there are several dozen licensed community media.

According to many media experts, the creation of friendly to community broadcasters legal regulation is crucial to the development of this type of media. A good example of this is Great Britain where special regulation on broadcast community media – Community Radio Order – was introduced in 2004 and in 2005 the first licenses were awarded. In licenses for community radio broadcasting there have been conditions included which require them to provide "social gain" in the form of community information, accessibility for audiences and accountability to their local community. Moreover, licensed community radio must not be for profit and must be funded by a diversity of funding sources: there is a limit of 50% on the proportion of their funding that can come from on-air advertising and sponsorship. Such stations have the right to apply for financial support from the Community Radio Broadcasters Fund, managed by the Office of Communications (OFCOM), an organ regulating the activity of broadcasters in Great Britain.

Within six years of the regulation being in effect in Great Britain, a dramatic growth of this media sector was noted. According to an OFCOM Annual Report on the Sector 2009/2010, so far 181 licensed community stations have been registered and there are 17 more waiting to begin their activity. Community radio serves a diverse range of communities: some serve communities defined by geography; others serve more targeted local communities of interest. The majority of stations broadcast for a general audience in either an urban/suburban area (17%) or a town/rural area (43%). Many services, however, serve smaller communities of interest like minority ethnic groups (14%), a youth audience (11%) and religious groups (7%) (OFCOM 2010).

When talking about community media, we cannot forget about the activity of organizations representing this type of media. In Europe, they are the European World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC Europe) and Community Media Forum Europe (CMFE). It was thanks to their initiatives that two imperative EU documents were created specifying the character and role of community media in Europe – the Council of Europe Declaration from February 2009 (Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe 2009) and the European Parliament Resolution of 25 September 2008 on Community Media in Europe (European Parliament 2008). In both of these documents we can find the encouragement to develop community media sector on air but they are both of a declarative not obligatory character.

Community Media Regulations in Poland

The Polish dual model of radio was created after the transformation in the political system in 1989. In 1990 the first Polish commercial radio stations started broadcasting: the big ones - like RMF FM and Radio Zet - but also a lot of small local radio stations. They were broadcasting as pirate radio stations. The legal system of

electronic media was only beginning to take shape. Three years later – on 29 December 1992 - the Broadcasting Act (Ustawa o radiofonii i telewizji) was passed. By virtue of this act public radio and television and commercial radio and TV stations emerged. Yet, there was no recognition of community radio sector.

A significant change in radio and television regulations took place in 2001. In this year a new category of broadcast media – ‘social broadcaster’ was created. This new regulation opened the possibility of development in the third sector of electronic media in Poland but only theoretically. The number of broadcasters that could exercise the right was significantly limited. For this legal status may apply only to:

- an association, within the framework of implementing its statutory objectives,
- a foundation, within the framework of implementing its statutory objectives,
- a church or a religious legal person of a given church, or a religious organization whose status is regulated by an Act of Parliament.

This type of broadcaster should propagate learning and educational activities, promote charitable deeds, respect the Christian system of values, be guided by the universal principles of ethics, and strive to preserve national identity in the programme service. Moreover, this type of station cannot transmit any advertising or teleshopping, sponsored programmes or other sponsored broadcasts (Parlament Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 2001).

It seems that the lack of alternative systems of financing for ‘social broadcasters’ legally excluded by this regulation from the advertising market caused a lack of interest in applying for such a status among, for example, NGOs and limited beneficiaries of this regulation only to religious radio stations. In contrast to other kinds of radio broadcasters with non-commercial goals, religious radio stations in Poland can count on supplementary funding from dioceses or donations. Other types of stations found the system of financing based on the financial support of the civil society not possible at fulfilling, mainly because of a lack of the culture of donation for non-religious and non-charitable purposes. As a result, there are only nine radio ‘social broadcasters’. All of them are connected to church – eight broadcast locally and one is a powerful nationwide radio station called Radio Maryja (Krajowa Rada Radiofonii i Telewizji 2011).

Radio Stations with non-commercial goals in Poland

Although in 2001 a new category of broadcast media – ‘social broadcaster’ was introduced, the number of stations that benefit from this legal regulation, as mentioned before, is very limited. Other stations which try to fulfill non-commercial goals applied for commercial licences. At least some of them introduced strategies important in community broadcasting like ‘participation’, ‘having their voices heard’, ‘providing alternative representations, discourses and formats that vary from those originating from mainstream media’, ‘allowing for its members to co-decide on the media organisations’ policies and management’ (Carpentier, Scifo 2010: 116). Such strategies may be found among others in stations run by universities, by religious institutions, by local government and by NGOs. Their offer can be treated as a supplementation of the social broadcasting in Poland.

There are, for example, 10 licensed student radio stations, which are all located in big cities. That is the reason why student radio broadcasting is within reach of more than 5 million people – almost 15 per cent of the population of Poland (Krajowa Rada Radiofonii i Telewizji 2010). In comparison with other radio stations in the market, licensed radio stations broadcast ambitious and diversified programmes. The audience tired of listening to formatted radio stations that prevail can find interesting spoken word broadcasts on student radio, as well as alternative music that is a rarity on other types of radio on air (Doliwa in press).

The non-governmental sector is also active in the radio market. Despite having commercial licences, commercial success is not the main goal of stations run by NGOs. In 2011 there were six such radio stations serving diverse groups: children (Radio Bajka), students (Radiofonia), ethnic minorities (Radio Kaszëbë), Christians (Radio Mazury) and local communities (Radio Źnin, Radio EL).

There are also seven radio stations run by local governments. Most of them are active in the framework of community centers administered by these governments which try to serve local communities (Krajowa Rada Radiofonii i Telewizji 2011).

Finally, as many as 44 licences belong to dioceses, orders and parishes of the Catholic Church. Only half of them operate as independent radio stations (also as 'social broadcasters'). The other half is a part of the big network 'Plus' administered by a powerful media group in Poland called Eurozet. Additionally, there are few radio stations in Poland which address their programme to representatives of other religions (Krajowa Rada Radiofonii i Telewizji 2011).

Except from licensed radio stations on air there are also other radio initiatives with non-commercial goals – for example closed circuit cable radio stations. This type of transmitting radio signal was very popular in Poland after WWII. The new communist regime was interested in the development of radio broadcasting as a tool of propaganda. Nowadays, this way of signal transmission is not very common but still there are places where closed circuit radios work: for example, schools, student hostels and prisons. Polish prisons remain one of the rare places where one can find monophonic loudspeakers joined by means of cable in almost every room. Closed circuit prison radio stations are located in each of 157 prisons in Poland and perform many important functions which partly coincide with these which are usually attributed to community broadcasting.

Moreover, a lot of legal, technical and financial problems connected with running a licensed radio station resulted in the activity of many radio stations only on the Internet. The history of internet broadcasting is quite short. Internet Talk Radio, founded by Carl Malamud in 1993, was probably the first internet radio in the world (Olszański 2006: 17). The first Polish internet radio station Radio Net emerged five years later - in 1995. This station became a model for other internet radio initiatives in Poland. Nowadays several hundred internet radio stations exist.

One of the obvious advantage of broadcasting on the web is a low running cost. Tomasz Lida – the founder of the internet culture oriented Radio ART estimates that the budget of this station came to only 25 thousand zlotys (7 thousand euro) per year. The main costs connected with running such a station are rental charges, internet connection fee and copyrights (Doliwa 2010b: 115).

The most severe costs for Internet broadcasters are these connected with copyrights, which are rather high in Poland. What is more, there are several organisations which are entitled to raise such fees. According to the law, every single small internet radio station (also the one which broadcasts for one or two listeners simultaneously) has to pay fees at least for five main copyright organisations. All in all, the lowest rate of these fees is 340 zloty (100 Euros) per month. It may seem to be not much but it is worth mentioning that many internet radio stations function as non-profit organisations. They are founded by enthusiasts with the idea of free radio, who invest not only their free time but also their own money to set up and develop such a station. It appears that the height of the copyright fee is for many stations a barrier difficult to overcome. As a result the majority of internet radio stations pay only the copyright fee for the main organisation authorised to raise copyright fees Association of the Authors ZAIKS (Doliwa 2010b: 18).

The penalty for illegal use of musical compositions in Poland is severe, up to 2 years imprisonment. There are examples of requirements concerning copyright fees are more and more rigid. The first internet radio station which was closed down for not paying copyright fees was Radio Rebelia in 2006 (Doliwa 2010b: 116).

The research conducted in 2008 on the basis of one of the most popular internet radio catalogues *nadaje.com* showed that the level of variety in Polish internet radio stations market is high – there is something for almost everyone (Doliwa 2010b: 112-122). The Poles show that it is possible to work without asking for money. It is one of the signs of Polish democracy becoming more and more mature. Yet, one of the grounds of a well functioning democracy is the activity of the society. The more people are active in local communities, working places, churches, the better they are informed and the more responsible they vote (Stokes 2002: 37).

On the Polish websites one can find a lot of interesting and non-standard initiatives. They provide an offer which is lacking on the Polish airwaves. Not only because of the type of music but also, or even mainly, because of spoken word programmes.

An example can be 'Radio bez Kitu' which is an alternative radio station from Cracow. It started in 2002. In the station's programme there are a lot of music, film, theatre and literature author's broadcasts. We can also find a lot of radio forms like features, reportages and commentaries there. The station promotes independent artists and alternative music. The director of this station Romuald Stankiewicz, in spite of his young age, is the prize-winner of a few reportage contests. He won his first prize as he was just 11.

Another example of interesting internet radio initiatives may be also Radio Art. It started as 'an active protest against commercialization of media in Poland'. The founder of this radio is a conductor and composer Tomasz Lida. Classical music prevails on this station. One can also hear reportages, debates about literature and art there. It is worth mentioning that the radio is an organiser of events during which famous Polish actors read books in public places (Doliwa 2010a: 71).

Some of the internet radio stations try to play a role of local broadcasters. In their programme, as well as their internet sites one can find news important for local communities. These are stations such as Enerstacja from Nowa Ruda, Radio Fabryka from Tczew, Radio Śrem from the small city in Grade Poland and Radio Vis, which existed by Cultural Association Prowincja in Żywiec. Radio Fajer Mix tries to promote culture, folklore and local dialect from Silesia (Doliwa 2010a: 71).

However, the founders of internet radio stations which try to fulfil community media goals, feel underestimated and expect legal solutions that could improve their situation. Internet radio journalists try to do important public work, which is supported by their own money. The cost of copyright fees means that a lot of internet radio stations do not pay all organisations which are legally entitled to collect these fees. Home-bred grassroots journalists have to be aware of the possibility that one day the police will confiscate the transmitting equipment and close the station. The introduction of one smaller copyright fee for all organisations would certainly have a positive influence on this sector.

Furthermore, it seems that a lot of community orientated radio stations are active on the Internet because there is no other opportunity to exist. Founders of Radio bez Kitu and Radio Art as well as internet local and student radio stations have nothing against broadcasting on air. The most important barriers to do this are high running costs and lack of legal solutions that could help to deal with these problems.

Community Media movement in Poland

Polish internet radio representatives expressed a protest against the unclear situation of community broadcasting in Poland. In 2005 Independent Broadcast Initiative NINA (Niezależna Inicjatywa Nadawcza NINA) was founded. The aim of this organization, which was supported by pirate and internet radio stations in Poland, was lobbying for non-licensed access to air small local radio stations with a power of up to 10 watts. However, as the founder of NINA Tomasz Lida concluded, the members of NINA were not determined enough to convert this initiative into a long term lobbying organization (personal communication 2008).

Community radio practitioners were also involved in giving an opinion about subsequent media law projects like the new project of the broadcasting act entitled Ustawa o zadaniach publicznych w zakresie usług medialnych (Parlament Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 2009) or the project of the broadcasting law prepared by the Civil Committee of Public Media (Komitet Obywatelski Mediów Publicznych 2010). Some of the postulates of community media practitioners have been taken into consideration while creating these projects. However, they did not become a law in force (Doliwa in press).

In 2009 the Association of Community Broadcasters (Stowarzyszenie Nadawców Społecznych) under the supervision of the manager of the student radio in Krakow Marcin Lewandowski was created but the only activity

of this organization till now was evaluating and making comments about new media law projects (Doliwa, in press).

A fairly important signal that the community media movement in Poland is becoming more and more conscious of its demands was also the conference of Community Media organized in 2010 by Elbląskie Stowarzyszenie Wspierania Inicjatyw Kulturalnych which is also an owner of the internet based community oriented TV 'Telewizja Obywatelska'. These conference gathered participants from Poland and representatives of community media from Russia and Germany. During the conference a 'Declaration concerning the access of citizens and NGOs to media' - signed by all 59 participants – was passed. The demands formulated in this declaration were as follows:

- facilitating access to the airwaves for citizens and NGOs (connected with the change in the license policy)
- creation of Community Media Fund
- facilitating access to public media (special time for NGOs)
- participation of the civil society representatives in the evaluation of public media content
- the promotion of the idea of media activity among the Polish society (media literacy).

This declaration was sent to institutions which may have an influence on the media system in Poland.

A small success of the NGOs' sector was also the community media recognition in the project of the national Strategy of the Development of the Social Capital in Poland as an important element in the fulfillment of the main goals defined in this strategy (Ministerstwo Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego 2011).

However, it must be said that the community media movement in Poland is still rather weak. It might be partly connected with the weakness of the non-governmental sector in Poland in general. As the all-Polish research entitled 'Diagnoza Społeczna 2009' showed, for example, only 16% of Poles declare the involvement into whatever form of the activity for the benefit of the local community (Czapiński, Panek 2009: 266). That is why it is rather hard to create a powerful pressure group constantly involved in community media movement in Poland.

Why Community Radio in Poland matters

It is worth mentioning that before 1989 Poland was in some sense a leader in the field of free community media and civil activity which was alternative to the official political system in the Central and Eastern Europe. There were, for example, more than 2000 illegal, independent press titles at state, regional, local level which were active before 1989 (Jakubowicz 2007: 165-166). What is more, in 1982 independent and illegal Radio Solidarity was born. The station broadcasted only short programmes to minimise the risk for broadcasters being caught. Some of these programmes were broadcasted not only on radio but also TV audio frequencies. According to official data, journalists of Radio Solidarity were active in 23 cities (Majchrzak 2010: 7). Freedom of speech was one of the main demands of the Solidarity movement.

Now the situation is entirely different. The leader in the field of community radio in this region is now Hungary with 68 licensed community broadcasters in 2010 (Gosztanyi 2009: 302). Poland, a much bigger country, which has only 9 licensed social broadcasters (all of them are religiously oriented) and unfriendly community media regulations, lost the significant position in this field. However, an enabling environment for community media would probably cause this sector, in a country with such a long tradition of independent media, to flourish. There are several grounds why such a development should be desired in the Polish reality.

One of these grounds can be the difficult situation in the local radio markets. Similarly to other countries, after the breakdown of state monopolies on broadcasting 'state monopolies have been replaced by private ones with equally suspect aims' (Raboy 2003: 101). One can easily observe this by looking at the local radio market. There are about 200 local radio stations but most of them are connected to big media groups like: Agora, Eska S.A., Eurozet, Broker Fm (Beliczyński 2010: 29). This means that, to a high degree, they stop playing a role of a

typical local radio station (as a medium which may control the local government, promote local artists, initiatives and be the place where civil society could exchange views). In most cases they broadcast mainstream programmes, reduce their staff and play popular music most of the time. That is why broadcast community media may help to make the media offer more diversified and balanced.

The second very important ground is the low level of social capital in Poland. As Stanisław Jędrzejewski rightly noted the Central and Eastern European countries still wrestle with 'a fatal heritage of the totalitarian history'. He included the following into the main problems connected with this heritage:

- the weakness or even lack of the civil society
- the leading role of the state and 'the political society'
- the small credibility of the authorities elected in general elections
- the low level of the identification of the society with democratic processes and procedures (Jędrzejewski 2010: 44).

These problems also play a significant role in the Polish society. As one of the leading Polish journalists, Jacek Żakowski, said 'we do not grind the democracy throughout history and do not take care of it throughout generations' (Żakowski 2010: 16). He also underlined the mistakes made during the transformation process which interrupt the civil society progress: the disregard of the problem of social cohesion, the lack of activity aimed at the development of the civil culture and democracy, the educational system oriented to the individual success and not the cooperation for common good. What is more, which professor Janusz Czapliński emphasized, the pace of the development of the social capital in Poland is much slower than the dynamics of the economic development. It could be an important barrier in the development of Poland and probably other countries of the region (Żakowski 2009: 18).

To some extent community radio can be an effective tool to overcome these problems. All the more that there are some symptoms which suggest that the civil society in Poland exists and can flourish in an empowering environment. For example, the Polish version of Wikipedia – the encyclopedia based on voluntary work of the multitude of Internet users – in 2010 was the fourth biggest language version in the world (after the English, German and French version) with more than 700 000 entries (Bendyk 2010: 76). Probably the introduction of community media friendly regulations would contribute to the similar flourishing of the bottom-up initiatives on the Polish airwaves.

Community radio can be an effective tool in building the social capital of the country. It performs many important functions which may prove to be useful when talking about 'social change'. These functions are, for example; to reflect and promote local identity, character and culture by focusing principally on local content, to create a diversity of voices and opinions on the air through its openness to participation from all sectors, to encourage open dialogue and democratic process by providing an independent platform for interactive discussion about matters and decisions of importance to the community; to promote social change and development, to promote good governance and civil society by playing a community watchdog role that makes local authorities and politicians more conscious of their public responsibilities, to share information and innovation; to give a voice to the voiceless (Fraser, Restrepostrada 2002: 70-71).

The Research Project on Radio stations with non-commercial goals in Poland

One of the important barriers in the development of the CM sector is lack of data about the non-commercial potential in the broadcasting market (the condition, goals and requirements of different community oriented broadcasting initiatives). Social awareness as to what community media are, especially radio and TV community oriented projects, and what benefits the development of this sector of media could bring to the society is still small.

That is why I decided to conduct a research project on radio stations with non-commercial goals which can be treated as a stub of community radio in Poland. This sector of radio as a whole has not been investigated yet in Poland, although these kind of stations are certainly worth describing as a mainstay of the creativity, originality and passion for radio on a very homogenous and standardized radio market in Poland. What is more, they can be interesting as a basis of community media sector flourishing in Europe and still not fully recognized in Poland. It is worth mentioning that the situation is completely different in other, especially western European, countries. In these countries there are numerous books, articles, conferences, research projects and other initiatives devoted to community radio. That is why, in my opinion, the accomplishment of this project can contribute to somehow filling the research gap.

Although this project is of strict scientific character I believe that the data collected during research would contribute also to the popularization and development of community radio in Poland. They also may prove useful when creating new media laws and implementing regulations more favorable to community radio sector as it is recommended in the European documents mentioned above. As some researchers report, research data about community media can influence the policy making process in this field very positively (Milan 2010: 309).

Creating this research project I have been inspired especially by the research conducted by Helmut Peissl and discussed in the book *Nichtkommerzieller Rundfunk in Österreich und Europa* (Purkartthofer and others 2008) and the research concerning community media in Scotland conducted by Chris Atton (Atton 2007). The project aims at investigating the condition, organization models and expectations of non-public radio initiatives with non-commercial goals. More precisely, the goals of the project can be defined as follows:

- to characterize radio stations with non-commercial goals in Poland – the licensed and non-licensed ones
- to determine to what extent they may be called community radio stations and to what extent they are similar to other community radio projects in Europe
- to identify the main problems of this sector and obstacles in the development of such radio initiatives in Poland
- to collect opinions and ideas about changes in the media system, which would contribute to the development of the third sector of media in Poland.

The project comprises of research of licensed and non-licensed radio stations all around Poland. Six main groups of radio stations with non-commercial goals have been identified: student radio stations, NGOs radio stations, local government radios, religious radio stations, Internet radio stations (different types and coverage) and closed-circuit cable radio stations (for example in prisons, schools). The implemented research methods will be: telephone interviews with representatives of radio stations with non-commercial goals, case studies of one radio station from each identified group combined with a visit to the station, the analysis of leaflets, guest books, chronicles and other documents which will be collected in the stations selected for case studies, the content analysis of the weekly programme of the stations selected for case studies, interviews with workers, part-timers and volunteers. Hopefully, this research will help to characterize radio stations with non-commercial goals more deeply and suggest some welcome changes for the sector.

Summary

There is not one single right answer for the question: how to create the third sector of broadcasting in Poland. The representatives of grassroots journalism in Poland are looking now for best examples of community broadcasting around the world and are trying to formulate some recommendations. There are a lot of possibilities of supporting this radio sector that play significant role in different countries (open channels, grants for community radio stations, use of the funds from the licence fee, special frequencies, exemptions from some fees etc. (Buckley and others 2008: 220-226)). However, community media development in the Polish reality seems to

be not possible without full legal recognition of this sector, allocation of some frequencies to community media sector and establishing a small but stable fund for community broadcasters.

One of the main problems connected to the development of the third sector of electronic media in Poland is a rather low level of social awareness of what community media are and what benefits the civil society could gain because of this kind of media not only among the Polish society but also among Polish authorities. This is important because as community radio representatives at the International Forum of Social and Solidarity Economy which took place from October 17th to 20th 2011 in Montreal underlined: 'States can play a vital role by adopting regulations and policies that enable the establishment and sustainability of community radios. By supporting the independence of their governance structures, of their contents' choices and of their financing mechanisms, states can allow them to reach their full potential in the democratization of the societies, on sustainable human development and cultural diversity promotion' (International Forum of Social and Solidarity Economy 2011). However, to do so state authorities must be aware of the benefits of community media development. There are some movements that can initiate public debate about the third sector in electronic media but they are probably still not strong enough to force more friendly legal solutions for such initiatives. That is why it is hard to escape the impression that Poland is still at the starting point of building this sector.

One of the factors which can positively influence the development of community media sector on the air, may be the increase of the knowledge and social awareness about this sector. That is why a research project on radio initiatives with non-commercial goals which can be treated as a stub of community media sector in Poland was prepared. The project aims at investigating the condition, organization models, expectations as well as ideas of such kind of radio stations on how to develop and in what form the community radio sector in Poland. The way for fully recognized and financially supported community radio sector is often reported by community media researchers as a long march (Howley 2010: 18, Pavarala, Malik: 137-136, Carpentier, Scifo 2010: 115-118). I hope that the accomplishment of the above research project can be one small but meaningful step on the way to fully recognized community radio sector in Poland.

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