ETHNIC MINORITY RADIO: INTERACTIONS AND IDENTITY

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ABSTRACT

The past thirty years has seen a growth of ethnic minority radio stations. They occupy spaces in the public, commercial, community and pirate broadcasting sectors and are seen to provide valuable services for marginalised listeners. Yet, little is known about the practices of broadcasting within these stations and the role staff and their programmes play within their communities. This doctoral thesis is the first analysis of the development and continuing existence of a set of case study ethnic minority radio stations and how they employ the concepts of ethnicity and identity. To achieve this, it puts the daily interactions and practices that go on within the radio stations at the heart of the analysis.

The paucity of research in this area demanded the synthesis of different theoretical ideas to fully explore the meaning of these interactions. The study utilises a modified structuration theory (Giddens, 1984; Stones, 2005) to blend the separate areas of ethnicity, identity (Karner, 2007) and radio in everyday life (Scannell, 1996). Structuration theory comes with few instructions for use. A major contribution to theoretical knowledge is the presentation of a theoretical, methodological and coding framework. The qualitative, case study approach and a blended strategy enable the valuable use of structuration theory for studies of the media and everyday life.

This thesis argues that the structures of ethnicity, identity, and the station are the medium and outcome of agent action and that agent action is orientated by the structures of the station, broadcasting, ethnicity and identity. Contingent to this analysis are the life narratives of the staff and the 'cultural competences' they bring to the stations. The theoretical framework illuminates the processes of ethnicity, highlighting the importance of both a reified and a fluid identity, broadcast as part of the programmes, to understand how these stations and their communities are so tightly bound.

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C h a p t e r 1

INTRODUCTION

1 Introduction to the thesis

1.1 About the research

This doctoral thesis examines the development and continuing existence of ethnic minority radio stations in the UK and how they employ the concepts of ethnicity and identity in daily life and programming. It is based on the analysis of six case study stations, using interviews, observations, programme analysis and documents.

Ethnic minority radio in the UK is part of a growing market for niche, special interest stations at a time of market consolidation and great technological convergence. Though a relatively young market, it has seen a slow development from the mid sixties to the present, moving from local programmes to fully licensed stations. They are defined as those reaching Britain's marginalised communities, licensed as public service, community, commercial, or not licensed at all.

Whilst there are several studies exploring the way content is received and utilised by media audiences there are very few studies of the radio stations themselves. The combination of structuration theory (Giddens, 1984) and the modified version, strong structuration theory (Stones, 2005) is used in this thesis to blend the separate areas of ethnicity, identity (Karner, 2007) and radio in everyday life (Scannell, 1996).

Such an approach enabled the study to examine the daily processes which form the continuing existence of the stations and the interactions that constitute the programmes. There are fewer studies still that explore the interactions of the broadcasters with members of their audiences from their personal perspectives. These interactions and the personal life narratives of the disc jockeys (DJs) contribute to the community structures of the listeners they are part of and broadcast to. This study examines the meaning of these interactions and their importance in defining self and community identity and ethnicity. It shows the processes and use of a reified and a fluid identity broadcast as part of the programmes to understand how these stations and their communities are so tightly bound.

1.2 Why ethnic minority radio and identity?

The thesis idea came from an undergraduate dissertation that examined the use of new technologies by two ethnic minority radio stations (Shember-Critchley, 2006). The topics of identity and the importance of the interactions that went on at the

stations were repeatedly highlighted. It also became clear during the research that little had been written about how such radio stations continued to exist, their use of ethnicity and identity for the station generally and during programmes specifically or the role of the station as part of community structures. Whilst some studies have covered life within a particular radio station, or more often than not, the perspectives of the audiences of these stations, no study exists that has used a cross section of radio stations or has incorporated an exploration of the different ethnic identities the stations represent. The drivers to conduct this research were curiosity, a lifetime of listening to radio and an awareness of the importance that the life narratives of the DJs hold in contributing to a history of Britain's ethnic minority communities.

1.3 Contribution to knowledge

The research project makes several contributions to knowledge both through the topic of enquiry and the innovative theoretical framework which guided the enquiry. The two major areas the contributions to knowledge cover are as follows:

1.3.1 Ethnic minority radio

Analyses of the development of ethnic minority radio are few (CRE, 1978, 1990). Radio is a local medium; the literature on radio demonstrates its relationship to communities and identity. However existing research is restricted to single stations. Research in the context of diasporic media has often neglected radio in favour of other broadcast media. This study investigates past and present relevant agents (station staff, DJs, musicians, community figures, listeners) and takes account of the fluidity of ethnicity. Most research is still using traditional 'categories' (Taylor, 1994) rather than implementing the processual model (Tudor, 1995) suggested in recent ethnicity and media literature. This 'processual model' in ethnic minority radio research will be a first and highlights the importance of the study of situated interactions between station agents. The research will provide the first coherent account of the rise of ethnic minority stations in the UK and the interactions that enable them to continue.

No other study has incorporated case studies of stations from across the public, commercial, community sectors and those station outside the law . Doing so provides the first 'picture' of the shared characteristics, differences, and the sense of enablement and constraint within stations yet also in the context of the broader sector. The daily interactions of the station agents examined in this research took centre stage for the first time in a study. It is only through the examination of such nuanced knowledge, imparted through discussion and action, that the delicate structures of ethnicity and identity can be fully explored. Previous studies of media

and ethnicity have placed in suspension a fixed mediated ethnicity when analysed through the lens of a media effects approach (Khiabany and Williamson, 2008; Hargreaves, 2000). The study also breaks new ground in locating the importance of *both* the reification and fluidity of identity in the everyday interactions between the agents at the stations and the communities they belong to. The concept of fluidity is captured through these interactions alongside the importance of a reified ethnicity not only for the individual participants but significantly for the daily operation of the station and its programme construction.

1.3.2 A new conceptual framework

The study of ethnic minority radio and identity draws in the often theoretically disparate areas of ethnicity, identity and radio research. Past studies which have touched on ethnicity and radio have focused on identity from a micro perspective such as the use of minority media in the home (Georgiou, 2006). There has been little analysis of ethnic minority media producers. In seeking to study the radio stations and their use of ethnicity and identity the study also needed to account for the meaning of ethnicity and identity for those involved. Structuration theory and the derivative, strong structuration theory, enabled the study of both the macro concerns of the radio station and its role for its communities but also the micro concerns and identity of its agents. It does so by prioritising the importance of interactions which enabled the researcher to study the conscious and unconscious expressed intentions of the station staff. Structuration theory has been sparingly used in analysis and study of the media (Fröhlich, 2007) but not in the fields of radio, ethnicity and identity to date. Its use, in combination with radio and identity theory, is a first.

Structuration and strong structuration theory come with few instructions for use, being primarily meta-theories for understanding the operation of societies. A contribution to theoretical knowledge here is the presentation of a theoretical, methodological and coding framework which enables the use of structuration theory for studies of the media and everyday life. The processual approach advocated in current information systems and ethnic minority media research, also a key ingredient in structuration, was particularly well suited to remedy this deficiency. Applying the model within the context of structuration enabled the 'duality of structure' to be explored and the dialogical and processual nature of agents and structure to be analysed.

1.4 Aims and objectives

1.4.1 Aims

This research aims to provide an enriched understanding of:

1. How ethnic minority broadcasters are making use of radio in a changing media environment.
2. The role and meaning of ethnic minority broadcasting for its agents

1.4.2 Objectives

The aims were met through the pursuit of the following objectives:

1. To provide a descriptive and explanatory account of ethnic minority radio stations and their digital and analogue operating environment
2. To analyse and establish how these institutions are sustained through the interactions of relevant agents
3. To provide a theoretical understanding of the uses of 'radio broadcasting' by the agents which employ it
4. To determine the role the selected stations and the media messages they produce play in the development and communication of ethnicity and identity
5. To contribute knowledge on the application of structuration and radio theory in the analysis of radio stations and their agents

1.5 Outline of the thesis

The paucity of directly relevant research in the area of ethnic minority radio and identity meant a greater emphasis directed to constructing from relevant literature a theoretical framework which would support the research. This section concludes at 4.9 with a theoretical model derived from the aspects of structuration, ethnicity and radio literature used to support the research. The next section reviews what relevant studies exist that contributed to the methodology and findings. The literature review concentrates on theory and studies of structuration, ethnicity, identity and finally, radio. The methodology is extended to include the conceptual framework developed for the empirical and analysis stage of the project and which is intended to be transferrable for future research. The findings and discussion address each objective and its questions to create a rich narrative found within the interactions at ethnic minority radio stations. The conclusions draw the findings together and further posit the contribution to knowledge.

1.6 The research context

This section contextualises the field of ethnic minority radio and identity into existing research that has examined these and related topics. Ethnic minority radio is

still relatively new in the UK. It has seen a slow development from the mid sixties to present, moving from local programmes to fully licensed stations. These are defined as those reaching Britain's marginalised communities, licensed as either 'community', 'commercial' or 'unlicensed'.

Pirate radio has had and still holds an attraction for some minority broadcasters, the initial successes enjoyed by stations such as Dread Broadcasting Corporation (DBC) and London Greek Radio (LGR) being notable examples. These stations served diverse communities, basing their popularity on niche music that cut across singular ethnic identities. Pirate stations continue to thwart the law and behave like 'solidly based commercial businesses with thriving advertising revenue' (Lewis, 1989, p. 106-107).

During the early nineties, in a harsh commercial environment, the first 'legitimate' ethnic minority stations began broadcasting due to 'the strength of demand for specialised music and speech programmes broadcast in the mother tongue…aimed specifically at ethnic communities both locally and nationally' (Barnard, 1989, p. 123). In the face of increasing commercial competition and criticism for failing minority audience needs, the BBC's response was to develop the fledging Asian Network in Leicester and the East Midlands. The critical perspective was that 'if the rationale of your broadcasting is to serve the consumer rather than the citizen you can't expect non-commercial output; if this is true then the BBC certainly must have a role in the future' (CRE, 1990, p.21).

The concerns about hardening commercialisation and consolidation put pressure on Government to give some support to not-for-profit radio. After a successful period trialling 'community access radio' projects, The Broadcasting Act 2003 sought to right this imbalance by providing licensing and limited funding for community radio. Niche and local stations were able to apply for full broadcasting licenses, albeit in a restricted broadcasting area. This positive move is tempered with the fact that as relatively 'cheap and accessible radio may be, nevertheless these alternative voices struggle to be heard. Radio operates within a society in which democratic participation is not privileged above capital accumulation' (Lax, 2009, p. 55). Those stations unable to gain a community licence or serve communities larger than the licence is aimed at, face the continuing prospect of an aggressive commercial sector focused on profit.

During recent years there has been an expansion of internet and satellite technologies. Stations are able to broadcast simultaneously by analogue signal,

satellite, internet streaming and DAB. This has given rise to questions from the commercial broadcasters, keen to protect their licenses which are set by location. As ethnic minority stations have gradually grown, particularly in the community sector, there has been a rising interest in these stations and their audiences, who base their communicative ethos on identity, as well as their local broadcast area community.

1.7 Relevant studies

The majority of the literature that exists on ethnic minority radio is focused on the audiences rather than on the broadcasters. Where studies have looked at British ethnic minority radio stations, they did in the context of transnational/general minority media and usually from the perspective of the audience; therefore only the most relevant are reviewed.

The earliest published study into ethnic minority radio was a largely quantitative one undertaken in Leicester during 1977 by the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE, 1978). It had two main aims, situating the study in the prevailing majority media of the time. The first was concerned to understand 'the way ethnic minorities are projected by institutions of the mass media' (ibid, p. 9). The second, concerned the emerging social zeal for multi-ethnic and integrated communities, and explored how minorities were 'given the opportunity of using the mass media to obtain information about social institutions in the host country' (ibid). Despite 50% of the audiences of Leicester's South Asian population listening to the radio, the research found only two major programmes, both on BBC Radio Leicester, the Milan programme and the Six O'Clock show, aimed specifically at the South Asian communities and featuring non-English languages. The report drew a parallel with the then recently published Annan report (1977) on the future of broadcasting by concluding 'that the Broadcasting Authorities should provide programmes which introduce new-comers to the life and morals of this country, which reflect their own cultures and which enable others to understand and appreciate these cultures' (ibid, p. 351).

1.7.1 Studies of ethnic minority radio stations

Myles (2000) locates his case study of the 28 day restricted service licence radio station in Manchester called Carnival Radio within the importance of voice, dialogue and accent. He demonstrates through a comparative analysis of Carnival Radio with generic North West radio station outputs the importance of the voice, accent and 'rough-hewn everyday talk' (Myles, 2000, p. 90) in being received well by local audiences as 'relevant to their lives, culture and everyday concerns' (ibid).

His research draws on Scannell's (1995) theorisation of the spatiality of programmes which is less about what the programme is than who it is for. Whilst they could be for profit, 'they might be for those who make them. They might be for those who take part in them' (ibid, p. 9). Myles finds in Carnival Radio a station run by the community and for the community, drawing on the resources of local 'technical expertise of the Afro-Caribbean entrepreneurs in Manchester's music industry' (p. 94) to make programming that was 'community directed and more important, community voiced' (ibid).

His further examination of the use of the voice and accent demonstrates the broadcaster's main concern was to 'project a much more particularised, cultural, community, and ethnic identity' (p. 106) in direct opposition to the subordinated and homogenised regional radio stations. This particularisation of voice and cultural style, according to Myles, was not the action of an introverted community, but a form of 'voice that claims recognition through the agency of cultural forms like music and radio talk. Accent and dialect lay claim to being placed and signal how talk is a constituent part of our social identity' (2000, p. 107).

Cohen's (2008) paper on two Hebrew programmes at a multi-ethnic community station 3ZZZ in Melbourne, Australia, examines the programmes, and their presenters, for their use of broadcasting as a cultural place to explore political and migration stories. The analysis is set in the context of the social and political power play employed by agents within the station between the two programmes. The Friday programme was 'a virtual gathering place and communal site' (Cohen, 2008, p. 1010) for airing a rigid Israeli identity that located itself 'back home' in its use of nationalistic music and right-wing discussion. This reification of a harder Hebrew/Jewish identity in the programme was to create 'an exclusive communal Jewish national place, a place in constant danger from the Arab enemies (and other anti-Semites) who aim to annihilate it' (Cohen, 2008, p. 1011). In sharp contrast the Wednesday programme located its interactions with the wholly local Melbourne Jewish communities and broadcast mainly in English basing its approach on a secular identity. The aims of its presenter were to 'individualise the category of the "Israeli" and turn it into something that, like the migratory move itself, enables individual migrants to reinvent their original identities in a new context' (Cohen, 2008, p. 1013). Each programme was an exploration of belonging and making sense of their 'migratory experience and their collective identities' (Cohen, 2008, p. 1015). The analysis of the staff conflicts and their individual causal influence in the content of the programmes, their presentation style was 'to a large degree, struggles about different social and political understandings held by the broadcasters in light of their

life away from "home"' (ibid). Cohen's analysis demonstrates the importance of locating research questions not only in the present interactions at the radio station where 'questions of identity and belonging may develop within the multicultural space' but also that a full understanding of the meaning of these interactions should 'refer back to individual migratory experiences and collective debates back home' (Cohen, 2008, p. 1016).

1.7.2 Media audiences and migration studies

Tsaganousianou (2001, 2002) has conducted studies into the media consumption practices of London's South Asian and Greek communities. In her research she points to growing communities of minority media consumers where technology 'has made possible the emergence of transnational diaspora-specific media landscapes…linking migrant communities with their country of origin' (Tsagarousianou, 2002, p. 224). That said, she contests the often enthusiastic belief that diasporic audiences live in an unbounded world, connecting across national states in a network of migratory audiences (Bash et al, 1993). Instead she finds an equal need for media producers, and researchers, to view minority audiences as occupying spaces of transnationalism which is simultaneously driven to construct a sense of locality. Her respondents were critical of minority broadcasters for treating 'their audiences as a mere extension of the "homeland" or as undifferentiated audiences that just happen to live in a different country' (Tsaganousianou, 2001, p. 166).

The sense that audiences, and logically, producers, live dualistic or fluid lives between the local and trans-local is addressed by Sreberny (2005) in her exploration of the rise of ethnic minority media in the UK. There is a conflict that exists between finding representation as a minority group and then being locked into the fixed persona the minority group is perceived to have by the majority society. The risk is that future research will repeat these dualisms with minority media being uncritically celebrated 'as cultures supposedly sealed off from one another forever by ethnic lines, with all the attendant essentialist assumptions about totality, identity and exclusion' (Sreberny, 2005, p. 457). Sreberny advocates a processual approach to research to capture 'a richer and more varied set of identifications that go beyond simple and single minority positions. What is needed is a 'not only, but also' approach to the analysis of minority media that recognises multiple cross-cutting affiliations and equally complex media use' (Sreberny, 2005, p. 458).

In her paper on the tensions between the universalistic nature of nation states and the particularistic nature of minority media, Georgiou (2005) examines the role London

Greek Radio has for its listeners. The success of such stations, she believes, lies in the community belief that they are 'a source of information they trust and which *speaks* their own language. Such programmes enforce the feeling that they can participate in the broader society while keeping their diasporic particularity' (Georgiou, 2005, p. 494). By providing this information and making these social connections, minority media 'reflect the complexity of their audiences' (ibid). This complexity is shown in the fluid nature of emerging networks and communities across Europe. 'Observing diasporic identities and communities in their spatial continuity and as they are sustained primarily through mediated networks' (ibid) should be through a lens which acknowledges the merging flows of particularistic and universalistic oppositions.

Georgiou (2006) continues her examination of London Greek Radio through the lens of transnational media networks and the home as a space for connectedness and identity formation. She acknowledges the importance for their audiences that media cultures have as taken-for-granted mediators of everyday life. These disasporic media networks are seen to be powerful cultural references because of their embedded role within home-life and 'what makes them distinct is not the fact that their audiences are very different to anybody else, but the fact that they are used by certain people and not others' (Georgiou, 2006, p. 91). As such, these media form part of the personal (transnational) media projects of the self and the construction of 'distinct imagined communities' (ibid).

Many of the interviewees in Georgiou's research are critical of these particularistic media networks because of their sometimes perceived irrelevance or inability to relate to audience members due to their age, gender or generation. However, audiences also acknowledge their importance for 'disseminating information, images, narratives, for being educators, and mediators in everyday communication' (Georgiou, 2006, p. 101) and as such have a role in the 'processes of learning, teaching, producing and consuming identity' (ibid) but are as easily rejected if they do not fulfil that role.

1.7.3 Studies employing structuration and the media

There are very few studies that have employed structuration as a theoretical approach to studying the media and certainly not in the particular field of ethnic minority radio. After the theoretical arguments over the implications of Giddens' structuration theory had finally died down, Tudor (1995) examined its potential use in the field of media studies. He compares the diametrically opposed Uses and Gratifications approach (Klapper, 1963; Blumler and Katz, 1974) of Effects Research with Text Analysis,

typified by the encoding/decoding model (Hall, 1980) and the active audience (Morley, 1980). These traditions have both suffered; Effects Research from a 'ritualistic over-emphasis on the empirical. Text Analysis has equally clearly over-inflated the theoretical…where "theory" has often connoted a general, all-embracing interpretative perspective rather than an always modifiable instrument of enquiry' (Tudor, 1995, p. 99). Structuration, though highly theoretical, is seen to provide a pathway through these opposing approaches to place the mutuality of agent and structure in dialectic as a way to 'reformulate social theory in terms of an ontology which transcends the established divisions (p. 101). Structuration's strength in the study of media institutions and their cultural products comes from a 'focus upon the operation of institutions producing such texts, or in the workings of unconscious motivation in both textual systems themselves and in their consumption…The general goal remains: to locate texts and their associated social practices in a framework which conceives the production and reproduction of social activities as a conjoint consequence of both agency and structure' (Tudor, 1995, p. 103).

This potentially promising gauntlet has had few takers. Fröhlich (2007) used the duality of structure and agency in his study of the relationship between broadcasters and production companies. However, this was from the perspective of national media institutions. Only Husband (2005), a researcher of ethnicity, identity and the media has produced an analysis of ethnic minority media institutions, or what he appropriately terms, 'communities of practice'. The analysis brings together his observations from working with various minority media organisations, the study of which 'has been relatively neglected' (Husband, 2005, p. 461). He shows how these communities of practice comprise 'sustained organisational activity in which individuals work together by employing shared routines and complementary skills, and a location where new participants are socialised into the community…in such an environment learning is not merely a process of mastery of new knowledge; it is also an acquisition of a shared identity' (p. 463).

Husband employs the concepts of discursive and tacit knowledge to explore the different and sometimes conflicting realms media producers occupy. These agents are both figureheads for ethnic minority communities whilst negotiating their own identities between minority and majority media professionalism. His examination of resource use, that of the issues surrounding finance and staffing, shows the constraints and enablement of being an ethnic minority media producer. This is especially so when seeking the largest audience in the pursuit of financial stability for the obvious response would be to 'assume the de facto lingua franca' (p.468) i.e. English. This strategy is not possible for constrained minority producers broadcasting

within communities that sometimes occupy multiple linguistic structures. Another highlighted resource constraint of staffing is more significant for minority media producers where there is a smaller resource base and a greater degree of volunteer involvement. The upshot is media products which 'tend to promote a particular diasporic sensibility in which the concerns and politics of the 'home country' have a continuing salience….not shared by younger members of the minority community' (ibid). This view is not essentialised; at the core of structuration is the possibility for constraint *and* enablement. Therefore there is potential that these communities of practice, subject to resource, priority, market, aspirational and audience changes, may also shift and transform.

Husband's perspective is that recent research has been overly concerned with examining how the majority media shape and sustain inter-ethnic relations and identities. Instead and 'as a matter of respect, as well as political relevance, it is important and overdue, that the minority ethnic media sector should receive proportionate research attention' (Husband, 2005, p. 476).

1.8 Conclusion

The increasing use of satellite broadcasting technology and new communications networks has been the spur for the development of interest in researching transnational media networks and the associated politics of recognition, the need for identity and the conflicts this creates with nation states.

What ethnic minority radio research that does exist points to the importance of media producers not just for their ability to 'educate and entertain', a priority of the Annan report of the 1970's, but for their perceived community voice, a sense of localness and for serving a particularistic need for increasingly sophisticated media users.

Whilst much has been investigated from the perspective of the listener or generalised audience, little is known about the processes that go on within the radio stations and between station staff in the creation of ethnic minority media, the connection they have with their audiences and the importance ethnicity and identity play in the construction of content.

Likewise, very little application has been made of structuration theory in the pursuit of understanding the actions and interactions of these media producers though Husband's application demonstrates its potential and points the way for further studies.

C h a p t e r 2

STRUCTURATION THEORY

2 Structuration theory for the study of radio & ethnicity

2.1 Introduction

The aim of the three opening chapters of this thesis is to outline and critique the theoretical framework developed for the research. Examining ethnic minority radio and audience identity has meant drawing upon theories from the areas of communications and sociology; those of broadcast media, theories around everyday life and concepts of identity. The two mains areas under enquiry are the radio station and the operations that take place to reproduce its existence; and secondly, an examination of the people involved in the station, their identity and use of ethnicity both in the presentation of themselves and its use in the construction of programmes. The broader, overarching social theory of structuration this thesis argues can bring these disparate areas together to fruitful effect.

Anthony Giddens originally conceived of structuration theory from a hermeneutic and phenomenological perspective. His criticisms of the primary focus on the individual found in subjectivism and the deterministic reified perspective of human action found in objectivism led him to seek a middle ground. Giddens' solution was to bring the two together as a dual articulation between the interactions of an individual agent and the enduring nature of structures called upon by the agent. For example, the guiding communicate ethos of the BBC has been to inform, educate and entertain. These have formed the guiding structures for constructing programmes that agents within the BBC have called upon, reproduced, occasionally challenged, or incrementally altered the meaning of. These structures would not exist without their continued use at the BBC, through interaction between agents. Such a dual articulation constitutes the duality of structure.

In functionalist/structuralist thought, the behaviour and product of agent action builds towards the societal structural whole. Social systems are created from external environments or from self-transformative characteristics and agent interaction is seen as an effect of these systems. Agent action is examined only when it directly affects the whole social system. Interactions, in this traditional theory, would only take account of routine behaviour that has a predicted outcome. Focusing on whole systems overlooks individual agent knowledgeability and free thinking yet an aim of this research is to make sense of the interactions associated with the radio station.

Giddens' analysis rejects objectivism as a singular approach, instead he retains 'only the interest in institutional development and the need to give some account of human agency' (Parker, 2000, p. 54).

A subjective, interpretive sociological approach supposes that the eyes of the individual behold their own world that they have created and maintain. External structures bear little on agent action. This approach supposes emancipation from the rigid structures favoured by structuralism by focusing on the agent through the examination of interactions that constitutes an agent's view as central. This approach cannot account for decisions and motivations where constraint and power are inherent (in nearly all interaction). Ignoring structure leaves the study without a contextual understanding of the operating conditions of stations, the uses of language and the formation of interdependences through group identities, however loosely shared.

Both schools of thought have been used either for media studies or the examination of identity however less so together and almost not at all (Husband, 2005) in pursuing a goal which seeks to account for social processes within one environment, that of the station. The combination of the person-specific examination of ethnicity and identity along with an exploration of the structural and socially systematic significance of the radio station meant that these well used schools of social theory were not appropriate. The use of Giddens overcomes the dualism (either/or) between objective and subjective sociologies through the selective use of both approaches to form an overarching ontology of social life where both social interaction and system development are seen as mutually inclusive. That is, one cannot exist without the other and so becomes a duality. In plainer terms, structuration theory seeks to recognise the equal importance of structure and agency. They work together as a continual process of action which constitutes social reproduction (what makes things happen). However, the agent is placed in the centre, similarly employing patterns of structure which in turn reproduces the structure.

The two primary concepts of structure and agent can be summarised as follows. Agents are you, me, colleagues, friends and family, all those we interact with in daily life, and are knowledgeable and capable. We bring to every situation a legacy of experiences and ways of doing things. These are carried as conscious and unconscious memories that we draw upon in daily actions. 'Ourselves' are created from a continual process of interaction with others, checked, adjusted and reproduced from our catalogue of experiences. In every situation we encounter we have the capacity to make choices of our own determination. These patterns of encounters and

ways of doing things constitute the social systems of our local and transnational lives. For this study, agents are the station managers, DJs, technicians, back office staff, studio guests, advertisers, regulatory staff, music industry staff and local community/religious figures. These are all the people involved in the daily operation of the radio station within its community.

Structures are Giddens' way of conceptualising the imagined rules and authority of knowledge drawn upon in these situations of action and interaction. Alongside the authoritative resources we possess or encounter are the physical resources also available to us. In every encounter we, agents, follow rules of engagement, shared knowledge of behaviour that help to order and structure interactions. Some of these rules are for specific situations of action, others are more general. Both constitute the knowledgeability of agents. These structures can be the language we speak, the temporal structuring of the day or the shared values of a community drawn upon in every interaction.

For the study, structures are the radio stations, collectives of agents drawing upon the ordering of broadcast rules for programmes, the performance of being a DJ, the cyclical structures of back office operation, and the related institutional structures the station staff interact with such as the regulator, broadcast codes, copyright societies, and publishing houses. Structures are also reflected in ethnicity and identity. They are the languages spoken, the rules of presentation the DJ adopts with different members of the community, shared religious beliefs that structure an agents' day. These are all drawn upon not only to reproduce the station everyday through agent-to-agent interaction, but structures constitute the identity of the stations, their programmes, the staff and the communities of which the station is part.

In structuration the agent and structure are bound together as a duality. Structures cannot persist, occupying time and space, without constant reiteration by agents. Agents, who by nature live cyclical lives, repeatedly draw on structures. What is crucial in structuration is that the agent can be both constrained and enabled by their use of structures. The formalities of a community may feel constraining to an individual at times. However, these formalities provide a sense of security, meaning and comfort to the agent, allowing them to operate within understood parameters.

Giddens developed this meta-theory for the operation of social systems in answer to usually theoretically opposed stances. Though the diametrically opposed stances of objectivism/subjectivism are less prevalent in research today they still form the basis of the theoretical schools taken within media and ethnicity research. Giddens

originally applied structuration to a variety of uses such as the development of economic, late modern age societies, the changing globalisation of societies and to explore the nuanced, repeated behaviours of individuals.

Its application has gained most use in the fields of organisation and information system research where it has been applied to studies of organisational change and the implementation of new technologies. It has seen very limited application in the studies of either the media or ethnicity. This is in part because it has been criticised for a variety of reasons, the main one being its lack of applicability for empirical research. Giddens wrote the main thesis of structuration with no guidance on how it could be applied in study. The sprawling and all-encompassing nature of structuration means it cannot and, Giddens suggests, should not be applied wholesale. Structuration has also been criticised for its marriage of divergent theoretical schools in a selectively magpie-like manner and the result is seen to offer little new to research.

This study disagrees. There are failings of structuration such as, for this study, its inability to theorise community collectives, the over-prominence given to work time rather than leisure (and thus media consumption) time and the under-development of exactly what 'rules' are. Structuration's duality of the agent and structure enables the study to achieve both its aims. First, to explore what constitutes ethnic minority radio stations and their outcomes. Second, to establish the meaning and relevance of ethnicity that informs the identities of station staff and their interactions. The outcome of these interactions reproduces and alters both the radio station and its communities. Structuration also enables the study to achieve these aims without some of the ideological baggage that would have presupposed the meaning of agent interaction at the station, of ethnicity and identity. Its focus on the process of action offers a different starting point. This study cannot be achieved by an application of a modified structuration theory alone. However, its overall theoretical stance has been utilised by sympathetic theorists in both ethnicity and radio. This chapter explores the applicable elements of structuration theory for the basis of a framework which can incorporate ethnicity and radio to support the empirical data, its analysis and the aims of this study.

2.2 The central concepts of structuration

There are three core central concepts that form the binding theoretical framework for the research and these are the agent, structure and positioning. Threading through these three concepts are the binding notions of time-space. These central concepts are addressed with particular attention to the issues and criticisms raised by other

theorists with the aim to produce a more robust version of structuration for the research. The most concerning issue with structuration is the lack of epistemology and methodology. The chapters following this examination of structuration aim to break it down further into the supporting areas of interest where the 'how to' of research is considered.

2.2.1 The agent

The agent in structuration is seen as knowledgeable and capable, able to draw upon three levels of understanding and interaction with the wider world. The first is the unconscious motives or the internal self, hidden from view but which forms the core part of the self they seek to protect (ontological security). This deepest level is the agent's security system, the inner face we save, seek to nurture through daily interaction and which 'depends substantially on predictable and caring routines' begun in childhood (Giddens, 1984, p. 50). As the agent grows up they learn to protect this internal security through what Goffman (1959) terms 'protective devices' which sustain a mutually implied trust and tact. Mostly though, ontological security is maintained through the comforting nature of routine action which if changed abruptly can often engender feelings of fear, displacement or discomfort.

The second level is that of practical consciousness, often referred to as what the agent tacitly knows and draws upon unconsciously in the doing of things. This doing is the continual drawing on of rules and resources that guide daily life. If you asked someone why they 'do' something in a particular way, they might not be able to immediately answer because this knowledge is formed of the repeated, familiar actions and interactions which occur daily and are patterned across specific locales and scenarios. Knowledgeability is the core of human action and is usually found at the practical level. The knowledge 'of social conventions, of oneself, and of other human beings, presumed in being able to 'go on' in the diversity of contexts of social life is detailed and dazzling' (Giddens, 1984, p. 26). The agent's knowledge is integral to the patterning of social life which is mostly employed with great skill during social activity.

Finally, there is the discursive consciousness giving voice to the actions born from tacit knowledge through daily interactions with others. Discursive knowledge informs the agent on correctly presenting oneself in interaction, is an expression of structure, e.g. the use of language, and is expressed with others to produce meaningful outcomes. Thompson examines the media and its role in daily life and how the appropriation of media messages, or listening to the radio, is something that goes beyond the initial listening and interpretation of the programme. Thompson

highlights how, through the discussion of media messages by those who consume them, 'they are thereby elaborated discursively and shared with a wider circle of individuals who may or may not be involved in the initial process of reception' (Thompson, 1995, p. 42). Media messages are transformed by retelling, discussion, criticism and shared entertainment; as such they provide a context where individuals can recount or examine their own thoughts and feelings. Through this interaction, the understanding of the programme and the different ways of viewing its message are appropriated into daily life, or as Giddens puts it, the practical consciousness.

Thompson identifies an important connection between this interaction and the developments of the individual agent:

> *'In receiving and appropriating media messages, individuals are also involved in a process of self-formation and self-understanding…by taking hold of messages and routinely incorporating them into our lives, we are implicitly involved in constructing a sense of self, a sense of who we are and where we are situated in space and time'* (ibid, p. 43).

All three levels of consciousness work together, expressed through interaction, to form the identity of the agent. This interaction is recursive with the agent working reflexively, able to understand the implications of their action and the wider environment. This opposes the concept of the 'cultural dope' (Garfinkel, 1967) in functionalism that does things unknowingly for the sustaining of the greater whole.

Giddens charges the agent with a high degree of autonomy by being able to change their situation through intended and unintended consequences of action. It is a concept which has come under much criticism as reality bears out often highly restricted choices or the pressure to maintain the status quo. Whatever choices are open and taken by the agent, they understand their sense of self through their interaction with others and so show a dependence on others to be capable of meaningful action. Co-presence is an important part of interaction because the agent is able to make use of context, gestures and the subtleties of language to make sense of social meaning.

The continuity of social life is through these interactions between agents and the shared memory traces at the heart of structures, which serve to organise and make sense of social systems. Giddens views the agent on a life path or trajectory where

interaction is not a separate series of projects but a continual flow of activity with other agents. Linking to Heidegger's view of the temporal nature of life paths, agents are engaged in a:

> *'ceaseless flow of temporality in which present practices are reaching out to, and opening up, the conditions and memories produced by past practices during the same flow as they are reaching out to, and opening up, future outcomes'* (Giddens, 1981, p. 34).

For Giddens, memory is central to the knowledgeability and agency of the individual. He relates discursive and practical consciousness to the psychological ability to recall intrinsic memories to be utilised in the context of action. They are given meaning in layers, the uppermost being discursive consciousness which refers to actions and memories the agent is able to verbally express. . Whereas 'practical consciousness involves recall to which the agent has access in the durée of action without being able to express what he or she thereby 'knows'' (ibid. p. 49). We take durée to mean the awareness of time and the life span of the agents and structure. This continuity and continual flow demonstrates the knowledge and reflexivity inherent in the agent able to access 'individual and collective forms of memory; through an immensely complex interpenetration of presence and absence' (Urry, 1994, p. 162). Finally, the agent is not buffeted along their life path, impotent to make change. Central to Giddens' empowerment of agent action is their ability and reflexivity to alter past practices or to have chosen to have done otherwise.

Giddens draws on Goffman's use of 'front and back regions' to differentiate internal regionalisation agents use in the context of action to maintain their ontological security (core self). It is the front region where 'much routinized daily life takes place, life in which people are often affectively involved' (in Urry, 1994, p. 165). However 'backstage is not merely where the solitary individual prepares for his or her performance in a state of distracted anxiety' (ibid); it is a reflexive part of the self and a place where the greater unconscious processing of the self can take place for later use in the front region. Whilst the front region is not a mask it is only the back region, difficult to access in empirical research that is said to be truly 'authentic'.

2.2.2 Time-space and positioning

Locales and regionalisation are part of the core concept of time-space used by Giddens to contextualise the relationship between agent and structure. He borrows

concepts from history and geography to deal with placing agent interactions and stretching structures across time and space.

Space refers to locales which relate to the settings of interaction that in turn helps to add some contextuality. Locales then, on a grander scale, provide for the 'fixity of underlying institutions' (1984, p. 118). Locales to Giddens are not places because the 'properties of settings are employed in a chronic way by agents in the constitution of encounters across space and time' (1984, p. 119). That is, locales also constitute the features of settings of interaction, meaning the notion of them can be transferred elsewhere but keep the same meaning of routine and meaningful interaction. So, regionalisation does not just refer to space but also to the 'zoning of time-space in relation to routinised social practices' (Giddens, 1984, p. 119).

In structuration, at moments of interaction when agents employ rules and resources they adopt what Giddens refers to as a social position. He regards social positions as an:

> *'identity that carries with it a certain range (however diffusely specified) of prerogatives and obligations that an actor who is accorded that identity…may activate or carry out: these prerogatives and obligations constitute the role-prescriptions associated with that position'* (Giddens, 1984, p. 84).

They carry out these roles usually in co-presence, making conscious use of bodily movement (Goffman, 1959), whilst considering the relative positioning of others in locales that are contextualised within the time-space of day-to-day life. Giddens focuses on the 'intersection between…forms of positioning and …the longue durée of institutions which creates the overall framework of social positioning' (ibid, p. 85). That is to say, positioning is the context for reoccurring actions, routine and situated interaction enabled by knowledge of social norms and rules.

Goffman has explored the importance of 'role distance' (1959) in understanding how agents can move between different structures which has particular relevance to the positions within radio stations. Giddens explains that 'role distance depends upon a separation between self and role…it can be a way of demonstrating supreme confidence in the performance of tasks involved in a particular role' (Giddens, 1987, p. 119). The DJ can call on internal structures of the self and also take on the structures involved as that of the role taker within the same binding structure of the

station. Doing so shows confidence and adds authenticity to the agent. For example, a DJ may be seen to be able to carry out the role of 'being a DJ' with the on-air characterised interaction, alongside being their own 'self' in conversation with friends in the studio. Confidence in their role enables a separation of self and role, but also an overlapping that hinders neither.

The concepts of locales and regions are central to understanding the patterning and routine nature of agent interaction. Giddens refers to locales as 'the space to provide the settings for interaction, the settings for interaction in turn being essential to specifying its contextuality….Locales may range from a room in a house, a street corner, the shop floor' (ibid p, 118) and so on. Locales are typically regionalised and these regions are also important for providing context. Regionalisation is not just the setting in space for interaction but refers to the 'zoning of time-space in relation to routinized practices' (ibid p. 119). That is to say the rooms of a house are zones with the downstairs typically the setting for daylight interaction and the upstairs for more private interaction or solace. In this research, in the setting of a radio station the communal areas provide a very different setting to the broadcasting regions and to the more private 'back office' areas. Co-presence, meaning the coming together of agents, is linked to presence availability in a locale. In, usually, urban radio stations the presence availability of agents is high. The almost instantaneous communications technology of television and the internet (especially social media practices) has meant a collapsing of time-space. This is where time shortens and geography becomes meaningless in the ability to access news, information and to engage in immediate but physically co-presenceless interaction through meeting places such as Facebook, Twitter, on web chat and via radio discussion.

In her study on media use in men's prisons, Jewkes (2002) uses the concepts of the maintenance of front and back regions and positioning, the incorporating of an expected identity within the prison, to examine the sustaining of the self. In-cell television in some prisons was replacing the more common pastime of communal viewing. One young gay man commented that in-cell television allowed him access to programmes such as *Queer as Folk*, a drama examining the lives of three gay men in Manchester. He said that the viewing of such a programme would not have been possible in an overly masculine group environment.

For the prisoner the programme was a space to express an identity that he kept hidden from other inmates. Through such observations of positioning and regionalisation of behaviour Jewkes was able to show the importance of protecting ontological security. Despite the institutional and impersonal nature of daily life it

was crucial for the prisoners to maintain their internal identity and sustain their 'true' self as well as for preparation for life outside the prison. The success of this was held in their 'ability to simultaneously maintain a private 'pre-prison' sense of self and a public identity for presentation during social engagement with others' (Jewkes, 2002, p. 211).

Time in structuration is both cyclical and reversible. By this Giddens means that, particularly in the use of 'clock time', time which was previously marked in ritualistic or naturalistic ways, is measured now by a created mechanism which in the case of the clock, is repeated twice a day (midnight, midday etc). Days are marked out in cyclical ways through periods, stations or bundles of interaction marked by specific areas of time, breakfast time, work time, leisure time and weekends. We are by nature, ritualistic, settled and routinsed. For Giddens cyclicity, or recursiveness, happens in the day to day actions of agents where 'in all societies the vast bulk of daily activity consists of habitual practices in which individuals move through definite "stations" in time-space' (Giddens, 1981, p. 38). Time then stretches forwards and backwards through its repetitious nature. Time marks out routine and zoned encounters between agents and these are also marked out in place as locales and regions.

Giddens summarises the relationships which constitute regionalisation as the personal front and back regions where 'regionalisation encloses zones of time-space, permitting the sustaining of distinctive relations between "front' and 'back" regions, which actors employ in organising the contextuality of action and the sustaining of ontological security' (1984, p. 124). The context of time-space is closely linked with the routine settings of interaction. It helps to explain what:

> *'social integration has to do with interaction in contexts of co-presence. The connects between social and system integration can be traced by examining the modes of regionalisation which channel, and are channelled by, the time-space paths that the members of a community or society follow in their day-to-day activities'* (1984, p. 142).

2.2.2.1 Criticism number one: time

Urry (1994) suggests Giddens' use of time is 'boring'. His use of structuralism in discussing work time and the regionalisation of activity fails to account properly for

other time. He cites leisure time and how to account for the reasons people visit the sea by train, do nothing but watch soaps and drama on television and dispense with regulated 'clock' time so easily. Urry also identifies a lack of discussion of weekends, the most regularised non work time an agent experiences. Tied in with this are difficulties in accounting for radio listening and scheduling habits in the documenting of breakfast time, work time, drive time and so on. When it comes to analysing the persistence of programmes such as drive-time (even on internet stations) Giddens cannot fully account for the significance of these transitory moments in time between work and home time. Scannell's (1996) discussions on cyclicity and recursivity for studying radio and everyday life discussed in chapter three can, this thesis argues, fill this gap.

To understand these processes more fully, the concept of structure needs to be addressed. The altering and patterning of social systems occurs through the drawing on of rules and resources by the agents in interaction. Such interactions guided by such social structures create causal influence and power which are the outcome of un(intended) consequences of action.

2.2.3 Structure

The duality of structure comprises the agent and structure. The duality is the dependence of the agent on the rules, resources and constraints of structures encountered and utilised through daily and routine interactions. Conversely, the structure would cease to exist (it is something realised in action) without the routine use of the rules and resources by the agent which reproduces or alters the structure. The duality then is two concepts acting together rather than a dualism (working at opposites) so it is as much a duality of structure as it is agency.

In Giddens' words 'structures are the usable forms of the past; structures convey time' (Giddens, 1981, p. 38). So agent knowledge calls upon past legacies of the 'ways things are done'. This is enablement *as well as* constraint through the loading of knowledge and capability upon the agent. In structuration an agent draws upon banks of knowledge known as the 'modalities' of the structure, that is, the properties of these rules and resources. These are broken down into three categories of interpretative schemes, facilities and norms. All three are used, reproduced and always subject to change. The modalities also represent the methods/media of interaction that are reproduced in social systems and they are 'centred upon the communication of meaning, the exercise of power and the application of normative approval or sanctions' (Willmott, 1987, in Coad and Herbert, 2009, p. 178). In short, agents interact using types of communication, power and sanctions by employing

their knowledge of interpretative schemes, power resources (facilities) and norms of engagement to reproduce the structures of signs, domination and legitimation. Giddens is clear to point out that this agency means that the agent always has the opportunity to have acted otherwise in any given situation.

Structure is not, as it has usually been taken to mean, the physical or fixed systems that surround and largely dictate the lives of the agent. Structures, according to Giddens, are virtual and are sets of both rules and resources, nothing more. Rules in structuration govern signification and so enable meaningful communication amongst agents. These structures are also realised through the use of these resources (both allocative and authoritative) in the exertion of power or command over others in the interaction of (mostly) co-present actors.

The structures of language are a good example; these are the written and tacitly known rules of how to communicate, sentence construction and methods of intonation. We learn these rules in situations of interaction, with family members and later at school, through interaction with our peers and from reading or consuming books and media. Language is something that ceases to exist were it not continually employed in situations of co-presence as a means of communication. Consider the Cornish language; the last active speaker of the dialect recently passed away and with her goes the living entity that is the spoken language. It may exist in book form and on computer, in recordings and the memories of those who were born later, but it stops 'being' called upon. The documenting of a language by an agent in say, book or recorded form, and the continual re-reading and speaking of it enables the structure, or the power associated with the structure (the physical and knowledgeable ways to use it) to stretch across time. This method of storage is termed by Giddens as a 'container of power' and has particular relevance to radio.

To present a directly relevant analogy of a structure, we might consider the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). It comprises rules and resources developed over time by agents through interaction. The repeated and measured development of these rules and resources over time lends them a more permanent form thus conceptualising the structure as an institution. Institutions stretch across time and occupy space through the locales they take up and the ability to store 'memories' and knowledge constituted by the employees. Thus, we see the large media archives the BBC is able to access across its many regional locations within the UK lending it power to endure. These rules are found in its broadcasting agreement and the services the agents have developed as a promise of expectation by the user. The most reified

rules are enshrined in the Reithian objectives of public service broadcasting repeated and expressed through the construction and aims of the programmes themselves.

What marks these out as structures is their endurance, the reproduction of a set of rules and resources, created and continually utilised by agents, and which extend across time and space, existing way beyond the individual lives of the agents involved. What is implicit here is the concept that through reproducing the rules and resources, which comprise a structure, it is subject to *change* as the agent alters (suddenly or incrementally) its use and interpretation with other agents. Returning to the language analogy, change happens incrementally over long periods with the English language being a good example. Some users of English are strict about its use and construction. They wish it to be static and rule rigid but its continued use and adaptation means it is continually under revision. New words enter dictionaries each year, not through some 'ordination' by those who somehow 'decide' what is English, but through adoption, adaptation and outright stealing of words from other languages. English is fluid and ever changing through its very recurrence of use.

The analogy of language, used by Giddens (1984), is helpful to draw the discussion away from his emphasis on institutions. It is unfortunate that having outlined the fluid and mostly virtual nature of structures that Giddens so heavily weds structure to being some type of symbolic, political, economic or legal institution. What begins as a free conceptual tool is quickly bound into a reified definition.

2.2.4 Power

Integral to the relationship of interaction and the employment of structure is the use of power and how differing means of control over rules and resources effect and facilitate agency. The duality of structure is a central concept to structuration because 'structure is both medium and outcome of the reproduction of practices. Structure enters simultaneously into the constitution of the agent and social practices, and "exists" in the generating moments of this constitution' (Giddens, 1979, p. 5) and, as has been mentioned, can be both constraining and enabling. This duality is the inseparable relationship of the interaction of agents who, using certain rules and resources, reproduce the structure. Through these interactions, the agent negotiates the rules and resources to their interests. Unlike functionalist and structuralist theory where power is usually a means of domination over those with less power, it works both ways in structuration theory. Power is potentially both enablement and constraint in situations where agents have either high or low causal influence.

This complex dialogue of negotiation is what Giddens terms the 'dialectic of control' and like the duality of structure, it is a two way 'negotiation' of power where the 'less powerful manage resources in such a way as to exert control over the more powerful in established power relationships' (Giddens, 1984, p. 374). That is, power is not just the domination by those agents with a higher degree of control over rules and resources. Power is not preconceived or necessarily predetermined with specific objectives to be reached, neither is it a hierarchy of structures. Power 'is a means of getting things done' (Giddens, 1984, p. 174), it is a neutral concept that gains meaning through the agents' use of universal categories of resources.

Power is not deterministic. Agents create and accumulate power through a skilled use of broadcast resources such as the authoritative knowledge of programme construction, physical studio equipment, access to licences, use of communications equipment and information systems. These resources are common to *all* radio station structures. Power is closely aligned with the idea of 'time-space distanciation' (Giddens, 1984, p. 256). We may take this to be the stretching of social systems e.g. across locale and time. This idea of time-space connects to power in a very distinct way. Giddens writes about time-space and the ability of a structure to endure from an evolutionary perspective, tracing power from the day-to-day lives of hunter gatherers to the complex social system of a walled city, where the latter is a physical expression of 'contained power'. The ability to store a physical legacy of memory, a repository of information is a distinctly allocative resource. It is these resources combined with the authority of knowledge which enables the means of the expansion of power.

The dialectic of control (agent freewill and structural control) was used more recently by Nico Carpentier (2001) in the study of a television panel programme. He sought to analyse how the programme balanced the interplay of freewill and power between the production team and the featured guests who opined on various subjects over a series of episodes. The research revealed a very complex set of interactions, negotiations and resistance over the nature of the structure of the programme between the producers and guests. This was observed through the subjection of unequal power distribution of the 'ordinary' programme participants by the repressive power exerted through the management and production teams. However, 'despite this power imbalance it did not prevent the panel members from engaging in different acts of resistance. They too play an active role in the dialectics of control, where power is always (but to a certain degree) shared or resisted' (Carpentier, 2001, p. 229).

2.2.5 Allocative and authoritative resources

The ability of a structure to function well and for agents to harness power depends on the use of two types of resources. Both resource categories are outlined in Table One. Through such an examination of radio staff use of resources it is possible to identify the subtle nuances that the use of resources plays in the generation of the power within the structures of the station.

Allocative resources are those such as the buildings and environment, the means of production, the end goods and stored information (programmes in archives, legacies of commodities produced and of community importance). These extend the stations' occupation of time and space. Power comes by using these resources, 'generating command over objects, goods or material phenomena' (Giddens, 1984, p. 33) to harness their transformative capacity. For instance, this may be the quality and use of broadcasting equipment, the station's premises, computer systems and data housing.

Authoritative resources are those to do with the organisation of social interaction between agents that constitute and reproduce the structure. They are the 'types of transformative capacity generating command over person or actors' (ibid). This implies that it is also the ability to co-ordinate numbers of people, members of a society (point two) but also through 'life chances' which are the education, skills and capabilities of agents. This development of expression is the understanding of how to produce radio and communication as a means of enduring knowledge.

Table One. Allocative and authoritative resource categories

Allocative Resources	**Authoritative Resources**
1. Material features of the environment (raw materials, material power sources)	1. Organisation of social time-space (temporal-spatial constitution of paths and regions)
2. Means of material production / reproduction (instruments of production, technology)	2. Production/reproduction of the body (organisation and relation of human beings in mutual association)
3. Produced goods (artefacts created from the interaction between 1 and 2	3. Organisation of life chances (constitution of chances of self-development and self-expression)

Source: Giddens, 1984, p. 258

Storage of these allocative and authoritative resources (our containers of power) involves 'the retention and control of information or knowledge whereby social relations are perpetuated across time and space' (Giddens, 1984, p. 261). Storage is the medium enabling recall and the ability to disseminate such information. The balance of power (resources) is less effective when a radio station might have the allocative resources of money, location and equipment but without the authoritative resources of knowledge in negotiating the application process to get a licence or the subtle knowledge of its intended audience.

Agents, as we know, are considered to be knowledgeable and capable, bringing with them the conscious and unconscious life experience and creativity which is utilised through interaction. It is possible to compare the extensive audio archives and resources of the BBC with smaller resources of a local station. Though this highlights differentials of allocative resources between these organisations, both still rely on the authoritative resources of the agent to maximise their impact.

2.2.5.1 Criticism number two: rules, rules, rules

Giddens is vague in a number of areas but a critical one is the under theorising of his concept of rules. This comes under particular scrutiny in Held and Thompson's (1989) and McLennan's (1984) analysis of rules (and resources) in social structures. Giddens never really defines what the rule part of 'rules and resources' in structures means beyond the hard-and-fast concepts of institutional rules, criminal laws, moral rules and sanctions. Resources are well theorised and work well in the examples above but rules do not elucidate the wider social structures which shape 'how to go on' (Giddens, 1984) in social life. Thompson shows that there is no consideration to differentiation in Giddens' rules around enablement and constraint for agents as 'such restrictions may operate independently of the rights and obligations of the agents concerned' (Thompson, 1989, p. 65). In other words some rules can apply to some agents and have little to do with other agents so the universality proposed in the notion of 'rules and resources' is lacking. This is due to the fact that 'restrictions on opportunities operate differentially, affecting unevenly various groups of individuals whose categorisation depends on certain assumptions about social structures…which cannot be grasped by the analysis of rules alone' (ibid).

Thompson argues that Giddens' structures as too rigid to be useful in any empirical setting. Stones agrees that 'structuration's ontology of structures as norms, interpretative schemes and power resources radically limits itself if it does not frame and locate itself within a more broadly conceived notion of social structures' (Stones, 2005, p. 50) and this is related to criticism one. It is not that Giddens is wrong, just

that the idea never makes it down from a meta-theory level. However, Thompson misses the value in Giddens' conceptualisation of rules and resources; they are not as limiting as he suggests. Take for example a radio station applying for a broadcast licence, a process which is full of restrictions which specific rules to licensing cannot wholly explain. Restrictions such as limited bandwidth, promise of service, application requirements and lack of funding are not limited to the application process but are rules, schemes and resources drawn on in a variety of social situations and by many different agents. The application process is also part of a larger set of social practices of legislation, media management, daily running of radio stations, the management of foundations and funds. All these sets of rules and practices involved the particularised interactions of agents born from their use of various structures. These are social structures that are not dislocated from everyday social practice but 'work on the basis of agents acting in situ, drawing upon and being influenced by interpretative schemes, conceptions of values and norms, and power resources' (ibid, p. 52).

Sewell (1992) refers to rules instead as schemas, favouring the latter term for being less rigid and homogenous. Schemas are learned as a particularity to a situation but are applicable in a generalised way. It is the generalisability of schemas that lends them virtuality, he argues, as opposed to the tangibility of resources, both authoritative, control over people, and allocative, control over things. Like the duality of structure, Sewell also wants to lend them a similar bounded relationship as 'sets of schemas and resources may properly be said to constitute *structures* only when they mutually imply and sustain each other over time' (Sewell, 1992, p. 13). Margaret Archer (1995) criticises both Giddens' structuration and Sewell's modifications. She rejects the weddedness of schema and resource declaring the relationship a 'matter of contingency, not necessity' (Archer, 1995, p. 111). Where Sewell refers to the 'thoughts' of people as actualisation of the physical there is an issue with this strict division between the virtual and the physical. Authoritative resources are virtual and are often contingent on the exploitation of allocative resources that are definitely physical. However, power can be actualised from one (schema) or the other (resource) as well as both together.

Sewell is right in some ways; practical consciousness and tacit knowledge are often transferable and can be used in a plurality of contexts as complex skills employed in routine action. However not all rules can be generalised; some relate to specific aspects of internal or virtual structures. For Giddens' emphasis on knowledgeability and stocks of knowledge is linked not only to agents' transposable and generalisable knowledge' (Stones, 2005, p. 71) but also to single and specific actions of the agent

and others. Stones outlines how consequences of actions involve both the general schemas employed by the agent but also schemas contextualised by time, space and the particular agents involved.

2.2.5.2 Criticism number three: what happened to community?

Giddens' wish to avoid the dualisms of objectivism and subjectivism produced the tightly bound duality of agency and structure realised through interaction. This makes it very difficult to see past the immediate significance of interactions in co-presence. This problem is identified by Parker (2000) where he argues that Giddens' structuration 'lacks any concepts of social structures as specific kinds of relations between collectivities' (p. 106). Therefore, interactions and routine may be meaningful but they fail to incorporate the interactions of a wider community.

The immediateness of interaction discussed by Giddens *can* omit analysis of interdependencies between agents. Though it is implicit in the dialectic of control where power, often unequally divided, can have wider implications for unseen agents, it is never fully explored. Parker states how structures only bring agents together by 'binding the time and space of interaction into more or less distanciated regions' (Parker, 2000, p. 106). As systems of 'virtual structures' only used in co-present interaction, Giddens' structures do not consider 'relations between systematically reproduced and differentiated collectivities' (ibid). Giddens under-theorises the enduring shared meaning of structures which go beyond the systematic and immediate co-present interaction. Thrift also criticises this overplay of individual agent action and feels that Giddens 'never fully considers the ghost of networked others that eventually informs that action' (Thrift, 1996, p. 54). Giddens is clear that social systems are only enacted as part of continued agent interaction and as part of daily social practice. These systems are the stage and tools which can be collectively shared and utilised. More difficult to identify are the collectively reproduced ethnic and identity structures that agents draw upon repeatedly in community interaction but which lie in the tacit, discursive and back stage knowledge of the agent. Such virtual structures (for example kinship groups, marriage traditions, religious practices, and beliefs relating to modesty, and clothing of the body) do exist as collectively reproduced frameworks but the identification and explanation of them is not to be found in structuration. Supportive additional theory allows scope to trace interactions across wider communities, particularly the ethnic minority listeners of the stations and networks between the station staff and DJs. The identification of collective agents and 'social integration in terms of relations between collectivities' (ibid) is explored further in the discussion of ethnicity and identity where Giddens' meta theory is drawn down into Karner's (2007) theories of everyday life.

2.3 Strong structuration theory (SST)

Rob Stones has been working with structuration theory for the past two decades within social and political analysis. His original use was of Giddens' abstract framework. However, over time, he has reviewed the difficulties with some concepts, the valid criticisms of other theorists and has constructed what he calls Strong Structuration Theory (2005). Some of his major concerns have been dealt with in the criticisms already covered in this chapter, particularly the issues of Giddens' underdevelopment of rules and the difficulties of theorising networks/communities of agents. He has tried to deal with these whilst retaining the core of structuration, that of the duality of structure and agency, the separation of the agent from external structures since both are theorised to exist in autonomy with structures persisting when not in 'use' and lastly the concept of the 'active agent' (Stones, 2005, p. 110).

2.3.1 Position-practice

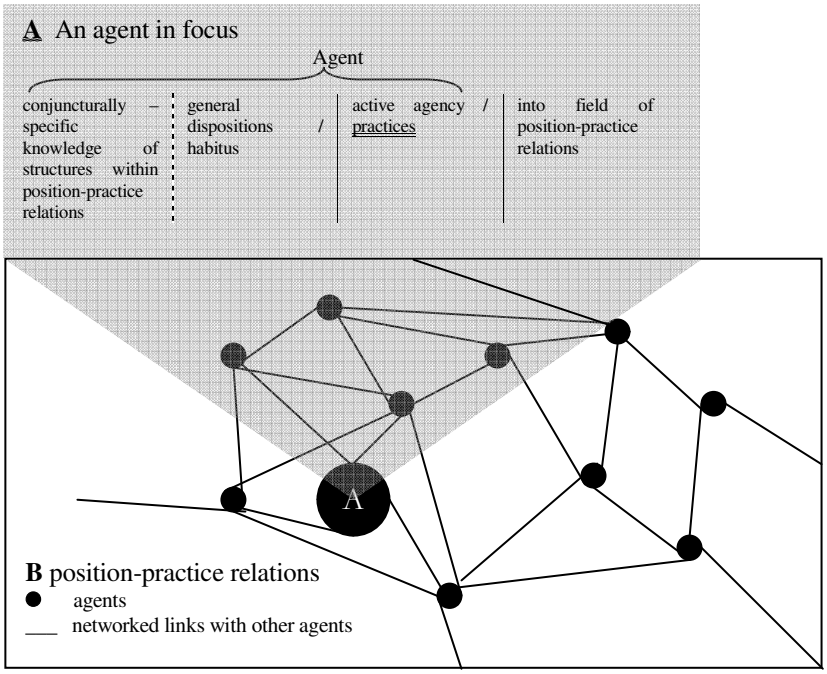
The context of structuration takes place inside what Stones calls 'position practices' (roles, positions and relationships). This is similar to Giddens' social positioning described earlier but unlike Giddens, Stones incorporates a networked analysis of agents not always in immediate co-presence which draws from Cohen (1986). The use of position-practice is to enable researchers to examine interrelationships and dependencies between clusters of agents within a particular frame of observation, in this case, the radio station and its community.

Cohen criticises the rigid institutional roles prescribed by Giddens (1976), and later Bhaskar (1979), as reified 'slots into which active agents must slip into in order to reproduce structure' (Cohen, 1989, p. 209). He feels that Giddens 'ignores the fact that agents can take, modify and abandon roles rather than necessarily acting within the roles assigned to them' (Coad and Herbert, 2009, p 179). Cohen instead proposes position-practice relations to avoid reification by theorising that roles must be continually taken up by agents in active positioning to achieve repeated practice (structure). That is not to say positions (and by implication, structures) do not cease to exist outside of use. Agents are aware that these positions 'are the outcomes of past practices' (ibid) and 'pre-exist the particular human agents that subsequently inhabit, reproduce or transform those position-practices' (Stones, 2005, p. 63). What differentiates Stones from Cohen's version of position-practice is Stones' move away from the institutional nature of roles, instead contextualising positioning within everyday life. Position-practice is the moment of structuration where agents take up these internal and external knowledge schemes, capacity for power and norms of communication in the process of meaningful interaction.

In Figure One, below, which illustrates position-practice, Agent A is placed amongst agents in immediate co-presence but also other agents within the networked structure. By taking this approach rather than focusing on fixed position roles Stones is able to trace through the actions undertaken by members of communities rather than just those agents engaged in action in the context of institutional roles and within co-presence.

This positioning takes place in physically shared as well as remote locales, at different times as well as virtually, as memories of past practices and roles played by positioned agents. These are roles such as station managers, administrators, DJs, technicians and marketing teams and also community, religious and creative figures.

Figure One: Position-practice

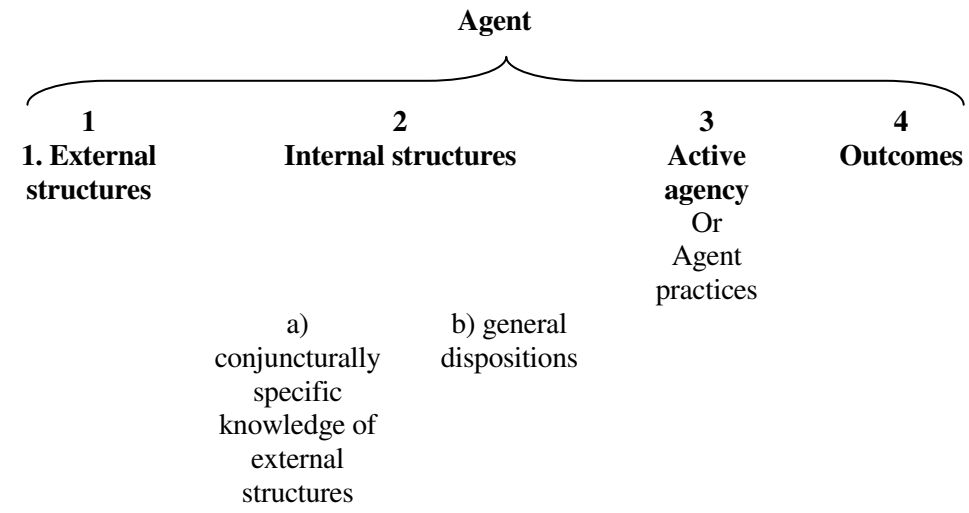


Source: Stones, 2005, p. 94

Agents engaging in action are both consciously and unconsciously drawing on the 'interpretive schemes, power capacities and the normative expectation of agents within a particular context' (Coad and Herbert, 2009, p. 179). Agents are aware of their enabled or constrained capacity for action in relation to others in the network.

The Quadripartite nature of structuration

Figure Two: The Quadripartite nature of structuration



Source: Stones, 2005, p. 85

Position-practice sets out the context of the duality of structure for which Stones proposes a 'quadripartite' version of structuration theory (Figure Two) and separates out these four steps/stages relating to the process of structuration. For this research, this is the station as medium and outcome of agent action. Three of these elements are already familiar, that of structures external to the agent, agent practice (drawing of rules and resources in action) and outcomes of such action. Breaking down internal structures into specific and general sets of knowledge enables Stones to elaborate in clearer detail the whole process.

External structures: are conditions of action and are expressed in part through position-practice. These external structures are autonomous and provide the backdrop for agent action e.g. calling upon structural rules and resources for the doing of things.

Internal structures: Stones separates the internal structure into two parts for analysis which is something Giddens alludes to but is never clear about. Agents as we know draw upon their own knowledgeability in a variety of situations. This knowledgeability can be a more 'generalised capacity to respond to and influence an indeterminate range of social circumstances' (Giddens, 1984, p. 22) but also specifically in 'circumstances of their action and that of others' (Giddens, 1984, p. 375).

Referencing the work of Mouzelis (1991) and Sewell (1992) in the virtual characteristics of rules, Stones separates these internal knowledge structures of the

agent as shown in Figure Two into 'conjuncturally specific' and 'general dispositional' knowledge. The former is the memory traces of action gained within immediate interaction but is also part of enduring knowledge about *specific* practices over time and 'refers to the notion of a role or position which has embedded within it various rules and normative expectations' (Stones, 2005, p. 89). Conjuncturally-specific knowledge is split into the three modalities used by Giddens, the knowledge of schemes, capacity for power and the accepted expectations or principles of agents.

The general dispositional structures in the agent draw upon more abstract memories of:

> *'transposable skills and dispositions including generalised world-views and cultural schemas, classifications, typifications of things, people and networks, principles of action, typified recipes of action, deep binary frameworks of signification, associative chains and connotations of discourse, habits of speech and gesture, and methodologies for adapting this generalised knowledge to a range of particular practices in particular locations in time and space'* (Stones, 2005, p. 88).

This separation of internal structures (knowledgeability) does not detract from the unconscious, practical and discursive levels of knowledge outlined by Giddens. Situational and general knowledge can be unconscious, practical or discursive. The splitting of internal structures is Stones' attempt to overcome the earlier criticism of Giddens' overemphasis on individual agency situated in the rigid sets of rules and resources. Instead he relates the internal structures to external structures of action situated in networked positions of agents. Memories and knowledge are not formed individually but always through interaction and Giddens does show this as a discursive process. What Stones demonstrates is that through defining these two internal structures and tracing these out to external active agency that 'the agent-in-focus must always be conceptualised as being caught in the ebb and flow of position-practice relations' (ibid). When agents engage in meaningful action within this networked positioning they draw on interpretative schemes of legitimation, norms and domination (power) with an understanding of their position in relation to others. Norms can be altered, power can then be employed over others but any changes in these structures can now be shown as rippling out to unseen or uninvolved others in

the network. These unseen/uninvolved others will have nothing directly to do with the immediate outcome of an individual agent's action but this positioning of shared structural use (commonly understood rules and resource use) means that power relations and knowledge of shared norms will eventually be felt by all agents.

The DJ at the radio station draws upon conjuncturally-specific knowledge of broadcast talk; it is specific to the style and identity of the station. The DJ also uses their general-dispositional knowledge of broadcast talk, calling on the structures of linking together songs, accepted periods of talk between tracks and modes of interacting with the audience. As a DJ, they are positioned not only within the structure of the station but of audience members and other DJs. Changes the DJ makes to their style and use of the rules of broadcast talk are not only heard, digested and are the subject of feedback by immediate listeners but ripple out to those uninvolved audiences and DJs through discursive interaction, the facility to 'listen again' and programme review. These changes, if they persist over time, can serve to alter the structures of broadcast talk and will be felt, adopted and altered by members of this network.

Active agency is the moment of action and is the point at which the agent recalls their own internal knowledge structures to understanding the situation at hand. It is the moment that 'conjuncturally specific internal structures provide a pivot between apparently steadfast external structures and routinely embedded dispositions' (Coad and Herbert, 2009, p. 180).

The outcome is the result of this active agency. The agent is enabled or constrained by their interaction with the structure so that the outcome is the structure being reproduced, changed through intention or changed through unconscious behaviour.

Structure has two meanings. The first is about describing patterned processes, social systems and institutions. The second refers to the use of rules and resources which are virtual and informed by memories of past/present practice. Stones keeps this separation in his model with the external being the first type of structure and therefore retaining a separateness from the agent and the internal structures reflecting the virtual 'stocks of knowledge' held by the agent.

2.4 A model fit for research

Coad and Herbert (2009) propose a refined way of demonstrating and utilising the duality of structure in research. Using position-practice and the quadripartite model of structuration in their analysis of changes to accounting practices at a large

organisation they test Stones' development of structuration. They develop their own skeletal model for using structuration which is formed from some issues they find using a purely Strong Structuration approach.

The modalities (schemes, power resources and norms) used by Giddens and Stones to describe the processes of structuration as agent knowledgeability of 'how to go on' are criticised as too vague. Instead they successfully employ the quadripartite model of structuration by incorporating agent knowledge of structure, the relative power resources available to them, meaning and norms, contextualised by the agent-in-focus's networked position and the internal knowledge of their options. This enables a more dynamic model and moves away from reified rules and roles. To achieve this without the use of modalities they suggest that agents in interaction reference their knowledge of external and internal structures but also theories of action which are available to them. The significance of this is to highlight, as it did in their study, agents' often differently held perceptions of structure and possible actions within the same environment. Changes to the structure at the moment of outcome are fluid and are shown as processes of *reproduction, learning* and *change*.

They show how agents live in the past, present and future, able to review past choices and understand their current position in relation to other agents. Agents are able to theorise the possible future outcomes of the choices they are about to make on the basis of their experiences of reproducing, learning from and changes to the structures they utilise. This is contextualised by agent awareness of the virtual and physical, internal and external rules and resources available and shaping choices to the agent in their particular position.

The reproduction of structure is always a temporal process where 'the same resourceful agency that sustains the reproduction of structures also makes possible their transformation' (Sewell, 1992, p. 27). They stress the importance of power in the process of structuration. The empowerment of action is held by the agent who can act against others within a structure because of their knowledge of their relative position to others and their access 'to human and non-human resources which gives them the capacity to reinterpret position-practices in ways other than those constituted, and to mobilise resources in a purposeful manner' (Coad and Herbert, 2009, p. 182). From this perspective they criticise Stones' quadripartite model, in the same way as Giddens, for placing too much emphasis on the nature of structuration only as events and outcomes continually feeding into the next cycle. Rather, they believe a far richer picture can be gained by focusing on the *processes* which happen to reproduce and change the structure. Coad and Herbert, in essence,

examine the content and context of agent knowledgeability that goes into the 'doing' rather than just the outcome of structure and agency. The use of knowledge of structures and theories of actions moves the examination to the processes employed by the agent and offers them 'interpretative schemes, resources and norms for fashioning a course through the social world whilst, at the same time, providing the basis for recursive interpretation of both intended and unintended consequences of action, serving to maintain, challenge and at times modify' (ibid) the structure. The knowledgeable agent is versatile and interacts not just with a single structure but with a multiplicity of structures requiring several different actions and so reproduction, learning and change has wider significance. The structures of ethnicity and identity or the structure of broadcast presentation will be utilised in other settings for action and can apply to other structures. Change to one structure can produce unintended change elsewhere.

2.5 The theoretical framework for ethnic minority radio and identity

The theoretical framework to be taken forward in this thesis is an amalgamation of the three models of structuration. These concepts are:

Agent knowledge: The understanding of practical consciousness is the centre of focus when examining the agent. Practical consciousness through observation tells the agent's 'story' of their knowledgeability which they bring to tasks at the radio station, their use of role distance and of their use of the structures of ethnicity and identity. This can be further elucidated through the agent's discursive consciousness in interview as it is the level where they are able to verbalise their knowledge about social life, interactions and their perceptions of norms of behaviour, the enablement and constraining use of power and the structures of signs they employ. Enquiry is not limited to the traditional institutional nature of Giddens' original modalities but extends to looking at the past, present and future knowledge, the processes and interplay of internal/external structure of action and the considerations of relevant agents.

Networks of agents: This takes into account the criticism of Giddens' underdeveloped use of communities and networks, and instead uses the more developed framework of position-practice used by Stones (2005) and Coad and Herbert (2009). This enables structuration to be brought into a framework for studying radio, ethnicity and identity in everyday life by examining the recursive and discursive actions of multiple agents involved at the radio stations. Using position-practice alongside concepts of time-space distanciation frames the case studies into places and periods of enquiry but also allows an examination into the effect of

actions by agents not present and the acts of the agent-in-focus to be related back out across the network. The use of position-practice is crucial to being able to trace out the relevance of agent knowledge and the structures employed at the radio station in dialogue with the communities of which the majority of staff, DJs and relevant actors are part.

Schemas: This framework also incorporates Sewell's generalised and specific schemas instead of rigid rules. As will be seen in the chapter examining identity and ethnicity, the reified nature of Giddens' rules is only part of the picture and like the fluid and situated nature of structuration so too rules must be considered to be subject to incremental or radical change depending on circumstances.

A modified quadripartite model: The use of the quadripartite model of the duality of structure enables the researcher to study the structures external to the agent which the agent calls upon, combined with their internal situationally specific and general knowledge, to form the basis of recursive and communicative action. This both reproduces or alters structure as intended or unintended outcomes and similarly alters the internal structures of the agents. This framework becomes something which looks at the *processes* rather than outcomes and acknowledges the fluid nature of the agent as well as external conditions. The study will examine an agent's use of structures and theories of action in processes to produce reproduction, learning and change. This highlights the interplay between the external structures of the station, the practice of broadcasting, the programmes and products of broadcasting and agent action. It also considers the general disposition and conjuncturally-specific structures internal to the agent. These constitute the agent's world view and identity along with those structures involved in broadcasting which are set in the context of their position with regards to networked others. These structures are examined in the expression of an agent's unconscious, practical and discursive actions in the context of shared understandings, cultural rules, broadcasting conventions and community structures.

2.6 Conclusion

This is a study which seeks to understand everyday processes of broadcasting, ethnicity and identity within media organisations rather than from the usual perspective of media messages and audiences. It demands a theoretical framework that can strike a balance between fluid daily interactions and guiding schemas that order such meaning and action. Structuration theory, previously unused in this field of research, has the potential to support the analysis of such fine-grained processes. This chapter has examined the development and potential uses of structuration theory conceived by Giddens, its flaws, strengths and helpful modifications that enable it to

provide the theoretical backdrop for the study. A refined version of structuration is shown to be able to elucidate the delicate interplay between knowledgeable agents and the structures called on in daily interaction. This balance, offered by structuration, enables the study to examine the processes that go on within the radio stations that reproduce the structures of broadcasting, ethnicity and identity.

The central concepts (networks of agents, schemas, agent knowledge and the modified quadripartite model) of structuration form the basis of the theoretical model shown at 4.9. These central concepts are surrounded by the structures of ethnicity, identity and radio as processes. A methodology for this theoretical framework is provided once the areas of ethnicity, identity and radio theory are examined. Each of these topics, to be studied within the phenomenological context of everyday life actions, will further strengthen this adapted version of structuration theory. The methodology provides for how strong structuration is used to examine the steps from the general disposition of the agent through to eventual action.

C h a p t e r 3

THEORISING ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY

3 Ethnicity and identity

3.1 Introduction

One of the aims of this research is to examine the roles that ethnicity and identity play within the day-to-day lives of those at the radio stations. In this chapter the concepts of identity, race and ethnicity are examined alongside how reification and fluidity affects their use. Second, there is an examination of ethnicity and how it is employed differently within a range of studies. This chapter brings together elements of structuration theory with an examination of ethnicity and everyday life, through looking at the use and relevance of the fixedness and fluidity of ethnicity and identity. Lastly, the chapter highlights Karner's (2007) work on ethnicity that summarises theoretical links between structuration and identity. Though many of the concepts are outside the realm of radio studies, the chapter is written from a perspective which places ethnicity within the heart of a mediated society.

The concept of ethnicity potentially serves several purposes for the station. It is part of the definition of the station and will appear as part of the format or community of interest in its licence. The demonstration of ethnicity through the station's branding and publicity indicates the type of audience the station seeks to serve, a sort of unique selling point. It also defines its identity through shared meaning and how it is seen by others. Lastly, ethnicity is a concept which those involved with and broadcasting on the station (audiences, advertisers, guests etc) embody in their daily activities and encounters. That is to say, ethnicity is a mode of self expression which is an individually expressed part of someone's identity or becomes part of a shared greater whole, part of a community. The process of self-expression in dialogue with others authenticates the self.

3.2 Identity, radio and shared narratives

Giddens considers the media in the context of the development of identity where 'all individuals actively, although by no means always in a conscious way, selectively incorporate many elements of mediated experience into their day-to-day conduct' (Giddens, 1991, p. 188). This is never a random or passive process rather one where 'the appropriation of mediated information follows pre-established habits' (ibid) and listeners seek consonance rather than dissonance with their inner beliefs. Identity is shown to be a 'dual articulation' through the DJ where 'they make use of recurrent

devices for reiterating the identity of the station, the programme and the presenter… and his or her identity is mediated very largely through talk' (Scannell, 1996, p. 118). This reciprocal process, the linking of structure and agent action runs through much of this literature review and is the core concept of structuration theory.

Many theorists have attempted to address the modern pressures of society, the heightened pace of life and the changing notion of identity formation (Giddens, 1991, Castells, 1997, Bauman, 1997). Zygmunt Bauman's vision of this is a 'liquid modernity' where identity has become a slippery, highly situational concept that is almost impossible to grasp and describe.

Giddens posits that modernity has meant the move away from traditional lives with fewer variables to a setting where identity is 'reconstituted in terms of the dialectical interplay of the local and the global…individuals are forced to negotiate lifestyle choices among a diversity of options' (Giddens, 1991, p.5). The lessening of the historical senses of duty and authority that familial networks implied contributes to this dispersed way of living, far from these traditional family structures. Instead, modernity is illustrated through the 'pure relationship' whereby we give preference to the development and maintenance of relationships which have more personal and self-nourishing meaning, or interest in a 'quest for emotional satisfaction rather than cultural expectations and norms' (Karner, 2007, p. 42).

The rise of new technologies provides instantaneous communication and also the possibility to present different facets of the self on a variety of separate 'stages'; this supports Bauman's vision of modernity. However, modernity is often more personally and visually demonstrated; there is now a greater emphasis on the body as a source of self-definition. Giddens describes this awareness and the personal playing out of 'life politics' the concentration on lifestyle as an:

> *'awareness of the reflexive constitution of modern social activity and the implications it has for her or his life. Self-identity for us forms a trajectory across the different institutional settings of modernity over the durée of…the 'life cycle'…Each of us not only 'has', but lives a biography reflexively organised in terms of …possible ways of life.*

> *Modernity is a post-traditional order, in which the question, 'How shall I live?' has to be answered in day-to-day decisions about how to behave, what to wear and what to eat – and many other things – as well as interpreted within the temporal unfolding of self-identity'* (Giddens, 1991, p. 14).

This self-biography is defined by reflexivity, the act of self-reference and feedback; it is the ability to 'reflexively understand the self and is in the ability to keep the narrative going' (Moores, 2005, p. 143). This implies the formation of self as part of a dialogue because an 'individual's biography, if she is to maintain regular interaction with others in the day-to-day world, cannot be wholly fictive. It must continually integrate events which occur in the external world, and sort them into the ongoing story about the self' (Giddens, 1991, p. 54). Thompson concurs in his study of the self through a mediated world where 'like symbolic materials exchanged through face-to-face interaction, mediated materials can be incorporated into the process of self-formation; increasingly the self becomes organised as a reflexive project through which the individual incorporates mediated materials (among others) into a coherent and continuously revised biographical narrative' (Thompson, 1995, p. 212). This storied identity forms part of a presenter's mediated self, a dialogue with the listeners through language, music and programme content where it then becomes something expressed as a collective understanding. These identities are played out in a continual narrative and are what Giddens refers to as 'life paths' (1991).

This understanding, or what Moores refers to as 'cultural competences' (2005) requires both the listener and the DJ to achieve the shared comprehension of the narrative which is taking place. It assumes the listener is 'capacity built' in a similar sense as the broadcaster. That is to say, the listener possesses similar cultural competences as the DJ so they are able to share a depth of understanding not superficially achieved. Issues of identity are often subtly expressed where those equipped with a shared background or cross cultural understanding will notice certain phrases, turn of words, the meaning of the music being played. Taylor, whose work on multiculturalism is later discussed, concurs with Giddens and Moores on the dialogic nature of shared expression. Using language as an example covering the words we speak but also the nature with which they are spoken, Taylor shows that the act of self-expression is not developed alone but 'through exchanges with others…we are introduced to them through interaction with others who matter to us' (Taylor, 1994, p. 32).

The major criticism levelled at the fluid and situational nature of identity is that empirical research becomes impossible when moments of a clear identity are so transient. Rooting these discussions in the context of mediated interaction helps to provide some (fleeting) context. The literature demonstrates identity to be a dialogic and like Giddens' discussion of structure, identity is re-imagined continually at the discursive level. It is here that observational research can take place by examining the language used, referencing the repeated, shared cultural competences and examining the use of the broadcaster's body as a stage for self-definition and interaction.

3.3 Race

The concept of 'race' which was conceived in the Western world is a troubled set of ideas which has been highly contested. Its validity was based on the categorisation of physical characteristics but the concept has been widely shown to be wildly variable and socially constructed. That is not to deny its importance, in particular the way racism and racist attitudes have done much to alter and damage society. In some societies, such as America, where identity politics have played a major role in a nation's development, race and ethnicity are *almost* interchangeable terms. Race very much represents the polarisation of political and social rights between the white and non-white US citizens that formed the backdrop of the campaign for race equality. Ethnicity has appeared much later in the debate with migration serving as a tempering term. As nation state borders become less relevant, who represents an 'ethnic minority' in changing patterns of migration is more openly perceived.

Glasgow summarises the difficulty with the continuing use of race in research when 'race is supposed to have at least a partly biological referent, then that reconstructed wholly social discourse won't be talking about race at all. It will be talking about something else' (2009, p. 139) in which case, a different term is needed. Later, he proposes 'racial reconstructionism' which retains groupings (for now), the use of 'black', 'white', 'Asian' and so on but with 'racial reconstructionism' he intends 'only to refer to social kinds and…get rid of any conceptual implication that there are even partially biological races' (ibid). In Britain the Equality Chief at the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), Trevor Phillips, as recently as 2005 proclaimed that the 'UK was sleepwalking into segregation' (Guardian, 2005) and he based this on racial lines. Whether or not this is reality, it shows that whilst 'race' might be modified it is difficult to dispense with the derogatory biological determinism that lends it such a heavy ideological burden.

The portrayal of young black men as often problematic and disassociated from mainstream society has the effect of stereotyping an imagined 'group' of people and makes it difficult for any young black man to break out of the confines of this static portrayal. Malik demonstrates this latent racism through commonly asked questions such as 'why do black boys do so badly?' (Malik, 2007). The more thoughtful and honest question would be 'why do boys from poor backgrounds of whatever race, ethnicity or faith do so badly?' (ibid) Racism in this scenario shapes the future of many young Bangladeshis and African Caribbeans when race, culture and religion are used as easy excuses by policy makers for poor performance.

So undoubtedly the concept of 'race' has use for discussing the realities of racism which continues in parts of British society. Finney and Simpson accept the use of 'race' on this basis in their examination of segregation where 'race' is used to make discriminatory (racist) distinctions based on a number of characteristics or 'to refer to socially significant difference associated with migration, origin and colour as in Black or Asian' (2009, p. 15). However, race is a set of ideas which have been most commonly and 'variously used to condone inequality, injustice, exploitation, oppression, dehumanization and genocide' (Karner, 2007, p. 16) and for these reasons has been left aside for the research unless it has bearing for two reasons. The first is when it is a term owned by an interviewee. Secondly, 'race' is a structure of 'rules, laws and regulations' (Karner, 2007, p. 39) which we know in structuration create constraint as well as enablement. The structure of 'race' is bound up as a fluid process, it is part of dailiness and cyclicity 'because structures and ideologies do not exist outside the everyday practices through which they are created and confirmed' (Essed, 1991, p. 43-44). This backlash against the use of 'race' as false and deterministic requires an examination of the potential for ethnicity to describe everyday life and the scenarios agents partake in.

3.4 Ethnicity

The term 'ethnicity' is often interchanged with 'race', however it has broader scope. It concerns people who believe they have a shared background, identity and memories. Finney and Simpson provide a 'definition' when they say:

> *'ethnicity usually refers to self-adopted identity based on a mixture of physical attributes, birthplace, legal status (nationality), but also and in particular on family origins, beliefs (including religion) and practices (language and culture)'* (2009).

Crucially, ethnicity is not about an *actual* shared 'common ancestry but that they believe that they have and share common memories and on that basis claim a common identity' (Pilkington, 2003, p. 18). Mason agrees, arguing that the term 'ethnicity' 'avoids biological determinism and identifies groups primarily in terms of the self-definition of their members' (Mason, 1995, p. 13).

Terms such as reification, essentialism and fluidity are widely used in identity and ethnicity studies. Essentialism, or reification, is the process of making concrete a person, aspect of some culture or personal characteristic. It is when the definition becomes fixed, a set of identifiable and shared 'rules' to be recalled and reproduced but never changed.

An example might be the Bollywood genre: through reification, we expect a film to have a male and female lead and they will go through the arduous process of finding love. The narrative will incorporate choreographed dancers and at some point, a secondary character will lose their life in the most dramatic fashion. We expect this because these are some of the 'rules' which are associated with the Bollywood genre, these 'rules' are a combination of audience expectation and the formula writers feel will garner most viewers. There is nothing wrong with the use and enjoyment of these rules; they serve to help audiences make sense of and enjoy these narratives. Transferring this thinking to ethnicity and ethnic groupings, the ordering and association of cultures, behaviours and preferences serves two purposes. First it helps to mobilise some real and imagined groups of people who face racial discrimination and difficulties within society. Secondly some form of reification helps to arrange and make sense of people around us, those we relate to and those we do not. It is human nature to seek similar people to ourselves, the use of characteristics, wide as they are with ethnicity are ways this is achieved.

While 'race' can be reassuringly certain in its definitions, the everyday lived experienced of ethnicity offers the opposite. It is slippery, non committal and difficult to grasp. Baumann (1999) exhibits the same vagueness in pinning down the fluidity of identity in his examination of ethnicity as part of his analysis of multiculturalism. However, his analysis offers a solution through the examination of the rise of identity politics and inequality. This means that the reification of ethnicity is very much required and in everyday life, can actually be helpful.

3.4.1 Baumann's issues with reification

Culture is the subject of much of Baumann's work in studying the Pakistani communities of Southall, London (1996) and, later, multiculturalism (1999) more

generally. He unpacks the meaning of culture through religion, ethnicity and nation in understanding the process of reification. This is when elements of culture, seen as a fluid process, become fixed and separated. Culture is situated in the often mundane interactions of daily life and Baumann describes this fluidity of ethnicity, nation and religion as moving 'across one another to form an ever-changing pattern of what may be called 'cross-cutting cleavages' (Baumann 1999, p. 84).

Nation and nationhood have been expressed as a single identity, for example Britishness, yet late modernity brings with it fragmentation of this shared single experience much in the same way that identity was discussed earlier. The borders a nation relies on have become permeable through globalisation, travel, media fragmentation and instantaneous communication, so the concept of nation is threatened. Exploring ethnicity, Baumann argues that we are born and embody or reject an ethnicity throughout our lives. This ethnicity is expressed through dress, language, locale and customs. When taken out of the context of the person, these reference points form the basis of continued dialogues and become reified. In this context, Baumann examines how those of the Hindu, Sikh and Muslim religions in the UK were victim to quite vicious race hate and violence in the UK during the last few decades. Such reification for political and social reasons meant overly emphasised elements of say, an 'Indian' identity, caused fragmentation and 'Indianness' ceases to be such a complex and 'cross cutting' identity. As such, Bauman rejects this reified identity and sees falsity when nation, ethnicity or religion is extrapolated and proffered as the truest single form of the self.

The opposing view is offered by Charles Taylor where, in the Politics of Recognition (1994) he strongly argues for the recognition of minority culture. So insistent is his argument that he neglects the inherent inequalities coming from either the highlighting of particularistic difference or total non-discrimination. For him, the preservation of culture is integral to the healthy functioning of a society that, without identifiable and recognised identities, begins to fragment and break down. It is a particular trait of multiculturalism to emphasise the preservation and separation of identities. Membership of one of these identities means acknowledging and being part of the rule structure that defines that identity. However 'attempts to accommodate difference within a presumed homogenous national culture often reveals asymmetries of power whereby the hegemonic subsumes the non-hegemonic, the minority and the sub-altern' (Haridranah in Bailey, Georgiou et al, 2007, p. 144) or simply that some cultures are recognized more than others.

Taylor demonstrates his theory through his positive analysis of the Québec policy of mandating the use of French as the primary language. This is deemed to be the correct approach to preserving the integrity of the Canadian French identity. Québec is 'making sure that there is a community of people here in the future that will want to avail itself of the opportunity to use the French language' (1994, p.58). However, once a government starts to 'make sure' then there will be an active resistance to this essentialism and the guaranteeing of a slow decline of this 'culture' as it becomes less relevant or related to the rest of society. Appiah agrees and sees that part of the change process is when people 'actively resist being fully integrated into a group…integration can sound like regulation, even restraint' (Appiah, 2005) so that Taylor's highlighting of difference can lead to a reduced liberty and encourages conformity. Malik concurs in his appraisal of culture and identity and summarises this discussion when he says:

> *'To say no human can live outside of culture is not to say that they have to live inside a particular one. Nor is it to say that particular cultures must be fixed or eternal.*
>
> *To view humans as culture-bearing is to view them as social beings and hence as transformative beings. It suggests that humans have the capacity for change, for progress and for the creation of universal moral and political forms through reason and dialogue. To view humans as having to bear specific cultures is, on the contrary, to deny such a capacity for transformation'* (Malik, 2008, p. 177).

In the midst of this dissention with how reification and difference are treated, Baumann is not so contentious as to write off these static elements of culture. Just as someone moves between fluid, situated identities depending on the context within which they are presenting themselves, much in the same way that Goffman (1959) treats front and performance, so there will be times when the reified version of culture, such as Bollywood, is useful. As has been explored, the very nature of its reification means it is conceptually more graspable, a way of explaining who you are. At times of adversity, when as Giddens would say, someone's internal security is threatened, the presentation of a certain aspect of identity is brought to the fore as protection.

Elizabeth Poole demonstrates this in her examination of the media's portrayal of Muslim identities in the UK. She shows what happens to ethnicity/identity in the face of discrimination when media discourse amplifies and reifies a single aspect of a cultural identity. She sees all identities *aside* from Muslim ones as occupying many spaces. Instead of the 'cross cutting cleavages' of identity 'for Muslims there was more evidence that their real lived experience of an intercultural existence, disadvantage and marginalization alongside cultural rejection has resulted in a disaffection for which the solution is a *reassertion* of religious identity' (2002, p. 81, my italics). Similarly, Jones has written about black and white reggae culture and observed young Afro-Caribbean - but mainly British - born young men who sought refuge in a reified identity during the 1970's developed when faced with racism and a growing sense of political activism, sparked by movements in the US and Africa. This voluntary homogenisation of a black identity was partly expressed in the 'widespread adoption...of a generalized form of Creole language or 'patois'' which was 'reinvested with political meaning and used as a key weapon of cultural resistance' (Jones, 1988, p. 41).

The media's assertion of particular characteristics for a group has 'resulted in imagined communities where global religious identification overrides local national interests' (ibid). Gilroy agrees that in a globalised mediated world social uncertainty has equated to a greater prominence of nationalism. This has resulted in the defence of excluding some groups and instead 'fixed, essentialist, pure identities have been manufactured to provide ethnic certainties' (Gilroy, 1997). Such arguments start to make ethnicity as reified and conceptually difficult as 'race'.

The reality is that 'all identities are multilayered, particularly through processes of translation, identity shifts according to the way subjects are addressed' (Hall, 1992). So, if the emphasis placed upon an imagined group is one of negativity, it is unsurprising if an element of 'their' culture is picked out and exploited for empowerment.

The middle ground occupied by the idea of the hybrid identity is also problematic as it assumes the co-existence of two ethnic identities; again, these identities are made concrete, taken out of the dialogic reality within which identity exists. Though hybridity is a step forward; seeing someone as occupying more than one identity, it is still a restricted perspective. It only describes someone as 'African-American' or 'British-Asian' when that someone would be able to describe themselves in ways that sit outside the boundaries of a dual identity. Pilkington sees the only use for a

hybrid concept is when there are 'deliberate attempts to draw on different cultures in order to challenge conventional boundaries' (Pilkington, 2003, p. 204).

3.4.2 Ethnic minority media and identity

There have been several recent studies on parts of the ethnic minority media sector undertaken in Britain. Most have focused on diaspora media in and around the London area. Roza Tsagarousianou's study of London's South Asian and Greek Cypriot communities shows audiences able to negotiate different languages and transnational content. Such sophisticated listening/viewing means audiences reject 'conditions of other-determination, whereby assumptions and decisions regarding their identities, loyalties and rights are made by external cultural and political centres, situated in their so called 'countries of origin'' (Tsagarousianou in Ross and Paydon, 2001, p. 30). Audiences are neither aligned to their 'home' media nor the mainstream and instead creatively mediate an identity which articulates 'discourses of difference and particularity, integration and membership not so much of the transnational cultural milieux...but on fairly well grounded contexts of meaning and interaction' (ibid). This rejects the commonly held opinion that minority audiences are bound to an identity that never leaves 'home'. Instead, her research shows the utility of 'transnational media flows, as well as local media products, as resources in the construction of their everyday lives' (Wood, 2001, p. 19).

Hourigan's study of the growth of minority language media studies rejects Castells (1997) belief that this is 'evidence of the growing influence of 'identities of resistance' (in Cormack, 2007, p. 263) where audiences turn away from globalization and every cultural change it implies. Instead, minority language communities have 'created their own public spheres where cultural identities can be cherished and celebrated…these services have resulted in a modernization that has new associations between their cultures and images of youth, glamour and modernity' (ibid) . This shows an interest in using the media to address a changing and challenged minority group identity.

Another example of identity construction through media use is a study undertaken by De Leeuw and Rydin on common practices of media use in diasporic communities. They focused on the role of the family in 'mediating between past and present, becoming a site for negotiating identities as different generations each in their own way struggle with the obvious tensions between the 'old' and the 'new' world' (De Leeuw et al, 2004).

Later research examined the use of national and international media, radio, television and the internet employed in the process of identity (re)construction. They found that the use of this wide range of media enabled minority audiences to 'keep up with the past and to connect to a new future where new narratives are developing consisting of different stories told through the media'. Media use is not a separate process but integrated into daily social activity where first, 'favourable and safe conditions have to be created in order to attain such a sense of 'togetherness' in the new homeland' (De Leeuw & Rydin in Bailey, 2007, p.192). Once this occurs, the media enables openness and honesty within the community, much in the way elucidated by Hourigan.

3.5 Everyday life

These discussions have shown how problematic both the fluidity of ethnicity and the reification of a part of one's culture can be. It is helpful to move away from the politics of identity to a perspective that views ethnicity at the heart of everyday life. Academics such as David Hollinger have written about the possibilities of a post-ethnic future where race is a distant memory. This perspective 'denies neither history nor biology, nor the need for affiliations, but it does deny that history and biology provide a set of clear orders for the affiliations we are to make' (1995, p. 13).

This chapter has incorporated the concept of identity experienced in 'everyday life' and, indeed, a lot of structuration theory is about analysing the meaning for macro and micro life in everyday events. However, what does 'everyday life' mean? Karner gives a good description when he writes 'everyday life, we may suggest, comprises people's regular activities and routine practices, the often taken-for-granted cultural fabric of their lives, daily rituals as well as life-cycle events, the organisation of family life and domestic space, food, language and other signifying practices as much as educational and occupational biographies' (2007, p. 35-6). David Morgan shows that the everyday involves the social meaning of major life events such as birth, death and so on but also 'the regular, the repeated, the routine, the familiar, the quotidian, the banal, even the boring' (2003, p. 37-8). This is why the method of observation is particularly relevant to the study of everyday life which has been shown in the discussion on the fluidity of identity.

3.5.1 Ethnicity, group identity and everyday life

Whilst Giddens writes cohesively about structure and identity, he does not properly explore the subject of group identity. There is thus a theoretical vacuum between the actions of the agent and the greater social structure. Karner explores socially constructed identities, and highlights two approaches to theorising this. The first is

the instrumentalist conceptualisation (e.g. Cohen, 1969) which says that ethnicity is a self created tool to achieve political and economic aims much in the same way that 'race' has been discussed earlier.

The other (favoured) approach called the situational/circumstantial model is employed by theorists such as Miri Song (2006). This is self explanatory: ethnic identity changes depending on the social situation the person finds themselves in so she makes connections between the individual and a more constitutive whole. The community comprises a complex set of strategies and practices which are made real in shared practices and traditions; things that carry on through their continual re-enactment. Like identity and in agreement with Baumann (1999), 'no group's culture is static or unidimensional; rather, it is always contested and in flux' (Song, 2003, p. 42). This flux is created because of the actions of individuals (knowledgeable, capable) who are able to 'actively negotiate their…ethnic identities in relation to both insiders and outsiders in a multitude of contexts. Within limits, minority individuals can contest the meaning of a particular identity including the terms of…group membership.' (ibid).

Song also reflects on the designated 'markers' related to a 'legitimate' ethnicity, in particular, the problems with an emphasis on ancestral past. She believes new work should pursue an 'insistence upon the present, and the changeability of identity formations through time – for example, over one's lifetime, and the different geographical spaces and contexts – despite the often long shadow of the past' (Song, 2003, p. 17). Song is one of the few researchers of ethnicity who calls upon the multidisciplinary approach employed by Giddens in her examination of the importance of life paths of the individual and as part of a group identity.

Several writers see group identity as a shifting past, future and a re-imagining of the storied collective in a non-geographical reality. Pilkington drawing on Anderson's notion of 'imagined communities' (1983) describes the storied collective as 'imagined because members will never know most of their fellow members, meet them or even hear of them' (Pilkington, 2003, p. 19). Yet these groups, built on strong shared memories and their distinctiveness forms real parts of society, communities within communities. Hall locates these communities with more tangible configurations of 'densely overlapping, intersecting variables such as: residence; location; shared place and cultural background of origin; shared relative social and economic deprivation; similarity of position in the social structure in terms of access to goods, wealth and opportunities, real and symbolic' (Hall, 2001, p. 5).

The fluid/static dimensions of ethnicity in everyday life are demonstrated in popular culture. Music genres are blended, new styles develop; music becomes a representation of the dialogues and re-imaginings identity goes through. This dialogic process is enacted not just between those artists of wildly different identities but also through collaboration and feedback between audience and producers. Indeed, this is a blurred process as the space between producers and listeners becomes closer with new technology.

In the UK, trip-hop, bhangra and garage musical genres are obvious examples. Yet dialogues between groups can also produce fixedness of an identity, a static, clear definition of what it is to be part of a group, however momentarily. As we have seen, young Caribbean men arguably took this line when faced with racism, focusing their identity by drawing on Rastafarian ideals during the 1970's. So conversely, music can represent the strength and associated group memories of an ethnic minority community. Recalling the discussion on racism earlier, Pilkington describes how prejudice and inequality can lead to 'an essentialist conception of Blackness, according to which Black people are construed as having one fixed identity which entails that they are essentially different from white people' (Pilkington, 2003, p. 205). Jones's study of black culture and white identity shows how elements of culture are shared and appropriated. The lyrics and styles found within reggae music provided a source for words and stylistic expression. Radio served a major role by hosting DJs whose language has been adopted by many young white men such as 'Creole lexical items and grammatical features…forming part of a generalized multiracial local vernacular spoken by young blacks and whites alike' (Jones, 1988, p. 148).

We combine both elements of the discussion about the fluidity of identity and ethnicity to look at the re-imagining of the self in everyday life examined through the cross cutting nature of culture (radio). This links with Giddens view of how society operates where culture is, to borrow Giddens, a 'duality' or a 'dual discursive' construction. Baumann also shows how its (culture, ethnicity, identity) is two things at once; first they are 'the conservative 're'-construction of a reified essence, at one moment, and the path finding new construction of a processual agency at the next moment. It vacillates between the two poles, and therein lies the sophistication and dialectical beauty of the concept' (Baumann, 1999, p. 95). That is, culture, ethnicity and identity are a duality of both reification and fluidity.

The processual duality or dual discursive construction of culture expressed through the medium of radio is best summarised in Hendy's discussion on the relationship between broadcasters and audiences:

> *'Culture is not the content of a message which follows a linear path through production and consumption; it does not force an entry into people's lives, but is a material constructed by a constant process of iteration between all actors'* (Hendy in Hennion & Meadel, 2000, p. 145).

Identity is fluid, it is a continuing story expressed through mediated experiences. It is located in the dialogue of radio talk and the interactions with agents of the stations. Agents are not tied to one setting within the station nor through interactions with others. Their ethnicity is situated in the everyday actions where 'the individual carries a portfolio of ethnic identities that are more or less salient in various situations and vis-à-vis various audiences. As audiences change, the socially-defined array of ethnic choices opens to the individual changes' (Nagel, 1994, p. 154).

3.5.2 Structures of seeing, feeling and action

This chapter concludes by highlighting the importance of Karner's (2007) focus on structures, choice and agency. It is central to his work on theorising ethnicity and brings together the preceding literature and synthesises it with structuration. Karner takes a similar approach to Baumann in ultimately seeing ethnicity as processual but takes a more reflective approach. Ethnicity is seen through three different theoretical lenses, those of seeing, feeling and action. These take the principal of structuration theory, of a duality between agency and structure, where ethnicity comprises different structures reproduced in action. These structures also conceptualise ways of seeing the world and the structures of emotion and feeling. This triad is reinforced by a separate but similar model developed by Martin and Nakayama (2007) and utilised by Matsaganis *et al*. (2011, p. 71) which refers to the dimensions of behaviour, cognitive and affective ethnicity. These dimensions are spherical and overlap demonstrating their mutual importance for elucidating ethnicity.

Structures of seeing concern the ways in which someone interprets the positions they allocate to themselves and others in their cognitive 'maps' of the social world' (Karner, 2007, p. 32). This positioning of the self in relation to others reflects Martin and Nakayama's 'cognitive dimension' where agents possess the 'necessary cultural knowledge associated with that identity, which might include traditions, customs and

values' (2011, p. 71). This process of explanatory 'seeing' is brought about as myth making, religious narratives and beliefs that together reproduce a continuing storied history of community. The 'cognitive dimension' is reflected in the work of Brubaker *et al.* (2004) who show ethnicity to be two cognitive processes. First, it is about sense making and classification between an 'us' and 'them' however crude it can sometimes be. This positioning and boundary making, whether self created or imposed, 'make the natural and social worlds intelligible, interpretable, communicable…without them, the world would be a "blooming, buzzing confusion"; experience and action as we know them would be impossible' (Brubaker *et al.* 2004, p. 38). Secondly, unlike the usually reified categories of stereotyping that mark out forms of hierarchy, classification involves more than the simple ordering of an agents' social world. Brubaker *et al*. also draw on the concept of rules and schemas for showing how structures of seeing 'guide perception and recall, interpret experience, generate inferences and expectations, and organise action' (ibid, p. 41). So, whilst structures of seeing are processes functioning at a practical and non-reflexive level, 'people are capable of bringing them to the forefront of their consciousness, of critically interrogating and revising them' (Karner, 2007, p. 33). Unlike categorisation and stereotypes, structures of seeing offer the potential for the same agency and constraint found in structuration. Such structures are found in the narratives of the agents involved at the radio station, their perceptions of their position in relation to others within their communities and their expressions of ordering that they ascribe to their social world also occupied by the station. However, these are processes to be continually revised and reinterpreted.

Structures of feeling shows ethnicity to be 'deeply embedded in our biographies, rooted in our memories and hence often emotionally charged…is ethnicity not also about the most familiar experiences and practices that clothe people's (early) lives, about sounds, sights, and smells that surround us, become familiar, and will trigger memories whenever encountered again?' (Karner, 2007, p. 34). Structures of feeling relate most closely to the life narrative continually developed that comprises an agent's general-disposition (Stones, 2007) and which under-pins their situated actions. These actions are not only born from 'customs, values, norms and traditions of the social groups to which we feel we belong' (Brah, 1996, p. 17) but are drawn from the 'whole spectrum of experiences, modes of thinking, feeling and behaving' (ibid). Structures of feeling, as Williams also shows, account for the thinking, behaviour and emotion behind ethnicity, the 'meanings and values as they are most actively lived and felt…characteristic elements of impulse, restraint and tone…practical conscious of a present kind, in a living and inter-relating continuity'

(Williams, 1977, p. 131). Similarly, in Martin and Nakayama's model, the 'affective dimension' 'refers to feelings of belonging to a particular ethnic group, and to identifying with its history and current concerns' (2011, p. 71). For the study these structures are to be found in the expressed emotions, observed behaviours and vocalised thoughts of agents within the stations.

Structures of action in particular reflect the heart of structuration theory and bring together the structures of feeling and seeing. In theorising ethnicity as a 'structure of action', Karner concentrates on the rules and resources of structuration to describe ethnicity as part of the toolkit of structures which the agent calls upon and is also constrained by. Structures of action mirror Martin and Nakayama's 'behavioural dimension' (ibid) as the performance, in everyday life, of shared cultural tenets that are reflected across the group as shared norms, or schemas. This rule use is passed down through familial relationships, peers and through and older members of the ethnic group. Such rules and resources are 'mobilised by many actors in sustaining a sense of familiarity (or ontological security) *and* the social structures they reproduce in enacting those rules and resources' (Karner, 2007, p.29). Like the duality of structure, these structures/dimensions are inter-related but also mutually reinforce each other. The inner sense of the self is created and maintained through situated dialogues with those around the agent. It is structured by the various sets of rules and resources regularly called upon to position oneself on the 'cognitive map' in relation to a group, family and others. An example of the structures of action and the meaning of ethnicity in everyday life is outlined by Karner with the following:

> *'we merely need to think of the rules defining religious observance, permissible and prohibited types of food and drink, the origination of time and space, prescriptions concerning bodily posture and control, ideals of how to live life virtuously, concepts of shame and honour, or strong cultural expectations as to whom one should or should not marry.*
>
> *These and other examples demonstrate the impact of ethnicity on both everyday life and life-cycle events – the special occasions or rites of passage, marking a person's transition from one social role to another.'* (2007, p. 29).

3.6 Conclusion

This final quotation brings together the approach to ethnicity and identity to be taken forward in the research. The project of the self, life narratives, the fluidity and reification of ethnicity and identity are all important ways of examining the use of ethnicity by the DJs and staff at the chosen radio stations in this project.

The concepts discussed are ordered through the use of Karner's structures (legacies of past practice) of feeling, seeing and action, in the analysis of interactions at the radio station and between the staff and their listening communities. Karner's processual approach, and Martin and Nakayama's dimensions, are the primary contextual structures incorporated into the theoretical model shown in section 4.9. They provide the internal and external contexts of action utilised by the networks (communities) of agents in everyday life. They also provide the contextual structures of action and communication within the radio stations. These structures enable the framework to incorporate the importance of *both* reified and fluid ethnicities set in the context of everyday, repeated and reflexive behaviour by knowledgeable agents.

C h a p t e r 4

THEORISING RADIO

4 Radio and everyday life

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this final chapter outlining the theoretical framework of this thesis is to bring the elements of structuration and identity theory towards a set of tools with which to analyse the programmes produced by the radio stations and to understand the uses of radio broadcasting utilised by the presenters. To achieve this, the work of Paddy Scannell, Shaun Moores and David Hendy in particular is explored. All three theorists share a common approach to studying radio and everyday life, sometimes from a phenomenological perspective and usually incorporating the work of Giddens' structuration or his later work on identity and the self. Scannell's ideas draw inspiration from many of Giddens' perspectives about the recursive nature of interactions between agents which also has relevance to the construct of the self through narrative. The other major connection between Scannell and Giddens is their use of Goffman (1959, 1991) and Garfinkel's (1967, 1986) work on the performance practice of agents in interaction which Scannell relates to the performance of radio DJs. All these theorists ideas are set in the context of listening to and producing radio output. Shaun Moores's recent work has sought to broaden the field of media theory and whilst he uses many of Scannell's themes he also draws heavily on the guiding principles of Giddens' multi-disciplinary approach to explore critically the meaning of peripheral sociological themes of the media.

4.1 Dailiness and routine

Dailiness is a concept used by both Giddens and Scannell in much the same way, namely to discuss the meaning of reciprocal and patterned activity. They both draw on Heidegger's Being and Time (1962) and his exploration of 'dasein', meaning 'human being' or 'human life', past, present and future. For radio, the institutional, routine ordering of broadcasting produces a daily and everyday service that 'is ready-to-hand' (Scannell, 1996, p. 145). When Heidegger discusses the hammer as a human produced object that is there to hand, Scannell equates this to radio which is 'meaningfully available' (ibid) to anyone with the skills and knowledge to use it. Radio and its associated equipment relates to Giddens' allocative resources which require the authoritative resources employed by an agent to be effectively used. These objects are unremarkable and are used on a daily basis without great event.

Dailiness serves two purposes, both within station activity and as a means to examine the meaning of a radio programme and how it fits into the recursive station's schedule and shared calendar events. The recurring routines of action are a repeated theme in this and other chapters. Peter Lewis's (1991) examination of the radio drama department of the BBC observes the meaning those structures of routine have in the patterning of behaviours, rules and norms of practice.

Lewis focused on meetings within the department as a factor in 'the maintenance of social systems across time and space' (Lewis in Scannell, 1991, p. 20). He noted the importance of the hierarchy of command and the past legacy of how things were done in contributing 'to a process whereby successive accretions of daily routines and decisions both constitute the structure and take place within already established structural constraints' (ibid). Drawing on Giddens' focus on the maintenance of routines, he notes that much of the actions are carried out without conscious thought. The agent draws on their daily knowledge to 'frame' the meanings of encounters and to draw upon their experiences, enabling them to react appropriately.

Lewis observed these types of encounters during his research and understood the importance of not only speech but the visual features of agents and the spaces they occupied in interaction. He likened these attributes to a code or set of rules outlining accepted conduct and group values which are 'understood by participants even if they are not normally mentioned' (Lewis in Scannell, 1991, p. 20). Lewis views the nature of codes and rules as constraining; their role is largely to maintain 'the longue durée of departmental history' and that they 'conspire to act as a brake on innovation' (ibid). Overtly discussing these codes might be seen as strange or unacceptable behaviour though codes are often discussed as informal reflection away from the daily routine, in the pub or during debriefs. Yet as has been explored, codes and rules are under a continual process of iteration through their use by all agents; they are not necessarily constraining and can be slowly changed over time.

Dailiness in broadcasting is considered a core concept by both Giddens and Scannell. It is defined as a continuous, uninterrupted and never ending flow of routinised interactions and actions which constitute daily life or, in Scannell's terms, radio services which reflect daily life. Dailiness is also about the structures which exist that enable it to endure as a reoccurring part of the schedule; this can be identified by the way it 'attends' to the listener (how the listener is considered and their needs looked after) using routine 'care structures' (Scannell, 1996). These care structures are the broadcaster's treatment of participants and listeners through their language, style and mood to ensure interaction comes across naturally, in a hearable flow of engagement.

The effect, when managed well, is what Scannell calls 'making-public', which is the effort of the broadcaster or DJ 'to create and to allow ways of being-in-public for absent listeners' (Scannell, 1996, p. 168). This freeing of 'being-in-public' enables radio to avoid reification by broadcasting a continuous 'everyday existence' (ibid) using care structures that aim to reproduce the naturalness of familiar, cyclical social episodes.

The main focus of dailiness is through the use of time. Radio is both cyclical and lineal, its progression through the day is from beginning to end yet like clock time, it starts back again at the beginning in a series of repeated episodes. The production of a daily service is one where there is always an eye on the future and is structured for in advance but this present is inseparable from the past which has gone before and which also structures what is to come. The care structured dailiness of broadcasting takes into account all three positions and the 'now' of broadcasting is not understood as 'blocking out the past or the future' (Scannell, 1996, p. 152). 'Now' cannot exist without the reproduction of the past or looking towards the future. 'Broadcasting, whose medium is time, articulates our sense of time' (ibid) so Scannell's focus is primarily on the relationship between the audience, broadcasters and programmes as temporal zones of the day because radio's effect is:

> *'To re-temporise time, to mark it out in particular ways, so that the time of day (at any time) is a particular time, a time differentiated from past time-in-the-day or time that is yet-to-come. The time of day in broadcasting is always marked as the time it is now. Its now is endlessly thematised in a narrative of days and their dailiness' (*Scannell, 1996, p. 149*).*

Institutional arrangements of time in broadcasting are those such as breakfast time, lunch time, drive time and are all marked differently; the busy times of day, concerned with the 'doing' of something are populated with shorter snippets of information, news and music. At night time, time changes pace to match the attention of the listener. It is quieter and more reflective period, able to provide space for late night specialist music and discussion which cannot be accommodated during fast paced hours.

Time, reversible time and cyclicity serve to define a ritual function and play an emotional significance to a listener's day to day culture. We are by nature, ritualistic,

settled and routinised. For Giddens, cyclicity or recursiveness happen in the day to day actions of agents where 'in all societies the vast bulk of daily activity consists of habitual practices in which individuals move through definite 'stations' in time-space' (Giddens, 1981, p. 38). These stations are times of the day, breakfast time to night time and are punctuated by the temporal arrangements of radio. By mediating daily life, radio becomes for anyone, and rather than the experienced alienation which modernity is said to bring, its structures serve to repersonalise public life to create an experience of being with others. These structures provide 'the temporal mediation of 'we'-ness, human social, sociable existence' (Scannell, 1996, p. 174) so that radio serves as a hinge between its mediation of the external structures of public life and the internal personal structures of the agent.

4.2 Eventfulness

Eventfulness is 'theorised as a temporary disturbance or punctuation of dailiness' (Moores, 2005, p. 136) and radio's spatial nature is important for its role in disembedding local experiences and reassembling them as trans-local. It does this by broadcasting what once were privately experienced events to be heard by listeners far from the occasions. Heidegger was perceptive in what the future of radio might achieve in its ability to collapse spatial distance within the listener's everyday environment so that a 'de-severance of the 'world'' (Heidegger, 1962, p. 140) is experienced.

In exploring experienced spatial distance, Richardson and Meinhof (1999, p. 23) imply that Scannell is less comfortable with 'the age of multi-channel television' just as he is unwilling to engage with Thompson's thesis that 'traditions in modern society are largely trans-localised' (Thompson, 1995, p. 197) and what would have once been the role of the nation state's media (the BBC) to reflect tradition, is now a role performed across borders and media sectors 'to be re-embedded in a multiplicity of locales and reconnected to territorial units that exceed the limits of face-to-face interaction' (ibid).

Particularly in his handling of eventfulness, Scannell's work is viewed by Moores as a spirited defence of the BBC, and by default, of broadcasting representative of a nation state. It is a service based on 'democratic' principles pitted against specialised and borderless pay-per-view channels; public service broadcasting against the free market. Yet 'Scannell refuses to accept that the BBC might have an 'ideological' function as well as a democratic one. He is…fighting against apparently irresistible forces of commercialisation and 'transnationalisation' in the contemporary media environment' (Moores, 2005, p. 32). It is an environment that listeners of ethnic

minority radio are potentially far more comfortable in as they experience personal events both locally and from afar.

Setting aside Scannell's public service bias, his exploration of eventfulness is important. He shows how the disembedding of local experiences means that public events now occur both in the locale of the place itself and in the locale of the listener; broadcasting's role is as mediator between both places. For ethnic minority radio in the UK, the stations bring about the possibility of once spatially separate events such as concerts, closed religious ceremonies and festivals to become shared community experiences. This serves to reconceptualise what were once immediately co-present communities to spatially dispersed listeners with shared cultural commonalities.

The presence of the media at events to broadcast them to absent participants creates a new event in itself which is the 'event as broadcast' (Scannell, 1996, p, 80) and though the broadcaster is present at the event, they are there for absent audiences to reinterpret what is going on and to communicate the eventfulness of the goings on. The art of successfully re-presenting the event is its lively retelling of what is happening to 'powerfully produce the effect of being-there, of being involved (caught up) in the here-and-now of the occasion' (Scannell, 1996, p. 84) creating an edge of anticipation of what is to come and whether the event, as broadcast, will 'come off'. This immediateness of the here and now between listener and events serves to collapse the distance of happenings and the actions of others into a contracted and shared space of the live broadcast. Events that were once far off are now 'close at hand and graspable' (Scannell, 1996, p. 90) becoming re-embedded in the dailiness of both the schedule and the listener. Such events add a layer of new context by bringing in the experiences and events of others into routine life.

Eventfulness, unlike dailiness, is the marked occasions that punctuate the nature of cyclical scheduling by breaking up the hum-drum routine of daily radio time to longer periods of calendar time.

> *'As a time-measurement device, the calendar, like the clock, is characterized by its repetitiveness. On a yearly rather than a daily or half-daily basis, it turns round full circle to start again'* (Moores, 2005, p. 29).

These events on radio are the punctuated interruptions to daily broadcasting through the ritualised events such as the large Melas, Christmas, Eid, the Caribbean Carnival, Diwali. Programming content anticipates these events and 'creates horizons of

expectations, a mood of anticipation, a directedness towards that which is to come, thereby giving structure and substance (a texture of relevancies) to everyday life' (Scannell, 1996, p. 155. These calendar programmes therefore have special meaning, disrupting both the dailiness of the schedule and the routine lives of the listener. The structure of these enduring or calendar programmes contribute to the station's continued existence or what Giddens (1984) refers to as the 'longue durée' whereby institutions survive before and beyond those involved. They do so by way of the reproduction of the rules and resources governing broadcasting e.g. programme formats, scheduling, themes and station identity. Some forms of programming have become institutions and remain so despite the fact that 'routine actions in daily life are increasingly opened up from the hold of tradition' (Moores, 2005, p. 15) in modern (transnational) culture. This is shown in the persistence of drive-time scheduling even though some stations broadcast only on the internet with few cars having internet connectivity. News broadcasting falls into this category but also as a bridge between dailiness and eventfulness through its institutionalisation of occasioned or unexpected events as routine reported daily happenings. Broadcasting events are also unanticipated such as the 2010 Pakistani earthquake and floods, the South Asian 'Boxing Day' tsunami or the 2001 Bradford race riots which burst onto the schedules to occupy time usually allocated to other programmes.

4.3 Intentionality

Intentionality summarises the dominant communicative ethos of the station which also goes into the programmes being made. The communicative intentionality to be found in a programme is not some covert secret of the broadcaster or programmes makers to be laboriously decoded but lies in 'the way radio fully discloses its own intentions to all who care to listen' (Hendy, 2000, p. 151). Therefore intentionality, found in the content and the DJ's communicative action, is always a public affair. Radio is available to anyone with the assumption that, as Giddens would contend, the listener is capable and in possession of the knowledge to engage with the programme and the presenter.

All programmes are audience intended, made or defined in their liveliness to speak to 'me, I and oneself' for whom radio is an intimate affair. Using the norms of ordinary, mundane and often unchallenging means of talk, radio is grounded in its ordinariness and allows it to be invited into everyday life. Listening to the radio is not necessarily an occasion to be 'switched on' but a part of daily, recursive and cyclical life. Intentionality is not to be confused with universality which Scannell is particularly prone to. Programmes, or stations, may be found to not be 'for me' but instead contain structures that 'allow for the possibilities of myself…the socially projected

'me': me-in-my-particularity, me with my particular beliefs, tastes and opinions' (Scannell, 1996, p. 13). These are structures to be found in ethnic minority radio and its particularised or specialised programming.

Intentionality is the basis of how programmes come to occur and its successful use comes from a broadcaster's understanding of whom the audience is and how to communicate with them. Unlike the posed formality of early BBC radio output, programme design is intended to be meaningful through its ordinariness and intelligibility. Using familiar structures, programmes must be recognised for being entertaining, serious or factual by the listener. Programmes achieve this by utilising recognisable structures based on shared social meaning reflecting different aspects of social life. The structures of programmes follow these beliefs, tastes and opinions so that the social organisation of the output 'partakes of the same 'logic' of everyday occasions' (Scannell, 1996, p. 16) as the listener. Scannell proposes a theory of intentionality which has three elements.

1. When broadcasts follow social structures the listener understands and engages with the meaning of them.

2. The programme maker or broadcaster instils within the broadcast their intentions and communicative ethos.

3. Referencing Giddens, Scannell imbues listeners with capability, ability and knowledgeability.

These elements are embedded into a programme's design as communicative intentions and therefore are retrievable by any listener who has learnt the conventions and structures of a particular style of broadcasting. Intentionality is the shared understanding between programme maker and listener of programme structures (e.g. news bulletins) that are a 'precondition of any kind of social interaction' (ibid).

Scannell is careful to point out that such common ground does not imply a mutual consensus. Neither is intentionality about the successful transfer of beliefs or meanings from broadcaster to listener. However, the universality of Scannell's 'for anyone' conceptualisation of radio needs to be challenged. Moores flags up Scannell's avoidance to engage with new broadcast technologies and the way this effects the 'for me' character of radio. Cross-cultural and cross-boundary media such as ethnic minority radio breaks the universalistic view Scannell has of radio. Instead, such radio is very much 'for me, in my particularity', rather than a 'for-anyone'. To support this gap in the theory the use of Karner's structures of seeing and feeling

helps to provide the contextual structures relevant to ethnic minority radio. It is these shared cultural and linguistic structures that form the knowledge and understanding without which jokes, cultural references and asides would be lost in meaning.

That is not to say radio talk and programmes are exactly like social life despite mirroring and employing many of the social structures to give them recognisable meaning. Programmes are distinct by being 'institutional occasions' (Scannell, 1996, p. 18) to be produced for absent others. As institutional occasions they reflect the power of the producer to 'organise and control the nature of the occasion and to impose its definitions on participants in the occasion' (ibid). This is fully explored in Carpentier's (2001) analysis of the Flemish panel programme, Jan Publiek, which focused on the generation and negotiation of power exercised by the producers, presenter and the invited, public, panel members. In doing so he reveals the institutional structures that characterise the programme's intentionality. The tension here is between the secondary nature of hearing 'ordinary people's' voices to 'make a good programme, reducing participation to a secondary objective' (Carpentier, 2001, p. 229). Though the production staff tries to enable equality of participation 'they fail to question the power relations which encircle the media system itself' (ibid). In essence, institutional structures are seen to dominate the intentionality of a programme rather than its advertised ordinary authenticity. Extending this to the research means examining the distribution of communicative rights between presenters and listeners (turn taking, dominance and opportunities to speak); the roles undertaken by programme participants and their relative status and lastly, how talk is organised and controlled in the programme. This is achieved by comparing usually equal daily encounters between agents to the unequal distribution in broadcast talk.

By examining these elements and use of shared cultural and linguistic competences it is possible to begin building a picture of the communicative ethos of the station as a reflection of the social life and characteristics of the listening community. As intentionality shows, daily life and social organisation is reflected in radio's programming and structures.

4.4 Sociability

Much of radio talk appears to serve no distinct purpose; it is talk for talk's sake yet it makes up the majority of non-music output heard by the listener be it dedicated discussions, pitter-patter between records, news programmes, interviews and so on. Simmel discusses the meaning of sociability between agents as being democratic, an opportunity to seek the pleasure of another's company without the social baggage which makes up other encounters. So this is true for radio, enabled by the sociable

tones broadcasters employ, to create an artificial world where agents renounce 'both the objective and the purely personal features of the intensity and extensiveness of life in order to bring among themselves a pure interaction, free of any disturbing material accent' (Simmel, 1971, p. 132). This utopia of mutual company is not without the imbalances of power and mediation of interaction brought about by the intentionality of the broadcast. However radio time, and space, on the part of the listener is separate and voluntary. Between listener and broadcaster it is a purely social and a totally unenforceable relationship. The listener does not necessarily have a reason to turn on the radio so broadcasters must consider the nature of engagement and tone of the relationship first and foremost.

The sociable tones of a programme are not about its conveyed intended meaning; this is analysed separately in intentionality and identity. Rather, sociability is talk as an end unto itself. That is, conversation as sociable engagement where 'the context is merely the indispensible carrier of the stimulation, which the lively exchange of talk as such unfolds' (ibid) as a matter of course. In radio output the sociable tone is set by the relationship of the DJ to the audience measured through their personality, mood and the mood of the programme. It is in this context such considered sociability forms the basis for content to become part of the recursiveness of daily life in the station, the DJs and of the listeners.

The sociable tones of the programme are studied through the perceived relationship to the audience and the positioning of the presenter as authority, friend, confidante or provoker. Radio, like other media is accessed through the choice of the listener and 'given that you can't coerce listeners to listen, it would follow that you would try to speak to them in ways that they would wish to be spoken to' (Scannell, 1996, p. 24). Programmes and DJ styles are built on the nature of sociability with the aim to establish an ongoing relationship for the 'bringing off' (Moores, 2005) of sociable moments.

Staying with his examination of broadcasters and the nation state, Scannell identifies the move towards sociable forms of interactions between producer and audience as starting with 'the BBC's discovery of 'ordinary people' as a new source and subject of entertainment' (Scannell, 2007, p. 81) during the 1950's. These were sociable occasions as events where the objective was interaction for its own sake produced for the entertainment of listeners who were mostly en mass in their passivity. Though passive, these programmes, such as Harry Hopeful, spoke to geographical regions and employed cultural references and turns of phrase which needed further explanation for the listener. During the late 1970's, BBC Leicester ran a magazine

and language programme serving the East African Asian communities. Scheduled in the Sunday quiet time set aside for niche programming, these programmes, though intended for a particular audience, likewise did not escape the BBC's tendency for mediated explanation and an 'for-anyone' approach.

Morley's later analysis criticises Scannell's tendency towards universality. As the broadcasting industry has changed, the mass audience of earlier decades has dispersed, decreased and fragmented across different media. Though Scannell can be criticised for his universality so too can Morley for his focus on cultural difference. Here though it has legitimacy for the sociability communicated in ethnic minority radio cannot be open to all but 'can only ever be produced in some particular cultural (and linguistic) form – and only those with access to the relevant…cultural capital will feel interpellated by and at home with the particular form of sociability offered by a given programme' (Morley, 2000, p. 110-11). Therefore, through the use of language, vocal inflections, music and talk a programme's sociability will communicate very effectively 'for me' but does not need to be universalistic in style to communicate sociability.

The key here is that 'cultural competences' (Moores, 2005) are required in the bringing off of sociable occasions and the carrier for this is the voice. The voice gives 'rise to inferences about the character and personality of the speaker, their mood, their attitude to what they are saying and to the person they are speaking to' (Scannell, 1996, p. 36). Radio broadcasting therefore relies on the voice as the primary method and style of sociability; there are no visual cues as in 'co-present interaction' (Goffman, 1959) or televised 'quasi-interaction' (Thompson, 1995).

Given Erving Goffman's distinction between the characteristics people give out (actively and mediated) and give off (unconsciously) about themselves then the voice is a highly important element in what the speaker gives off about themselves. These characteristics provide the bedrock of the type of social occasion (un)intended by the programme. Central to the analysis of the sociable tones of ethnic minority radio programmes (especially where language is a barrier) is examining the characteristics of the voice given off by the performer (whether DJ or participant). The voice does not just offer the hearable tone, age, sex and possible inferences of social status. The voice has more subjective qualities 'for every voice is different and bespeaks a unique individual' (Scannell, 1996, p. 36). Analysis of the voice, their sociable nature and the occasion is contingent on the time and place created by the broadcaster as a space for interaction with the listener. This leads naturally to an examination of sincerity and the nature of sincere performance.

4.5 Sincerity

Sincerity in broadcasting is something of a contradiction. If in everyday interaction someone perceives the other's presence as performance, it is judged to be insincere. In radio everything is a performance and the listener judges sincerity on the authenticity of that performance. Sincerity accounts for the broadcaster's style and whether it is perceived in a way that engenders trust and a sense of the genuine. Drawing on Goffman (1959) and his analysis of co-present interaction, radio sincerity is a judgment of whether the broadcaster's style is a false or sincere performance. Does the broadcaster mean what they say or does it feel contrived? The performance is also considered within the context of the station's image and whether the programme maintains a sense of ordinariness by producing narratives which the audience can relate to as naturalistic and authentic.

On the radio there are no visual markers so the use of voice to communicate identity and individualism is through the microphone. Unlike traditional public performance where there is usually a marked distance between performer and audience, the microphone has the effect of repersonalising the voice and transporting it into the private domain of the listener. So sincerity is the medium for the communication of intimacy. That is not to say all performance is false. If it were the listener would not engage with the broadcaster and allow them into the home hence the differentiation between false and sincere performance.

The performance of the presenter is a 'period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers which has some influence on the observers' (Goffman, 1959, p. 32). This presentation occurs within the context of the station's identity and the perceived identity of the listeners as 'the performance will tend to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of a society…an expressive rejuvenation and reaffirmation of the moral values of the community' (ibid. p, 45). Therefore sincerity is judged within the social parameters of the community the station serves. What will be judged as socially acceptable for one audience would not necessarily be the same for another.

The aim is for a projection of ordinariness contained within programme narratives which are naturalistic and authentic. It is not a requirement that a presenter just be themselves as the only way to be sincere. A presenter could be wry, droll and insincere in their performance to the listener but still be perceived to be sincere if that is the consistent presentation. Scannell observes this in the changing style of presentation at the BBC from the formal to an everyday tone where 'artificial,

mannered or stylised performances are rejected on radio…except as pastiche or as send-ups' (Scannell, 1996, p. 74).

The beauty of a sincere performance is its ordinariness, one that is unremarked on unless 'it fails to pass and thereby becomes, in some way remarkable, i.e. a matter of comment' (ibid). That is, listeners need sincere performance, as much as presenters don a mask to perform, because without sincerity radio becomes a jarring sequence of events, noticeable by all. So, sincerity is not isolated to particular programmes such as say, a drama, but pervades all programmes across the schedule.

4.6 Authenticity

> *'An authentic experience, whatever it may be, is something that is mine, that belongs to me, that is my own, that is part of my ownmost (inner) self. As such, it is a cherishable, a memorable aspect of 'the me that I am', the real, true authentic me. An authentic experience is because I own it, and thus I can claim it as my own experience and not anyone else's'* (Scannell, 2001, p. 406).

The authenticity that Scannell speaks of, the ownmost inner self who can be the only claimant of an owned experience, transfers to broadcasting. Referring to Giddens' use of time, authenticity addresses whether the programme is an authentication of daily life. That is to say, do those who broadcast have the life experience(s) to say what they do and is this presented authentically? Authenticity is communicated through the structures of language, forms of recognisable (familiar) talk, music and experiences used to provide a rich picture.

Programmes by nature of their dailiness and scheduling also represent this cyclical and familiar nature of the listener's lives. The existence and regularity of the programme and its content authenticates a sense of ritual and place within the stations, and listeners, daily schedules. As Giddens (1984) notes, it is only when the daily and recursive nature of the programme is removed that we notice and are upset by the break from normality.

Authentication of daily life can be found in a programme through its presentation and recursiveness. To provide this, the authenticity of the presenter is shown by the believability of the reality they present and this is based on whether the presenter has the experience to say what they do. Of this, Scannell says 'the effect that is sought for is a kind of truthfulness, of authenticity, that is held to reside in what the subject

has to say…this authenticity rests upon their entitlement to speak about something that has happened to them, or that they have witnessed, and which they this know about' (Scannell, 1996, p. 110). This belief is located in a shared use of language, the command over the music played and style of presentation which all taken for granted forms of communication. Listeners may not see the ethnicity of the presenter, but hear the music they play, the people they interview, the experiences they share, the language that they use and other vocal inflections to signify who they are. Listeners are then able to make a judgement on whether they and their presentation of dailiness and experience are authentic.

Authenticity is defined by the communicative entitlement someone, anyone, has to share, not their opinions, which are usually set aside for 'experts' or 'pundits', but their lived experiences. Listeners judge not the particularities being spoken on air but the weight of life knowledge with which the DJ speaks. There is a turning to the medium 'to authenticate their own assessments of what they have experienced' (Scannell, 1996, p. 98). So, listeners often call upon radio to authenticate their lived experience as, so often, events in real life are quickly mediated and reflected back to the listener on air.

To have an experience is to be entitled to talk about it. However, the position taken up by the mediator of the experience (the DJ) may not the same of the person recounting it. That is to say, agents, as has been explored in position-practice, can occupy more than one position at a time, but on radio their behaviour can be constrained by the DJ's role so what is the heard experience is a re-presentation to fit with the identity of the programme and DJ. That being said, this highly mediated environment does not detract from the listener's right to adopt also the communicative entitlement to share this heard experience with others. 'This is how a private experience gets changed into a public experience' (Scannell, 1996, p. 114) to be shared and considered by many, informing new opinions and community consensus. Listeners recount, analyse and enmesh their personal experiences in the retelling to co-present others with the programmes and interviews heard on the radio. On air there are two experiences being represented as authentic. The first is that of the positioned co-present participants at the studio or as part of a broadcast event. Second, there are the experiences of those living vicariously through the broadcast re-presentation. Is the latter, through the fact that it is re-presented, inauthentic? Not perhaps to those who 'witness' these heard happenings and who adopt them into their own communicative entitlement.

The success of a programme or a broadcast event is not judged by the quality of production or the particular words said but on 'the dialectical relationship' between the broadcast and how the listener then evaluates 'the hallmark of its publicness' (Scannell, 2001, p. 409). The authenticity of radio rests on treating each individual listener separately, entitled to their own views, and presenting events and daily life as truly public, available to anyone. The convergence of information and communication technologies only enhances this personalisation of radio as being 'for me'.

4.7 Identity

4.7.1 Station identity

Routine is the basis for forming continuity and building programme and presenter identity. As Giddens points out 'routine is integral both to the continuity of the personality of the agent, as he or she moves along the paths of daily activities, and to the institutions of society, which are such only through their continued reproduction' (Giddens, 1984, p. 60). Like Giddens, Scannell and Brand (1991) draw on Goffman's (1959) analysis of recursive social places and Garkinkel's (1986) concerns with continually maintaining the self same identity. Scannell and Brand refer to routine as having a 'double articulation', that is, that radio programmes have a contained episodic structure of content. Though made for a single episode, content is also thematically structured, able to 'be reproduced again and again, thereby achieving the recursive effect of 'things as usual', familiar, known from past occasions, anticipatable as such now and in future' (in Scannell, 1991, p. 202). This routinisation is at the centre of the programmes and of the station's identity construction. Individual programmes and broadcasts, despite the temporary legacy of 'listen again' online, tend to fade away in memory. Routine formatting, scheduling, repeated voices and turns of phrase help to build a distinct identity.

Identity is mainly about the broadcaster, DJ, personality, and examines their style in the context of the station's style. It is how they thematise themselves through the use of language, other pronounced aural identity traits and also through how the audience is addressed. Broadcaster identity focuses on the use of their personal narratives or 'life paths' (Giddens, 1991) to tell a story, sometimes very personal, and incorporates the use of devices such as station/own tags to announce themselves. This self identity is linked through to that of the collectiveness of the station and whether this is communicated as a reified or fluid identity.

Both the structures of speech and the importance of identity construction constitute meaningful radio. In all formats of radio, 'speech lends structure to the daily schedule

and provides the context in which music operates as meaningful entertainment' (Shingler and Wieringa, 1998, p. 30). Here, routine plays its role through turns of phrases, jingles, news, traffic, weather updates and time checks. Such recursive structures provide a context for the music that on its own would be both without meaning or identity.

The significance of the phone-in is as much about the format being the cheapest form of radio (no royalties go to the participants) as the multiplicity and identities of the voices on air lending the station its own distinct identity. These voices reflect the broadcast community, providing some of the authenticity that attracts listeners who see the station as being 'for me'. These identities directly influence the content of speech in the programmes and the perceived levels of acceptability by the audience of different topics such as politics, racism, world affairs, sex, discrimination and difficult local matters.

It is not only the importance of speech in general but the style of speech which marks out a station to its listeners and so the style of language and talk will form part of the 'promise of service' overseen by the regulator. For ethnic minority radio the accents and variety of languages they support will form a core part of this promise. These stations, like any station geared to a 'specialist group', will have their own cultural particularities and modes of speech. Speech delivered for each programme must maintain the overall identity of the station and presenters 'must somehow find ways of expressing their own unique personalities through their modes of speech. Idiosyncratic speech styles are obviously permissible but only within the confines of prescribed speech policies of the station' (Shingler and Wieringa, 1998, p. 33). Policies may not always be consistent across all presenters, it will depend on the time of day, the content of the programme and whether some DJs defy such containment through the nature of their personalities. Drawing on the nature of performance, continuing narratives are to be found in the use of broadcast styles be they 'informal, intimate, natural and gossipy or authoritative, public, preachy and artificial, with a huge range of possibilities between these two extremes' (ibid). Language, style and content all need to be observed to capture the rich variety of voices that can be heard on air, particularly with the possibilities presented by community radio.

Shingler and Wieringa's analysis of radio talk, particularly in the context of phone-ins and discussion is placed as middle ground between formalised institutional talk and mundane conversation. Known as 'intermediate talk', the DJ's role is facilitator of the participant's mundane, everyday talk and draws upon their authority of scripted structures found in interview and broadcast news talk. Their facilitation sits

between and adjusts the informal mundane nature to one-to-one conversation. The latter is still structured but relies more on the shared understanding of speech conventions and presentation of the self.

Moores expands on this as the 'structure/agency tension' (Tulloch, 1999, p. 3) of performance which is an expression of structure as social practice, demonstrating the interdependency of cultural creativity and reproduction. The structure/agency tension of 'intermediate talk' captures, on the one hand, the awareness of the presenter has of their role, and on the other, the relaxed nature of addressing the 'I', 'me' of the listener. Intermediate radio talk, despite its apparent mundane nature 'is invariably self-conscious, performative and designed to be heard (publicly), offering few, if any, opportunities for listeners to participate in the communicative act (Shingler and Wieringa, 1998, p. 35). Tony Blackburn's regular BBC and then BBC London show during the 1970's and 80's demonstrated the importance of such structure/agency talk because as Scannell notes Blackburn's 'talk is the routine, the routine is the identity' (1996, p. 132). What developed was Blackburn's, often highly personal, narrative self produced from a reflexive awareness which is shared and played out, as fun, with the audience who take their role in keeping his personal, and their shared, narrative going.

As has been explored, the use of technology (the microphone) and the immediateness of radio broadcasting combine to create the feeling of co-presence and credibility for the listener. This is despite the physical distance between listener and presenter and the presence of many listeners at once. The presenter's aim is to communicate authenticity and sincerity regardless of the artificial construction that is radio broadcasting. To achieve this 'the radio voice must use something more perfect than ordinary speech, it must simultaneously sound natural, live, spontaneous, unpremeditated and unmediated' (Shingler and Wieringa, 1998, p. 43) so the focus in the production of radio talk is on projecting a naturalness which is achieved through the use of acoustics and by depth of voice (a radio voice) because it comes with associations of honesty, truthfulness and character.

4.7.2 Music and identity

Nowhere more so than in music does radio have an innate ability to 'extend a community to itself' (Hendy, 2000, p. 214) by reflecting what the listeners see as 'themselves'. The programmes a listener chooses to listen to, 'provides a more precise reflection of the fragmented communities of modern societies' (ibid) which they are part of, be they communities based on geography, ethnicity, taste or cause. Radio's ability is to pick out these niche markets, listening communities, and

'respond to shifting…notions of identity' (ibid). Music is central to this response as it is music rather than talk that speaks to listeners and binds them as communities. Music is 'a central instrument in the construction, definition and redefinition of national communities' (ibid) and is something totally overlooked by Scannell in his analysis of identity construction. Hendy, referring to Giddens' (1991) analysis of modernity and the shifting notions of space and place, highlights music's ability to help listeners create a sense of place in the midst of rapid technological and social change.

There are two ways that stations use music to communicate effectively an identity to their audiences. The first is through the music policy which the station adopts, usually co-ordinated by the station manager, which appears as a playlist of approved tracks. The extent to which a playlist is enforced depends on the trust the station manager shares with his DJs and how much the DJs identity is bound up with the station identity. More often than not the playlist at national and commercial radio stations 'is considered too important to be left wholly to the idiosyncratic tastes of the DJ, requiring a more objective and systematic approach to guarantee the station's popularity and profitability' (Shingler and Wieringa , 1998, p. 62).

The situation with ethnic minority radio is slightly different and challenges Shingler and Wieringa's reproduction of commercial structures that merely quantify the audience. Music will be an even stronger force for communicating identity; it lets the listener know they have arrived at the right 'place'. It says to the listener, 'this is your community'. Shingler and Wieringa agree that 'music offers listeners a sense of being part of a larger community' (ibid, p. 63) with the genres, styles and scheduling of the manager's policy setting the boundaries of the station's community. That said, for ethnic minority stations it is as much a marketing tool as a medium for communicating a much deeper meaning to both a geographical and experiential community.

The second way a station might use music to communicate effectively its identity is through the use of jingles, both general and programme specific. Jingles are 'far more than just short bursts of music and words detailing the name of the station and its wavelength….They are a highly condensed expression of all that the station stands for, capturing in seconds the essence of the station's character, style and output' (ibid). These station 'idents' are used alongside DJ and programme specific ones as markers for the time of day, as mood changers within programmes and as ways of sectioning the programme into themed areas.

Though radio was overtaken by television in popularity during the 1950's and 1960's it has seen a renaissance in recent years, particularly for niche programming. Its portability and the personal relationship DJs forge with listeners means that even now, whether listening on a traditional 'tranny', on a mobile phone or in bedrooms at the computer, it offers a personal sanctuary, away from disturbance by others. It forms part of the private space for the back region of the listener's personal identity yet views may be formed in seeming 'co-presence' of the listener's own making. The listener (and DJ) are also aware that this seeming one-to-one relationship is positioned in relation to unseen others who share similar music tastes, interests and are part of a networked community.

Where Shingler and Wieringa become less useful is in their belief that audience engagement is nothing more than 'gaining the audience's tacit compliance' (p. 112) with the outcome focused in the maintenance of the station with little engagement in a negotiated process. As such, they surmise that the one-sided nature of radio means that listeners are rendered 'merely the dumb recipient' (ibid) rather than active participants.

4.7.3 Identity and communities

The format of the phone-in would suggest still that the role of listener is less about partaking in a community 'conversation' and more about serving the needs of the DJ and the format. These sound bites do nothing more than create a 'pseudo-reality' where issues are less discussed and are more snippets to create controversy and tension. Higgins and Moss posit that such programmes 'stifle the private voice and make it impossible for people to grow' (1982, p. 59) rather than generate active and thoughtful listeners aware of a community 'out there'. Shingler and Wieringa are as dismissive of the power to enhance community and identity through the radio programme. Hendy's notion that isolated and separate listeners turn their radio on for company and to be aware of others with shared interests is irrelevant due to the fact that 'there are few opportunities for the members of this community to communicate and interact with each other…surely a pre-requisite for any authentic community' (Shingler and Wieringa, 1998, p. 122). Instead, they view listeners as unauthentic to any true sense of community and though they may dispel their loneliness and alienation through radio, the format of programmes, the control of station managers of programme schedules and the nature of the medium only maintain such isolation for its very success.

Hendy disagrees. His discussion focuses on the changing networks of social relationships and turns to Giddens' thoughts on globalisation and how alienation is

experienced by agents as international networks become faceless and far reaching. However, radio has a space-binding role in enabling agents to reappropriate control by using such global dynamics to extend their friendship, familial and special interest relationships. Agents take a 'flight into intimacy' (Giddens, 1991, p. 94) in an attempt to make sense of social life through radio's ability to speak directly them and to help position them as part of a wider community.

Radio is at a curious junction between reflecting listener tastes and cultural identities and taking a lead by exploring untested content thereby hoping to take the audience with it. Determinists would argue that radio then becomes a mouthpiece for those few with the power to broadcast but this is forgetting the innate promiscuity of the listener to switch between stations in search of something which 'speaks' to them. The identity of the listener is complex and 'defined at different times and simultaneously by our membership of a nation-state, a local community, an ethnic group and a set of musical tastes' (Hendy, 2000, p, 215). Radio 'rules' dictate that to narrowly define the community of listeners will lose the station its popularity. In which case, ethnic minority radio should not exist at all. Instead, ethnic minority radio's role is to speak to a distinct part or fragment of the listener not catered for elsewhere. Though the potential of its reach speaks of large commercialised operations, Hendy recognises that radio, especially particularised radio:

> *'is able to reach across large spaces, potentially threatening place-specific cultures with its homogenised content, potentially forging new de-localised communities of interest…its oral code of communication allows it to tie itself to communities of language which ignore official borders….it also has a cost structure which creates at least the possibility of a community station surviving on the tiniest of audiences. It is, in short, the most adaptable media in 'finding' its audience.' (*ibid*).*

Unlike Shingler and Wieringa, Hendy shows how the outdated concept of broadcasting out to a passive audience has moved towards an understanding to some extent of reciprocity. The convergence of technology and media has done much to strengthen the notions of community to create liveliness not previously possible. In the theoretical framework of this research the active agent (the DJ) utilises the pace of technology to facilitate an immediateness of impact of their actions on the networked and positioned nature of others in the community. The combined use of

radio as a medium, text messages, alongside social networking such as Twitter and Facebook suggests the gulf between listener and DJ is closing. Radio becomes a more powerful medium for exploring ethnicity and identity in 'conversation'.

Contrary to Shingler and Wieringa's view of passivity, the opportunity to hear other listeners' views, whether the DJ agrees with the caller or not, creates an active and empowered audience which fosters community consensus. Central to this, as has been examined, is the intermediate role of the DJ or presenter situated between the station and the audience. Their positioned interactions with individual audience members, and beyond the immediate community, are seen to ripple out to unseen others. They do this through their 'job' as DJ, linking between records, callers, news items and adverts but they also speak on behalf of the station and so must embody aspects of the station identity and character. Lastly the DJ must also represent the community and identify with the individual. Their talk and music must reflect the reciprocity of the community and its commonly held beliefs, experiences and lifestyles to be considered authentic.

The role of the DJ or presenter then is crucial in fostering the notion of community, of identity and of communicating with unseen others. The successful DJ maintains a fine balance of addressing the individual as intimate cohort, confidante or student alongside the creation and maintenance of a community of mostly isolated listeners. This mediated shared isolation that with shared cultural competences becomes a sort of 'club' where the members may rarely meet but which is nonetheless a community bound together by reproduced structures reflected in the schemas of beliefs and values enacted on air.

4.8 And finally…concluding radio

This chapter has explored some of the social themes which construct radio as an everyday occurrence. These themes enable the study of daily, calendar and personal events where radio becomes a reflexive tool in the construction of identity and communities. Scannell's main themes of dailiness, eventfulness, authenticity, sincerity, intentionality, sociability, sincerity and most of all, identity, go forward as the guiding structures with which to examine how the presenter and other staff construct programmes and the overall station identity.

These themes are not without their identified weaknesses and as such are modified. Scannell's wedded view of radio as all encompassing, regional or nationalistic, the 'something-for-everyone' is less appropriate and much criticised. His belief is that radio helped to restore a sense of a 'knowable world' in class-divided nation states

and that by doing so it 'continues to redeem, the intelligibility of the world and the communicability of experience in the widest social sense' (Scannell, 1988, p. 29). His analysis often veers towards the universalistic programmes and personalities of the BBC with little criticism for ideology and leaves no scope for the diverse and fragmented nature of the media that ethnic minority broadcasting occupies today. However, Scannell's views of broadcasting as having created a sense of commonality and structure through the sustained use of concepts like clock time, dailiness, eventfulness and cyclicity, which reflected the recursivity of social life, are useful. They also help to demonstrate the applicability of Giddens' structuration theory for the thesis.

Leaving behind Scannell's historical and universalistic perspective of broadcasting makes way for a modern analysis that can account for the fragmentation of media and audiences. As Moores reflects, within this changing environment:

> *'new commonalities might well be emerging…but they do not usually conform to the old shape of bounded national community envisaged by public service broadcasters in Western Europe'* (Moores, 2005, p. 33).

Morley is both in sympathy with Scannell's general approach but critical of his veer towards the public sphere. He agrees with Moores when he describes multiple media spaces that are orientated by communities of gender, ethnicity, common causes and so on. He addresses the issue of ethnicity in his criticism of Scannell's explanation of broadcasting representing a 'culture-in-common'. Scannell 'simply fails to recognise that this public culture itself is already an ethnic culture and has a colour which is only in common to some of the citizens of the nation which it supposedly reflects, and which it attempts to address' (Morley, 2000, p. 20). Though Scannell's analysis of the 'performance' of listening is shared across many listeners, imagining it as a feature of national culture is problematic. Such an analysis reproduces 'numerous social inequalities and cultural differences within any 'national community' to be negotiated' (Moores, 2005, p. 165) so it is less useful. In any case the proliferation of radio stations, as a reflection of identity, is a choice spread across many channels that the agent actively negotiates rather than passively receives.

That said, once stripped of their public and nationalistic broadcast bias, Scannell's categories are useful for guiding the research through the use of Hendy and Giddens' themes of globalisation, alienation and communities which connects back to the

chapter on ethnicity and identity. Some of Schingler and Weiringa's notions of passivity are somewhat gauche in a media landscape where it seems that listeners are often in interchangeable dialogue with a real rather than totally imagined community. Whilst some elements of their work can be criticised for too easily reproducing commercial radio structures in their analysis, their often less theoretically heavy studies of broadcasting serves as sensitising devices for the empirical stage of this research.

4.9 Visualising the theoretical framework

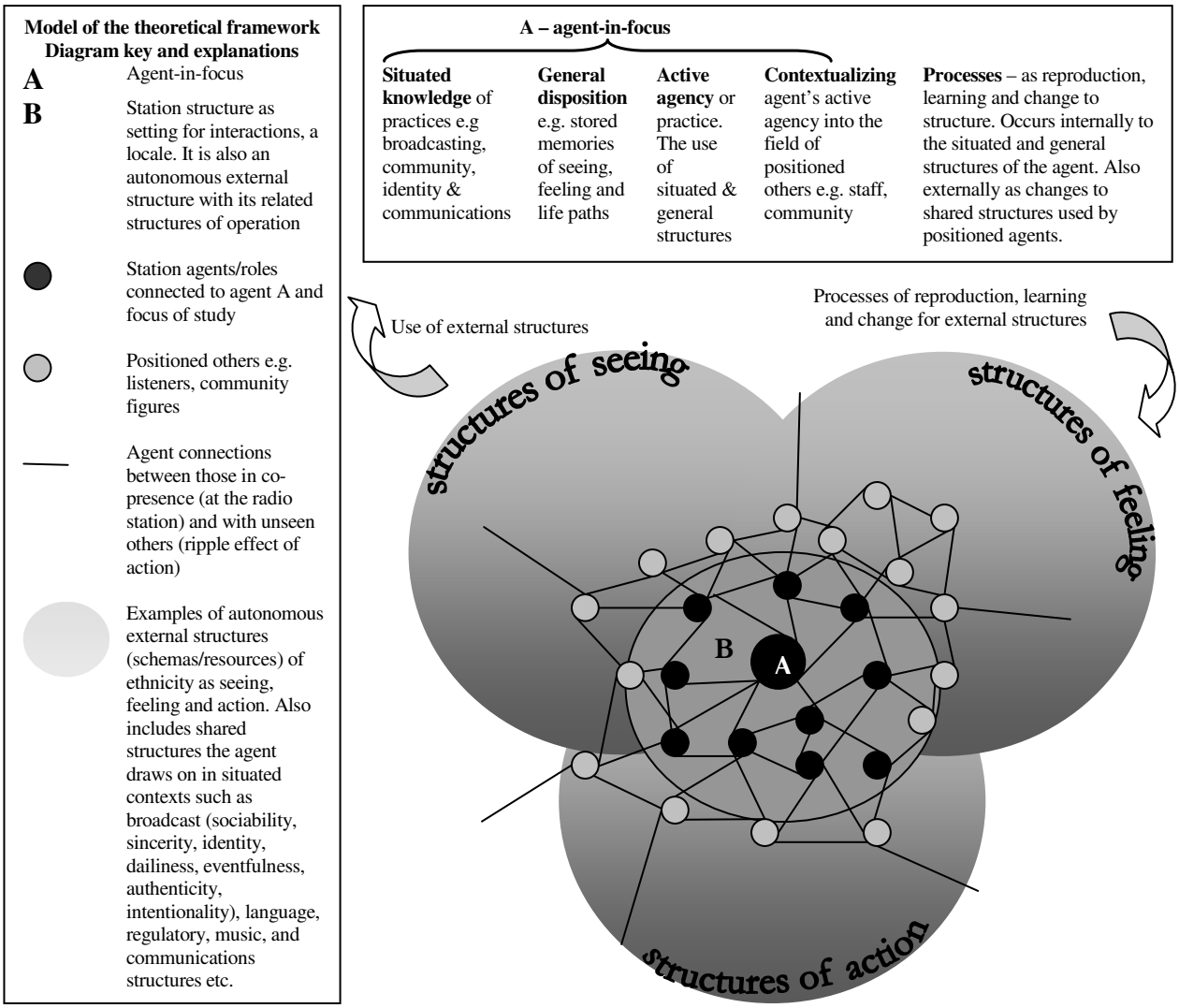
The central themes of this literature review of ethnicity, identity and radio in everyday life provide the thematic basis for the empirical stage of the research and a framework for the analysis of the data gathered. Structuration theory and its modified version of strong structuration theory provide a theoretical path for examining the meaning of interactions at the radio stations, the use of rules and resources by knowledgeable agents, the position-practice of agents within the station and their relative causal influence in their daily roles. It is the context within which to place the interactions that reproduce agent fluidity, reification, and structures of action, feeling and seeing ethnicity. It enables the contextualisation of radio as everyday practice, reciprocally produced programmes, schedules and identities that reproduce the station to stretch across time and space. The themes of the literature review and the process of empirically applying structuration are explored in the methodology chapter.

To visually demonstrate the use of structuration theory for this study, the literature review concludes with a model (Figure Three), shown overleaf, to bring together the three sections of the theoretical framework. The model represents the processes of structuration theory to enable the exploration of ethnicity, identity and radio broadcasting within the case study stations.

The model, developed from the theoretical framework draws primarily on the work of Giddens, (1984), Stones (2005), Karner (2007) and Scannell (1996).

Using the central concepts taken forward from the analysis on structuration, the model shows the *processes* (rather than structural outcomes) of ethnicity, identity and broadcasting within the context of the agent-in-focus (A), other relevant agents, the radio station structure (B) and latterly, its wider positioned community. On this periphery are other relevant structures which are interlinked to the structure in focus. The duality of structure is pictured as a recursive process with the arrows demonstrating the interlinked use of structure and outcome.

Figure Three: Model of the theoretical framework



For example, the agent-in-focus is positioned physically and virtually in their role at the station. They employ the commonly associated autonomous external structures (legacies of past practice) associated with action at the radio station and also structures utilised within their positioned community of listeners and relevant others.

External structures inform the internal general and situated structures of the agent that they utilise for specific tasks or in building their narrative selves. They do so reflexively, positioning themselves with regards to others, weighing up possible courses of action to map out their relative enablement/constraint and causal influence.

These processes inform their actions, be they broadcasting or enacting ethnicity and identity, to reproduce or change the autonomous external structures and internal structures of the agent.

C h a p t e r 5

METHODOLOGY

5 Methodology and research design

5.1 Introduction

The development of a robust methodology which utilises the most valuable elements of structuration theory identified in the literature, alongside the fluidity of ethnicity and identity in the context of studying everyday life at the radio stations required careful consideration.

This chapter shows the steps undertaken to consider first the research problem, the scope of the study, previous studies which have used structuration theory, the methodology developed and the tools utilised. It ends with a consideration of the limitations of the methodological approach and ethical issues encountered.

In summary, the research uses a qualitative process/case study approach incorporating a blend of temporal bracketing and narrative strategies. To achieve the depth of qualitative data over defined periods of intense data collection visits, a fine grained approach is used to collect and analyse the data. The methodology used a triangulation technique of observation, interview and programme analysis. From this data, a thematic content analysis called conduct and context analysis (Stones, 2005), a form of temporal bracketing, was applied.

Several previous methodologies are referred to which have been used as inspiration for this methodology though the majority come from the fields of organisation and information technology studies. Structuration has not previously been applied to studies of radio. A study of the television market in Germany has used elements of Giddens' agency/structure duality but from the perspective of the relationship between production companies and broadcasters (Fröhlich, 2007). Tudor (1995) suggests, in his comparison of theoretical approaches for media research, that the use of structuration helps to overcome the previously objectivist/interpretive dualism. As yet no researcher has yet taken up the gauntlet for radio or the study of media organisations and their communities. This methodology seeks to provide a new possible route for utilising both structuration and a complementary blended methodology.

5.2 The research process

The review of previous and relevant research reviewed in the literature section demonstrates a lack of studies which:

1. Focus on the existence of ethnic minority radio stations and content producers

2. Explore the meaning and identity of the programmes and producers

There has been a skew towards audience reception studies that whilst incorporating the areas of diasporas, migration and the media, come from a perspective which is either from the critical school of theory or are person-centric and interpretive. The pilot phase of this research demonstrated the importance of putting the stations, the production of programmes and the meaning of ethnicity and identity at the centre of enquiry and to do so from the perspective that these structures and meanings are a fluid process constituted through agent action.

This research is neither structural in thrust, focusing on the macro institutions of ethnic minority radio nor interpretive in orientation, homing in on the micro construction of ethnicity and identity. The theoretical framework employed argues that the structures of ethnicity, identity, and the station are medium and outcome of agent action and that agent action is orientated by the structures of the station, broadcasting, ethnicity and identity. It is from this blended perspective that the study employs a modified version of structuration. This enables the examination of agent action and internal and external structures to understand how ethnic minority radio is constituted and makes use of the concepts of ethnicity and identity.

Likewise, the research is neither inductive nor deductive in character. An inductive enquiry weights the importance of data gathered empirically and without prior theorising but the reality is 'findings on the social world are devoid of meaning without a theoretical framework' (May, 1997, p. 31). A deductive approach implies theory building at the heart of the study and that the empirical data proves or disproves the framework but the literature shows there are no hard and fast 'rules of method' (ibid) for studying ethnicity and identity. As Bauman (1996) shows, the fluidity of identity is as valid as a reified construction, so such a hypothesis led deduction is inappropriate.

Rather, the approach taken in this research is a combination of the two, acknowledging that this novel topic for research required an orientating theoretical framework to act as a sensitizing device to the data. However pilot research was

required so that any emerging framework was flexible to emerging themes and results. This blended strategy began with observation to build up a bank of knowledge from which to conduct the interviews and programme analysis. Doing so meant it was possible for the researcher to detect patterns and regularities (as well as irregularities) to begin to answer the overall research questions. The observations, data analysis from the interviews and programmes are supported by the theoretical framework and provide methods and boundaries to explore the station constitution, continuation and the communication of ethnicity and identity. Structuration theory works to help illuminate and map out the subtle and delicate interplay of interactions, history and structural use within and between station agents.

The result has been four phases of theoretical development, from literature, tested against document research, the pilot phase, and continual refinement throughout the empirical data gathering.

5.2.1 The research problem and goal

The outcome is intended to be two-fold. First, to answer the research questions and second to utilise a new theoretical framework to provide an element of replicability that is useful to future research.

As such, within the context of the UK's rapidly developing broadcasting environment and the need for a new and novel theoretical approach the research problem addressed by the study is:

> *How to identify and explore the reproduction of ethnic minority radio stations and the way they employ, embody, communicate and develop concepts of ethnicity and identity.*

The theoretical framework, with structuration at the heart of it, illuminates the context of ethnicity and identity along with the meaning of radio and everyday life. Previous research shows an underdevelopment of explanatory theory in this field. Also, some studies have been guided by theoretical approaches which suit neither the fluid nor discursive construct that ethnicity and identity have so far been found to embody. To support the research problem the following research goal was developed:

To explore and analyse how ethnic minority radio stations are constituted and employ, embody, communicate and develop concepts of ethnicity and identity.

5.2.2 The research questions and sub questions

The research problem defines the field of study and the goal seeks to address the problem. The research goal was made clearer following exploratory reading and the pilot phase. The research questions which then follow have been formulated and reformulated as the empirical data and theory has developed. There are two main questions to help satisfy the research problem, they are:

1. How are ethnic minority broadcasters making use of radio in a changing media environment?

2. What is the role and meaning of ethnicity and identity for the producers and broadcasters?

These two broad questions cover the main topics of enquiry. However, they are supported by the following 'sub-questions' which connect with the research design:

1. What constitutes ethnic minority radio and their digital and analogue operating environment?

2. What are the personal experiences of those involved in shaping the radio stations and the environment they operate in?

3. In what way do rules, resources and power play a role between positioned agents in the constitution of the station?

4. How do ethnic minority radio stations reach and interact with their audiences?

5. How do relevant agents interact to create, reproduce and alter the structures of the programmes?

6. How do relevant agents interact to create, reproduce and alter the structures of ethnicity and identity through their programmes?

5.2.3 The research outcomes

By defining the research problem, the goal and the questions, the study aims to provide specific outcomes which contribute new knowledge to both the body of existing research and to the theoretical approaches future research might take. The research outcomes are:

1. *A greater understanding of how ethnic minority radio stations are constituted and communicate concepts of ethnicity and identity:* Analyses of the development of ethnic minority radio are few. Radio is a local medium; the literature on radio demonstrates its relationship to communities and identity. However little research exists on the role the station has within its community. What existing research there is has been restricted to single stations and this is mostly from the perspective of the audience rather than of the people involved at the radio station. Quite often, research in the context of diasporic media neglects radio in favour of other broadcast media yet the literature review shows the relevance of radio today. This study in particular investigates past and present relevant agents and takes account of the fluidity of ethnicity. Existing relevant research still uses traditional 'categories' rather than implementing an interaction driven analysis suggested in the literature review. Therefore using this 'processual model' (in this case, conduct and context analysis) in ethnic minority radio research overcomes this and is a first. The research provides the first coherent account of the relationship between ethnic minority stations and identity.

2. *A synthesis of the theories of structuration, ethnicity and radio derived from the literature review to provide an applied theoretical framework for studying radio stations and ethnicity:* The current state of academic literature on structuration theory lacks a demonstration of its possible applicability to media research though it has been shown to be useful in other fields of study. Currently there is no work which applies structuration theory to ethnic minority radio and its agents so this research extends the application of structuration theory into this new empirical field. Structuration theory has been insufficiently articulated in empirical research. The study and data gathering of interaction observation and accounts advocated in current ethnic minority media research is also a key ingredient in structuration and is particularly well suited to remedy this deficiency. The application of conduct and context analysis to the model will enable the 'duality of structure' to be explored and the dialogical and fluid nature of agents and structure to be analysed.

5.3 Choosing a strategy

Qualitative research seeks to answer the 'how' and 'why' problems which quantitative research cannot. Qualitative research is therefore a sense making process that tends to be messier, requiring a real world setting rather than a laboratory and involves usually rich, unstructured and complex data. If the ultimate aims are to understand and find meaning in the action of agents and their interaction with structure then this directly influences the approach and strategy undertaken. The overall strategy chosen was the case study approach which is well suited to answering the 'how' and 'why' in the research question and 'sub-questions'. A case study approach is taken to mean:

> *'a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiples sources of evidence'* (Robson, 2001, p. 146).

An investigation of ethnic minority radio naturally points to the collection of data in several different settings with an aim of collecting 'detailed intensive knowledge about…a small number of related 'cases'' (Robson, 2001, p. 40) e.g. different radio stations. The use of a case study approach is sympathetic to the concurrent development of supporting theory and the collection of data due to it being suited to exploratory topics. Alone, though, the case study approach is not enough to enable links between the theoretical framework, the type of data to collect or the methods of analysis. Several other strategies using structuration in particular were also investigated.

Structuration theory is considered to be a general ontology, that is, an umbrella theory to account for the most significant aspects of social life. Its very advantage is also its disadvantage as structuration 'is focused primarily on issues of ontology at an abstract, philosophical, level of analysis' (Stones, 2005, p. 12). Its lack of epistemology was due to Giddens' retreat from the arguments surrounding relativism and logical empiricism that characterised sociology during the late 1970's and 80's. The use of Stones' strong structuration theory is in part because it 'addresses the epistemological deficit by insisting that reference be made to the whole structurationist 'package', including not only ontology but also particular question types…methodological issues – including methodological bracketing and reflexivity as well as the identification of analytically distinct research steps' (Stones, 2005, p. 34).

This section, therefore, looks to Stones' suggestions for developing what he calls 'ontology in-situ' as well as addressing research strategies and methods which makes use of either strong structuration theory or studies where temporal bracketing and processual strategies have been used. The aim is to build a strategy and accompanying set of methods which employ the structurationist package to yield detailed and illuminated data enabling the study to explore the duality of structure and agency in ethnic minority radio.

The very exploratory and explanatory nature of the enquiry with the focus on gaining new insights, examining causal relationships and finding meaning within the radio station setting means this study is qualitative. Quantitative collection and analysis of ethnic minority radio station numbers, types of programmes, and statistical data on ethnic composition using a traditional content analysis would yield only the lightest surface perspective on the research problem.

Process research is 'concerned with how things evolve over time and why' (Langley, 1999, p. 692) and the way to reveal this is to examine the everyday actions and beliefs of those involved. It is taken to mean the monitoring and investigation of day to day activity rather than examining specific situations or motivations. The use of a processual model comes from both the literature on structuration (Giddens, 1984) and theorists on ethnicity (Bauman, 1996; Sreberny, 2005). Ethnicity, like culture, is 'processual', it only exists 'in the act of being performed and can never stand still or repeat itself without changing its meaning' (Bauman, 1996, p. 26). It is a concept also used in organisation and information technology research (Langley, 1999; Pozzebon, 2005; Barley, 1990 & 1997) where dealing with process data has generated several research strategies in addition to the traditional ones of case study, survey, narrative etc. The concepts of structures, ethnicity and identity have been shown in the literature to be fluid and rendered in shifting dialogues and interactions. These processes are hard to isolate because of their 'fluid character that spreads out evenly over space and time' (Pettigrew, 1992). Taking account of this spatial and temporal context is one particular reason for taking a qualitative process approach.

Using a processual approach means gathering data comprising stories of what has happened, events, activities of the agents and the choices they make. In her article about strategies for dealing with process data, Langley (1999) provides a unique, comparison of seven sense making strategies which fall under the umbrella of process research. The paper is the first time these strategies have been brought together and evaluated side-by-side. These seven strategies are narrative, quantification, alternate template, grounded theory, visual mapping, temporal

bracketing and synthetic strategy. To assist in choosing an overall research strategy this section critically reviews, and rejects, some of Langley's suggested strategies. They are considered for their appropriateness to illuminate the aims of the research and for their suitability to the cross-cutting theoretical framework employing structuration, ethnicity and radio.

The process of methodological consideration in this research led to examining several research strategies developed by researchers in the organisation and IT research fields which used elements of structuration theory. Several of them fall into different categories of Langley's evaluation of sense making strategies which aim to overcome often 'boundaryless, dynamic and multi-level process data' (Langley, 1999, p. 694). Langley's evaluation paper provides the first cohesive cross-comparison of available strategies suited to actualising structuration in research. Of the seven she assesses, the quantification strategy was immediately rejected for its focus on quantitative data. Visual mapping was rejected for its inability to deal with power, conflict and emotions. Lastly, the synthetic strategy was considered unsuitable as it requires a higher number of cases and provides a thinner level of detail than is suitable for this study. This left four potential strategies for evaluation:

Narrative strategy - The construction of a narrative from detailed raw data is one of the most common approaches to qualitative research and can either be considered a starting point for the analysis of data or constitutes a whole strategy in itself. Descriptive narratives are the traditional tool used by ethnographers and 'frequently play a role in studies of cultural change' (Langley, 1999, p. 695) which this research project could be considered to be doing. Pozzebon and Pinsonneault (2005) suggest it is a particularly strong strategy for uncovering agent knowlegdeability with the potential for finding meanings in processes and 'is fundamental for understanding the role of people's reflexivity regarding their day-to-day actions' (2005, p. 1367).

Cohen's (2008) study of two Hebrew programmes in Australia using a narrative strategy did just this, richly examining the programmes and protagonists during a period of internal conflict, changing political and ethnic identities using a combination of observation and semi-structured interview. In their examination of Muslim perspectives on multiculturalism, Modood and Ahmad (2007) constructed themed narratives which emerged from conversational interviews from which to theorise from narratives when framed against rapid social change. From the research area of information technology, Barley (1990) used the methods of in-depth participant observation and interview to construct a detailed, temporally bracketed narrative of the introduction of a new technology within two health departments.

Langley points out that though the narrative strategy, depending on the analysis, can have a high level of accuracy, the risk is of producing a storied account which 'does not, on its own, lead to either *simple* or general theory' (Langley, 1999, p. 697). When it does work, it is because there is a concurrent use of themes and embedded plots which serve as sense making or sensitising devices to enable a further level of theorising. On its own, the narrative strategy, when backed by theory building, is viewed as a unnecessarily heavy-going and is more effective when combined with other strategies.

Alternate template strategy – can be used when it is more advantageous to employ a deductive overall approach to test an event or series of processes against several different theoretical interpretations. Sometimes used in the analysis of organisation or political analysis (Allison, 1971) its usefulness is in enabling the production of different retellings of stories which draw on these alternative readings until a more superior model is identified. Structuration, a process theory, is seen to fall into this category and is used by Giddens (1984) to examine political and industrial development. As Langley notes, 'qualitative nuances are represented through the alternative explanations, and theoretical clarity is maintained by keeping the theoretical lenses separate' (Langley, 1999, p. 699). Challenges arose from the fact that the different lenses are often difficult to fit together so that any one explanation will be insufficient. For this research, which seeks to bring together the themes of ethnicity, identity and radio, the alternative template strategy would do more to fragment any emerging picture than be helpful.

Grounded theory strategy – For studies which seek to gather information in especially new or under researched areas, the inductive grounded theory strategy (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978; Strauss and Corbin, 1990) has been favoured. It enables the researcher to go into a field without the 'baggage' of preformulated concepts and to collect data, using a series of highly prescriptive steps. The aim is to compare and begin to build systems of categories directly from their observations. It works on both the macro level when used to compare a large number of similar events and processes which are all richly described. It is also able to illuminate the micro level of different viewpoints and emotions of individuals of those involved in the same setting or process. Orlikowski (1993), who has been at the forefront of developing the use of structuration within information technology studies, used grounded theory in her study of two organisations implementing a new technical tool. Grounded theory was useful for the first stages of the study because it allowed 'a focus on contextual and processual elements as well as the action of key players associated with organizational change elements' (Orlikowski, 1993, p. 310).

For researching ethnicity, identity and radio there are two distinct problems with using a grounded theory approach. Whilst, it has been shown to be useful for examining processual changes within organisations (the radio station), Langley (1999) points out that there is the need for a large amount of comparable cases with which to make comparisons. Whilst it would be possible to collect this data, as Orlikowski did, within a small number of organisations where actions would be numerously repeated, this study wished to engage with different types of stations (both ethnicity and sector) so a breadth of information was required. Such large numbers of repeated incidents was not guaranteed. Secondly there has been a concurrent development of data and theory undertaken during the study. This was required during the pilot phase and literature review when it became clear existing research was not sufficient for the setting of ethnic minority radio stations. Grounded theory at that stage may have been appropriate however structuration, a highly theoretical approach was seen to be able to bring together the disparate topics of ethnicity, identity and radio. To have then turned to grounded theory would have been 'dishonest' when theories were emerging concurrently.

Temporal bracketing strategy – Several studies have used some form of temporal bracketing which splits up of periods of enquiry into phases of analysis. These are not necessarily sequential processes but are 'a way of structuring the description of events' (Langley, 1999, p. 703) as an aid to sensemaking from complex or extended periods of data. The term 'bracketing' comes directly from structuration theory. Giddens (1984) refers to the bracketing of agent conduct and of institutions for the analysis and explication of the duality of structure. The strength of temporal bracketing is that 'the decomposition of data into successive adjacent periods enables the explicit examination of how actions of one period lead to changes in the context that will affect action in subsequent periods' (Langley, 1999, p. 703). For example, the literature of ethnicity and identity points to the importance of life narratives which are examined through the broadcasters of the station. The development of identity is seen as a discursive process from which later actions of the broadcasters may be informed by earlier periods of their lives or from episodes of activity at the radio station.

Pozzebon and Pinsonneault's (2005) analysis of information technology studies utilising structuration theory finds that temporal bracketing 'is a classic example of a research strategy involving mutual shaping' (2005, p. 1361) whereby the bracketing of periods of time or themes captures the duality of human agency and social structures. One of the main criticisms of such bracketing is that placing in suspension and breaking down data from successive periods risks losing the meaning of the

duality of structure because it overlooks the fact that the process of structuration takes place in every action. That said Barley's (1990) narrative of technology changes within a health department is made more robust by his use of temporal bracketing. It helped him to develop theory from the themes and plots used to analyse the observations and in doing so highlighted the processes that captured the duality of departmental schemas and human interaction.

Pozzebon and Pinsonneault examine two ways that temporal bracketing can be employed, either as fine grained or broad ranging. Though both have the same aims of 'the breakdown of phases or events that evolve over time' (2005, p. 1364) each has its own appropriate use. Fine grained bracketing, used by Barley (1990) and Orlikowski (1992, 1996) explored the effects of action on structures and the constraint and enablement structures have on actions during a short period of time. Both achieved this by gathering a very dense amount of data which enabled them to 'break down the data into successive adjacent periods and carefully examine how specific actions lead to contextual changes which will, again, affect action, and so on' (Pozzebon and Pinsonneault, 2005, p. 1364). This enables the researcher to understand the nuances of everyday agent action intensively with a greater chance of observing the interaction of both internal and external structures. Broad ranging bracketing takes a similar approach but examines sequences of events over a much longer period of time. Such long periods do not require such a depth of data as the objective is to look at much broader social transformations over longer periods of time.

Temporal bracketing has much potential, particularly when paired with the narrative strategy, for being able to break down what can be 'a shapeless mass of process data' (Langley, 1999, p. 703) into more connected blocks or phases. Using such a technique can help to 'examine how the context affects these processes and what the consequences of these processes are on the future context and other relevant areas of interest' (ibid). That is, temporal bracketing can help to make connections between actions of agents within different phases of research visits to the station or the way an agent might recall past events when discussing present choices of action.

An examination of several other research strategies which utilise structuration theory shows that the use of a combined strategy, rather than case study alone has more illuminatory potential. A combined strategy allows an ordering of potentially 'boundaryless' information enabling the researcher to analyse it in ways which illuminate the processes of agent action and their interaction with the structures of, for example, ethnicity, identity and language. Where studies 'selectively take

concepts from different theoretical traditions' (Langley, 1999, p. 708), as this study does, there is a need for 'developing new strategies for understanding processes' (ibid). The usefulness of combining both narrative and temporal bracketing strategies is their ability to act as sense-making devices within a traditional case study approach. A modified version of temporal bracketing is discussed below.

5.4 Using strong structuration theory

Before addressing the more practical elements of the research design it is helpful to explore further the use of temporal bracketing as Stones has adapted it for strong structuration theory.

The research needed to establish the links between the general and situational internal structures of the agent to develop an understanding of their particular character, motivations, taken for granted world view and their practical and wider socio-cultural and discursive outlook. These internal matters connect at moments of agency with the external structures of the station and their interaction with positioned agents around them. Stones (2005, p. 117) summarises the importance of studying the general-disposition or 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1993) of the agent as follows (how this translates to elements to be queried in the research are bracketed):

- 'How these agents perceive the world (including their phenomenological approach to conjuncturally specific aspects of that world', how the agents view themselves, the station and their role there);

- 'What the internal relationships are between different aspects of that world view' (how who they are connects to being part of the radio station and other structures they occupy);

- 'How intensely attached the agents are to particular elements of their overall vision' (what draws them to a certain perspective in defining who they are);

- 'How they came to have particular elements of such a vision in the first place' (process changes over time described in their life narratives and observations which influences their present self);

- 'What would have to change for them to see the world differently' (perceptions of the agent as to what is rigid and what is fluid about themselves)

The literature addressed in the structuration section pointed to the use of what are termed as agent conduct and context analysis. This is a departure from Giddens' use

of temporal bracketing which looks at the duality of agent conduct and institutional analysis. By focusing on institutions as the other half of the duality it is Stones' belief that this is the wrong type of bracketing for illuminating the duality of structure (what this research is concerned about) though it is suited to particular types of historical, non-reductionist research. Instead of temporal bracketing the paired brackets should be agent *conduct* and *context*. This better supports the analysis of agent conduct, because context analysis covers the processes of the duality of structure not covered in the conduct of the agent.

Agent conduct and context analysis works in the same vein as temporal bracketing (the breaking up of processes into time periods, themes, events and serves two specific purposes. The technique:

a) Guides the researcher to particular dimensions of the social object rather than others thereby helping to contain the scope of the empirical data gathering and;

b) The type of bracketing used helps to elucidate the duality of structure by exploring the intertwined nature of identity and structured action.

Conduct and context analysis examines the agent's *internal* structures; it draws on their general approach to life (general-dispositional) and structures drawn on at particular times (situational), both of which are employed in the use of external structures during the 'doing of things'. The agent's actions go on to maintain the status quo, elaborate the structures by altering them a little or the agent departs from recursive behaviour significantly and so modifies the structures.

Using the paired conduct and context analytical tools does not mean they should always be used together. The most appropriate bracket will depend on the question that needs to be answered. Therefore, whichever bracket is used will inevitably leave some of the narrative in shadow. However this is the power of bracketing; it assists in the sifting of information so that the most relevant aspects can come to the fore.

Conduct analysis 'places in suspension institutions as socially reproduced, concentrating upon how actors reflexively monitor what they do; how they draw upon rules and resources in the constitution of interaction' (Giddens, 1894, p. 378). This in turn affects the structures of the station, of identity and its communication to and with others. Agent conduct analysis draws on the agent's overall ontology of knowledge and so takes into account their reflexive monitoring, their motives, desires, their ordering of priorities, informing their interaction with others as a

process or unfolding sequence. A focus on agent conduct investigates the 'agent's critically reflective and pre-reflective processes of sifting and sieving' (Stones, 2005, p. 122). It does so at the point where an agent calls on internal structures specific to their context of action, linking with the point of active agency and the agent's general disposition. That is, conduct analysis is about capturing the agent's understanding and negotiation of situational structures which may modify their general outlook.

Context analysis draws on internal structures of situational knowledge utilised by the agent to understand the 'terrain' of external structures they perceive in the constraint and enablement of action and the positioning of other actors within these structures.

Therefore context analysis moves the focus outwards from the knowledge and motivation of doing towards the agent's consciousness of 'interdependencies, rights and obligations, asymmetries of power and the social conditions and consequences of action' (Stones, 2005, p. 122) surrounding the agent; in essence, the context of action. Context analysis captures the agent's use of their internal frames of meaning to make strategic choices based on their position of networked others.

It is the context analysis of agent action where the importance of ideology, community and positioning start to have relevance and where position-practice really comes into its own. Context analysis serves as a hinge between the internal contextual structures of the agent and the external structures which agents draw on, repeat and alter in situated action. Just as it emphasises the agent's awareness of courses of action, context analysis allows the researcher 'a perspective from which to identify and assess the range of relevant causal influences, the potential courses of action, and the probable consequences of both' (Stones, 2005, p. 122) in the context of how these effect the agent. The awareness of the researcher of the agent's position within the context of networked others allow her to explore and respect the agent's personal perceptions whilst also mapping out the relevance of others at the station which the agent may not perceive.

For example, at the mixing desk on air from when the agent (DJ) selects a record and composes themselves to speak into the microphone, to the moment of that particular carrying out of the action the agent is drawing upon knowledge to carry out an action specific to this event. This is to be found in the situated nature of conduct analysis. Their action is contextualised by their general views, beliefs, will and motives. They are making a choice of which record to play, informed by the unconscious emotional or reflexive understanding of their audience so they 'know' it is the right record,

because it follows on from the previous one, or it links to a memory they have or it simply is on the play-list, one of the external constitutive structures of the station, and of 'being' a DJ. This is to be found in context analysis, the moment their internal knowledge connects to the context of their setting and use of external structures.

The point of using both is that a narrative of agent conduct, describing and understanding the actions of the agent in the course of being at the radio station would be lacking without querying the agent's contextual understanding and mapping of their position in relation to others which constitutes the radio station as an institution. Crucially, context analysis does not view institutions as solely comprising rules and resources, rather there is *as* much importance weighted on institutional position-practice which can only be explained through the investigation of the 'skills and awareness of actors within this institutional context of action' (ibid). Both types of analysis remain temporal by placing in suspension the actions of agents during defined periods of time when the events are observed and the research is conducted.

5.5 The scope of the research

The previous section discussed the rationale for choosing a qualitative case study approach supported by narrative and a modified version of temporal bracketing strategies, within a framework of structuration, ethnicity and radio theory. The next stage is to address who will be studied, that is, defining the scope of the study because as Miles and Huberman point out 'you cannot study everyone everywhere doing everything' (1994, p. 27). The types of cases chosen were decided using purposive sampling where a selection is made 'according to known characteristics' (May, 1997, p. 88) with an aim to illustrate sub groups (different ethnicities and identities) to enable meaningful comparison between cases (exploring the fluid/reified development of identity within the station setting). Purposive sampling is commonly used in a case study approach where the choice of cases is made 'to satisfy specific needs in the project' (Robson, 2001, p. 142). Using such a sampling strategy also helped to contain the scope of the study to a handful of case studies which fitted the sampling criteria. The specific criteria or characteristics were defined as the following:

A representative spread of ethnicities - For the main empirical phase of the research radio stations were selected according to the ethnicities they claim to represent from their Ofcom license application with an overall aim to incorporate the UK's main (black and South Asian) and smaller ethnic communities. It is important to point out that one station did not have a specific ethnic minority remit (the pirate) though its

roots were in black music. All stations were seen to provide a context to enable the examination of the kind of fluid identities identified in the literature.

To represent the licensing scenarios – The second criteria for purposive sampling was to select cases (radio stations) covering the various licensing scenarios. These are: community stations and RSL's (restricted service licenses), local and national commercial stations and public service stations. One of the powerful elements of structuration theory is its potential ability to enable cross comparison between cases of different size. Therefore, stations were selected from across the licensing scenarios as it was thought their potential audience and community bases would be more diverse. Stations operating outside the law were also considered following an Ofcom report on pirate radio broadcasting (2007) that confirmed the importance some ethnic minority audiences ascribed to the stations embedded nature within their communities. Legally, there are no issues with working with pirate stations providing any methods were *not* participatory and aiding of their broadcasts.

To provide a regulatory perspective, the involvement of Ofcom was seen as crucial for answering questions relating to the continued station existence and the broadcasting environment.

The case study stations selected for the research were:

1. BBC Asian Network – a national public service station serving South Asian communities and located in Birmingham, London and Leicester

2. Colourful Radio – a small/medium commercial station serving the black communities in London

3. Spectrum Radio – a large commercial station within which the case studies were

    a. Irish Spectrum – serving the Irish communities in London

    b. Somali on Air – serving the Somali communities in London but also across Europe

4. Radio Asian Fever – a community radio station serving the South Asian communities in central Leeds

5. Buzz FM – a pirate radio station serving a diverse community in Manchester but focusing on black and Urban music

More often than not the station manager provided the link with other participants. As it was difficult to pre-select participants prior to the research and because the focus was on understanding the actions and interactions between station agents, a snowball sampling strategy was used. Snowball sampling took place once an initial interview was conducted and the respondents were 'used as informants to identify other members of the population who are used as informants and so on' (Robson, 2001, p. 142). This technique was particularly suited to the study as the manager or main contact proved to be the facilitator, introducing the researcher to others and helping to make respondents feel comfortable with a stranger's presence at the station.

5.6 Issues with sampling

In preparation and to outline the study, its expectations of the participants, the duration and the type of involvement required, a one page summary of the research was compiled. Station managers are often very short of time and are unwilling to deviate from their normal activities associated with daily station life. Stations selected against the criteria were contacted initially via email and the one page proposal was attached.

In some cases, the manager did respond and the possibilities of working with them were explored. For the pirate station this proved to be the case but an extended email conversation took place before they felt able to allow a researcher access to their location. Even then, a meeting at a mutually agreed location took place with a DJ escorting the researcher there so as not to disclose the exact address. On arrival an informal meeting with the station manager took place so that he could ensure there was no regulatory involvement with the research. Once he was happy that this was the case, the research was allowed to progress.

If no response was received to the initial and follow-up emails, the station manager was then telephoned. In the majority of the cases where the station was small it was possible to start a dialogue with the station manager and negotiate access to the station and its agents. In the case of the national public service broadcaster, securing agreed participation was a lengthy process and it was only when an intermediate level manager from a sister station agreed to assist that a means of access was negotiated.

Finding a suitable small/medium commercial station proved the most difficult case study to arrange as suitably identified stations declined to take part. As so few ethnic minority broadcasters exist of this size another station was selected that held the

same broadcast area but was in the process of transitioning from internet-only broadcast to DAB.

5.7 Research duration – the fine grained approach

Data collection took place with the seven case studies between March 2008 and April 2009 and each case study comprised two separate visits of up to a week in duration. These visits covered different periods such as weekends so as to observe the changing nature of the schedule and community interaction at different times of the day. By using the fine-grained approach to bracketing the aim was to collect intensive in-depth data covering events, processes and themes. One of the themes covered were events, such as Eid, the Mela season and community music events where the station was involved.

5.8 The qualitative data gathering techniques

Creswell (1994) points out that for qualitative studies the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis. Because of this, qualitative data is 'mediated through this human instrument, rather than other instruments (p. 145) and this significantly guides the methodology towards techniques which hinge on the researcher. May (2001) identifies three primary data collection techniques used in qualitative case study methodologies, that of observation, interview and the use of documents and records. The last technique can be further broken down into audio visual and written records. Studies which employed structuration theory and used a combination of narrative and temporal bracketing have also employed observation (Barley, 1986, 1990), Bartunek (1984) and Coad and Herbert (2009).

The main goal of the study was to understand and explore how ethnic minority radio stations are *constituted* and *employ*, *embody*, *communicate* and *develop* concepts of ethnicity and identity. Structuration theory and the theories of ethnicity and identity show how structures, including the radio station, are constituted during interaction and as they become more established, will feature such elements as 'containers of power'. The latter means the more permanent storage of elements which constitute the radio stations. Products of the radio station are elements such as broadcast programmes and promotional material are heard and seen. These often constitute repeated events incorporating Scannell's (1996) themes of sincerity, authenticity, identity, dailiness, eventfulness, sociability and intentionality. These are outcomes of the interactions between agents who are at, and associated with, the radio station, employing situated and general structures which form part of the communication of ethnicity and identity.

The focus was on finding the most appropriate techniques to capture processes, interactions, events, bracketed by the ways agents conduct themselves and the context in which they operate. The case study techniques of observation, interview and document research are described alongside the additional technique of programme analysis which is more associated with traditional media studies. The techniques are now examined in relation to how they can assist with answering the research questions and how they fit with the chosen strategies of narrative and a modified temporal bracketing.

5.8.1 Observation

The advantage of observation as a technique is its directness. It is about observing the goings on and activities of the agents in the radio station. The researcher had little experience of being in a radio station so the use of observation was a key tool, grounding the researcher in the setting and recording what became repeated and mundane activities of those present. The aim with observation is to capture daily life as it happens. However a limitation is that the mere presence of the researcher will upset the usual flow of processes and activities.

A form of structured observation was used, first within the main locale of the radio station but also situated within the broadcasting studio. It served several purposes. It was a 'way in' so that a feel for daily goings on could be somewhat unobtrusively constructed. It allowed participants to get used to the presence of the researcher before any other techniques were used. Observations recorded 'whether people act differently to what they say or intend' (Walliman, 2000, p. 242) and so served as a way of verifying what participants said in interviews. The researcher spoke a limited number of languages so observations enabled her to pick up elements of what was being said by participants.

The researcher aimed to be a 'marginal participant' rather than a participant observer. The difference is that rather than actively taking part in activities at the station, a marginal participant seeks a role as a 'passenger on a train or bus, or a member of the audience' (Robson, 2001, p. 198). The station manager would introduce the researcher to agents, the researcher would briefly say what she was recording and she would position herself out of the direct spatial area of the agent. The reason for this approach was that it enabled the researcher to check with participants details of what they were doing but it avoided altering their daily activities. This approach also suited some stations where a white, female researcher was already enough of an intrusion.

Observation was structured using Spradley's (1980) nine dimensions for descriptive observation with the intention of developing a rich picture or narrative of life at the radio station. Many of the categories in which to order observations were in sympathy with the data commonly collected as process data and they worked well with the themes within structuration theory and for breaking down into agent conduct and context analysis. Spradley's categories for observation are:

Table Two: Dimensions of descriptive observation

1.	Space	layout of the physical setting; rooms, outdoor spaces etc
2.	Time	time of day, times of the actions/events observed
3.	Agents	the names and relevant details of the people involved
4.	Activities	the various activities of the agents
5.	Objects	physical elements; furniture etc
6.	Acts	specific individual actions
7.	Events	particular occasions; meetings etc
8.	Goals	what agents are attempting to accomplish
9.	Feelings	emotions in particular contexts

Source: Spradley, 1980, p. 78

Observations were initially made in a notebook and typed up at night, away from the radio station. The detail of the observations made meant it was more prudent to take a small laptop into the studio/station to type notes as observations were being made which also made analysis easier. The observations formed a diary for the researcher with memories and snatches of conversation audio recorded and noted.

The disadvantages of using observation as a technique were where some agents were unable to concentrate at the mixing desk in the researcher's presence or felt uncomfortable under scrutiny, no matter how 'passenger-like' the researcher attempted to make herself. During these episodes the researcher quietly excused herself from the room and would either continue observation in the back office parts of the station, carry out interviews or conduct the programme analysis from elsewhere. When this did occasionally happen, the incidents were noted in the daily reflections.

5.8.2 Interview

One of the major techniques used was the method of interviews. As Robson points out:

> *'when carrying out an enquiry involving humans, why not take advantage of the fact that they can tell you things about themselves'*
>
> (2001, p. 227)

The central theme running through structuration theory, the development of ethnicity and identity and through many of the themes for studying radio and everyday life is a focus on the importance of interaction. Through interaction (using interview) it is possible to query actions by agents during their daily activities which enables the agent to verbalise some of the tacit, as well as discursive, knowledge they make use of almost unthinkingly. The methodological breakdown of the four steps for utilising agent conduct and context analysis hinge on the fact that the researcher is about to engage with the agent to explore the interaction and changes being made to internal and external structures.

The advantage of all types of interview techniques for the study is that the 'human use of language is fascinating both as a behaviour in its own right, and for the virtually unique window that it opens on what lies behind our actions' (Robson, 2001, p. 229). Henceforth, during the study and after initial observations had been made, daily observances were augmented by simply asking the agent 'tell me what you are doing?' Quite often the agent's response would be a prompt to turn on the voice recorder to capture the thought processes recounted by them as they were able to express verbally actions which they had not previously analysed themselves. Though this is not a formal type of interview technique, it might be termed as 'open' with its advantage of capturing information 'which cannot be predicted' (Walliman, 2000).

Semi-structured interviews are a respondent interview (Powney and Watts, 1987) where the interviewer seeks to garner information on a 'shopping list' of topics. These were formed around a schedule which informed the interviewee of the aims of the study, the right for the interviewee to withdraw from the process, initial biographical questions and then a thematically bulleted list of questions which were addressed at any time during a conversational manner. The idea being that the main interview topics fulfilled the overall questions of the study but those responses under each topic would 'be guided by the interviewee's responses' (Robson, 2001, p. 238). Interviews lasted from thirty minutes to over an hour.

Questions were developed in line with the developing aims and objectives of the study and included the main themes found in structuration theory which situated the questioning in the realms of daily activities, awareness of positioned others and

gentle probing of the agent's identity. The questions were trialled during the pilot phase at one of the stations and it quickly became apparent the questions were too theoretical and complex. The interview schedule was refined and simplified without losing the main theoretical thrust of the themes.

The use of fine-grained bracketing, that is, the collection of in-depth data over short but intense periods of data gathering, meant there was often more than one opportunity to interview station agents. This meant that any further interviews were able to incorporate probing of the agent's general-dispositional frame and their life narratives which were themes and techniques which emerged over the course of the empirical phase. Often these questions, though theoretically informed, were guided by the interviewee due to the advantage that they could 'talk about the subject in terms of their own frames of reference…drawing on ideas and meanings with which they were familiar' (May, 1997, p. 112). This was crucial in retaining the authenticity the interviewee presented, particularly when talking about their life histories.

All interviews were transcribed verbatim in order to capture this authenticity but also the individual, unique, linguistic speech nuances of the interviewees.. Where possible, email addresses were taken at the interview and the transcript was emailed so to enable the interviewee to withdraw partially, or fully, at any point in the study.

There were some disadvantages encountered using the interview technique. On a purely practical level, it was often not possible to conduct the interview anywhere but the studio which generated sometimes poor quality audio recordings. Additional time transcribing was considered an acceptable sacrifice if it meant being able to access particular interviewees.

From a methodological perspective, the dynamics between the interviewee and interviewer are important and there was a recognised need to maintain a balance between a friend/confidante and pure outsider. Another issue were the ethnic and cultural differences between the interviewer and the majority of interviewees. May (1997) notes the important difference in responses that were elicited from young black men in the USA first by white interviewers and secondly, the far richer and more honest responses received by black interviewers. The researcher was conscious of this and fully expected the first and second visits to radio stations to differ. First visit interviews often yielded reserved and mediated responses, particularly when touching on concepts of identity or issues felt within the community. Second visits enabled some interviews to progress as the initial reservations of the respondent had often receded and they were much more comfortable to explore these topics. These

problems were not always present; the researcher sometimes gathered startlingly personal narratives in part due to the perceived outsider character of the interviewer by the interviewee. This enabled the interviewee to discuss topics which would not have been openly discussed within their community.

5.8.3 Documents

A modified version of document research was employed in the research which rather than being treated as a totally separate technique, served to augment the data being collected through observation and interview. Qualitative documents were collected to reflect the social activity being observed within the radio station and to 'capture the "dramaturgical character" of action' (Altheide, 1996, p. 27). Where documents were collected as part of the observation it helped to 'understand the process and character of social life and to arrive at meaning and process' (Altheide, 1996, p. 42). Documents represent the 'characteristics and organisational aspects' of the station, as well as being 'social products in their own right' (ibid). Therefore documents collected were items such as station schedules, meeting reports, recordings of jingles, presenter biographies, station sales brochures, events flyers and information collected at radio station events.

Some documents were produced by taking photographs and video during periods of observation to capture some of the behaviour and broadcasting techniques employed by agents at the radio station. These secondary types of document are not considered in quite the same way as station produced documents. They are supplementary to observation, however all documents were catalogued and coded using the same themes used for the interview and observation analysis.

A disadvantage of using this method was that occasionally agents were not happy for items to be taken off site as documents relating to advertising sales or meetings were considered confidential. When this was an issue notes were taken about the documents and this secondary evidence was used instead. The second disadvantage was the value of collecting videos and photographs was not fully realised until later in the study. What had begun as personal memories of the time spent at each case study became valuable documents in their own right, capturing many of the processes which until that point had only been written about. As such, a greater part of the catalogue covers the later part of the research when second visits were made.

5.8.4 Programme analysis

Programme analysis was a technique derived from those of observation and directly from the theory utilising Scannell's (1996) analysis of radio and its structures. The

aim was to create a technique which would capture the recursive activities, identities, authenticities and sociable tones of the broadcaster in the context of how the programme sat within the station schedule and as part of the linguistic and processual structures of the broadcaster and organisation.

Previous studies which have examined ethnic minority radio and other media have done so from the perspective of the audience and the domestic space (Georgiou, 2006; Silverstone, 1994; Morley, 1999; Morley and Silverstone, 1990; Moores, 1993) and have involved some form of ethnography utilising participant observation and interview. Studies such as these have been conducted within a framework which situates the examined media through the lens of identity hybridisation, diasporic media and migration and/or as a socio-political representation, analysed through a lens of semiotics, rhetorical analysis or ideological criticism.

This study instead concentrates on the processes situated within the radio station and between its agents with an aim to understand how ethnic minority radio is reproduced and utilises, communicates and develops the concepts of ethnicity and identity. The guiding sensitising devices of structuration and the literature on ethnicity and identity have highlighted the situated and fluid dimensions to community and identity construction which are realised during interaction. Therefore, using the traditional methods of programme and language analysis would have been inappropriate techniques. Instead, with an aim to capture the processes being witnessed and to realise the potential application of Scannell's phenomenologically situated ideas of the meaning of radio and everyday life, the categories derived from his theories were used to construct the research techniques.

This technique combined elements of the framework derived from the literature and were used during observation and from recordings taken during time in the studio. Using the radio themes on a prompt card with some shorthand codes prepared, the analysis was undertaken during the broadcast so as to be able to incorporate observation made of the presenter and others associated with the programme. Doing so gave a greater chance of capturing their actions and the processes they went through to construct radio dialogue and the identities they assumed.

The shorthand categories used during the programme analysis are reproduced here in Table Three. The analysis was recorded within the observation diaries to enhance awareness of the contextual goings on within the studio.

Table Three: Programme Analysis

TP - Time of programme:	Note time of day, shouldering programmes
L - Language:	Main broadcast language and style
TyP - Type of programme:	Genre and format e.g. chat, music, niche music, phone-in
D – Description:	What goes on during the programme, interactions noted
I - Intentionality:	How programmes come to occur, intended meaning, dominant and communicative ethos.
So - Sociability:	The sociable tones of the programme, relationship to the audience
Si - Sincerity:	Broadcasting style; false or sincere performance, do they mean what they say?
E – Eventfulness:	The mood, effect and attitude of the broadcast
A - Authenticity:	The authentication of daily life through the programme, do those who broadcast have the experience to say what they do? Is the experience presented authentically?
Id – Identity:	Identity of the presenter, their style, station style, thematisation, language identity, how are the audience addressed?
Da - Dailiness:	What is the meaning of the programme, how does it fit into the dailiness of schedules of the station, calendar events and of the audience? How does the programme *attend* to the person listening? What structures exist in the programme that contributes to the dailiness of its continued existence?

The categories used for the programme analysis were refined during the pilot phase so that recording of observation and the analysis could happen quickly and concurrently. Further analysis took place after the empirical stage. Snatches of conversation and musical references were included to add to the contextual understanding.

The advantages of using this system were to focus the analysis on particular tasks and observations which were closely aligned to the theoretical framework and the questions. One of the issues with collecting qualitative data is knowing what data to collect with the tendency being to collect far too much. Secondly, there is an issue of analysing a mass of seemingly unrelated data causing what Pettigrew (1990) calls 'death by data asphyxiation'. Using Scannell as inspiration for the analysis meant that data collection was already being ordered thematically.

The disadvantages of structuring programme analysis in such a way meant that the raw data was already being significantly guided by the theoretical framework meaning a risk of overlooking potentially valuable processes going on during the programmes. Locating the analysis within the observation diaries was partly done in the hope that any missed opportunities would be noted in the normal observations.

5.8.5 Relating the techniques to the objectives

The qualitative techniques selected for the methodology were chosen carefully because they: a) relate to the techniques used within a case study approach and utilise the chosen process strategies of narrative and temporal bracketing; and b) the techniques were intended to capture data which when systematically analysed would directly answer the research questions. The techniques chosen and the questions they relate to aim to address the overall research goal:

> *To explore and analyse how ethnic minority radio stations are constituted and employ, embody, communicate and develop concepts of ethnicity and identity.*

The techniques that relate to the individual questions are as follows:

1. What constitutes ethnic minority radio and their digital and analogue operating environment? (observation, interview, documents)

2. What are the personal experiences of those involved in shaping the radio stations and the environment they operate in? (interviews)

3. In what way do rules, resources and power play between positioned agents in the constitution of the station? (observation, interview, documents)

4. How do ethnic minority radio stations reach and interact with their audiences? (observation, interview, documents)

5. How do relevant agents interact to create, reproduce and alter the structures of the programmes? (programme analysis, interview)

6. How do relevant agents interact to create, reproduce and alter the structures of ethnicity and identity through their programmes? (interview, programme analysis)

5.9 Data analysis

When using a qualitative case study approach which draws on concurrently developing theory, data analysis becomes an integrated process which for this study, began during the pilot stage and continued until the finalised thesis. The power of qualitative research is to help 'understand the process and character of social life and to arrive at meaning and process' (Altheide, 1996, p. 42). To get to this level of understanding qualitative data analysis is not 'just about coding and counting' (ibid). Though that can help, it is about deconstructing a data-soup into various processes and elements, drawn from the theory, that can start to realise the explanatory power held within the data. The choice to use a combination of narrative and a version of temporal bracketing meant that a form of thematic data content analysis was used within the structures of agent conduct and context analysis.

5.9.1 Conduct and context analysis

To capture the processes the agent undertakes during action and the structure of relevance within their daily life and of the station, Stones outlines the following recurring four steps for conducting data analysis using conduct/context bracketing. The question being asked will guide the researcher as to whether conduct, context or a combination of both will be required, and therefore, not all steps are always relevant.

1. *Usage: Understanding the general character and identity of the agent in focus.* The first step, using the *conduct* bracket, is to establish the agent's general-disposition, their perspectives, and approaches to daily life. The themes uncovered will possibly relate to several structures, or processes, of the agent.

2. *Usage: Identifying and understanding the internal structures and their relationship to agent action.* Having identified the general frame of meaning the agent occupies this next step identifies the situational internal structures the agent draws upon in action. They may be drawing on several clusters of internal structures during the processes of sifting and sieving knowledge relevant to the task in hand. The use of conduct analysis helps to uncover the

priorities, constraints and influences the agent senses, often pulled in different directions of their own personal projects and the priorities of the 'ghosts of networked others '(Stones, 2005, p. 124). By this Stones is referring to the legacy of past actions by relevant positioned others.

3. *Usage: mapping out the external structures and the identities of positioned others relevant to the agent.* Moving into the outward facing realm of the context bracket is the hinging step where the researcher makes connections to the relevant external structures which are constituted by the positioned, networked practice of other agents. This means looking at networked other's general perspectives, motivations and narratives using conduct analysis similar to step one within this frame of context.

4. *Usage: Understanding the possibilities for action by the agent, whether this repeats, alters or changes the external structures and the influences on this action by networked others.* Using a combination of agent conduct and context analysis the researcher takes a step back to examine the external structures and the agent's perceptions of their importance. This can involve simply their identification or explore constraints, enablement and causal influence which change the structure. This naturally involves examining the inter-relationships between structural elements (other agents).

For example, concentrating on the construction of identity and ethnicity meant exploring the general nature of a person (1) that can illuminate the internal situational structures (2) they call on which comprise parts of who they are (e.g. the language they use, their family background, the music they identify with, the friendship groups they maintain). Contingent in this is identifying the networked agents positioned around this person that play a role in the structures of the self (3). The extent to which a person changes over time depends on the repeated or altered way they employ the structures of identity; their ability to do so will depend on others within the networked structure (4). Giddens' (1991) work on life narratives shows that the development of identity takes place over time and by discursive interaction which is open to the variables described above. The research used this strategy by focusing on one agent who was the facilitator for working with other members of the station. From working more closely with the agent it is possible to map out the networked others at the station and the community who hold direct relevance to the research.

Stones emphasises that any study must take into account the socio-historical-structural background which acts as a 'force' on the current position-practice of the

agents involved. For this study, it must account for the historical forces of ethnic minority radio that are the traditions within the station but also the community codes of practice, religious, familial and linguistic histories, legacies of past practices and ways of doing things. These form what Stones describes as 'cultural curricula' (2005, p.137). One way of examining the structural clusters (linked together structures) which are important was to consider the relevance of ideology for an agent's underlying general disposition. An examination of agent and community shared ideology meant being attentive to the importance an agent weights to issues such as rights, justice, liberty, equality and the particularistic attitudes that mark out and separate cultural and community identity. These 'cultural curricula' link to the socio-cultural history and structures of action described by Karner and are relevant to both the situational and general internal structures of the agent.

5.9.2 The process of data analysis

The analysis involved several stages which are summarised as follows:

1. Analysis was undertaken during the pilot phase in order to refine the data collection techniques and to develop the aims and objectives of the study.

2. During the first phase, each evening after a day spent within a radio station the observation diaries would either be typed up or reviewed and any salient issues would be noted to be incorporated into the next phase.

3. This checking also applied to the interviews that had been digitally recorded and would be reviewed at the end of each station visit; this would be done whilst reviewing observation notes and programme analysis which pertained to each interview.

4. The interviews were typed up verbatim to ensure all pauses, utterances and interruptions were retained in the transcripts as these often captured agent interactions which were crucial for spatially and temporally placing the interviewee within the station and their role.

5. The interviews were listened to a further few times when reading the transcripts, partly to ensure the transcripts were accurate but also to embed the researcher within the settings the interviews had taken place with the accompanying emotions, tones and pauses.

6. Using a triangulation of methods and reviewing the interviews alongside the accompanying diaries and programme analysis meant there were fewer

limitations involved when relying on interviews as a true record. The researcher's observations and the programme analysis meant claims and recounted stories could be checked for the depth and honesty of information. The incestuous nature of the radio sector meant that some names and stories would be serially recounted within different case study settings and these could be cross checked.

7. A stage of data reduction took place during the second phase of the research whereby collected data was evaluated before further research. In the intervening months between station visits an interim analysis was conducted, often for the production of research papers or during periods of further theoretical development. This meant the second phase of data collection was more refined. It was possible in part because the emerging themes meant that boundaries to data collection were clearer but also a growing understanding of radio station life meant the researcher was able to be more selective when recording interviews and carrying out observation and further programme analysis.

8. Two types of analysis were then applied to the data, though carried out concurrently. Both were carried out on individual case studies to produce a body of data which could then be used for comparison. These steps applied to all the data arising from the three techniques used.

9. The first stage was to break down the themes emerging from the literature on ethnicity, identity and for radio into either the brackets of agent conduct or context for which there were four stages as defined by Stones (2005). These stages are found in 5.9.1, conduct and context analysis.

10. Incorporating these themes with the four stages of Stones' quadripartite nature of structuration, the second stage of analysis was to examine the interviews, observation notes, programmes and documents using conduct and context analysis. The overall purpose was to organise the data into understanding the general-disposition of agents, their individual conduct and processes, mapping this out to the role of the agent within the context of positioned others, perceived enablement and constraint, active resource and rule use and how the all these elements impacted on the agent, the positioned others within the radio station and the structures in use. These stages helped to build a rich narrative of the agents involved. It contributed to understanding how the station was constituted and started to map out the

agents, the structures involved, how ethnicity and identity moved from the general-dispositional frames of meaning and out into the context of positioned others and as part of shared structures. During this stage, themes not appearing to relate directly to the conduct/context brackets were also coded for further exploration. The coding framework can be viewed in Appendix one.

11. From the refinement of these four major themes it was possible to relate the coded and compared data to answering the main questions of the study. These and the relevant codes can be seen in Appendix two. For example, through an examination of an agent's general-disposition, relevant positioned others and the use of external structures, a picture starts to build of the personal role and meaning that ethnicity and identity has for that agent. Understanding how relevant agents interact to create, reproduce and alter the structures around them brings together the internal structures used by the agent in action and the mapping out of positioned others. Analysing how the stations, agents and the media messages they produce play a role in the communication and development of ethnicity and identity entails all the steps.

12. This thematic coding and analysis of themes was conducted manually using an excel spreadsheet and working directly with the printed interviews, observation diaries, programme analysis, and documents. The use of Atlas.ti, a qualitative software package was then used to arrange the families of codes and themes so that quotes could be relationally coded across the conduct/context brackets. This enabled detailed queries to be carried outrelating directly to the questions. Doing so brought together codes from across the brackets for further manual analysis and writing up.

5.10 Ethical framework

The study is concerned with understanding 'the process and character of social life and to arrive at meaning and process' (Altheide, 1996, p. 42) within the context of examining case studies of ethnic minority radio stations which are dealing with the communication, embodiment and development of ethnicity and identity. In such a real life setting involving face-to-face contact there were several ethical considerations. The Manchester Metropolitan University ethical framework was followed during planning of the empirical stage of the research and throughout its execution.

In accordance with the framework and the issues Miles and Huberman raise (1994, p. 290-7) on the fine balance to be struck between maximising the quality of the data and ensuring those involved were treated with respect and care, the following issues were considered

Participant consent – the study deals with personal and sensitive issues such as ethnicity and identity. Therefore, all participants were informed about the nature of the study and that they retained all rights to withdraw at any stage. Station managers were sent a one page brief outlining the aims and objectives of the research. It also detailed the type of access required, the duration of visits, the type of data that would be collected and a little about the researcher. Interview and observation participants were all introduced to the researcher and were also informed about the study. When occasionally a potential participant felt uncomfortable about taking part, the researcher left the room and no notes were taken.

Privacy – the research took place within the organisation space of a radio station which although it might have had an open door policy with its staff, was also a space where private and sensitive matters were discussed. This included both commercial and personal information discussed by participants. In some cases participants requested during interview that some statements were to be kept off the record; the researcher respected this. The researcher was also clear with participants that any sensitive information would remain uncoded and in some cases, where interviews sent for proof reading by participants were returned and were edited, only this edited version was referred to for analysis.

Confidentiality and anonymity – these required careful consideration because though the ethnic minority radio sector has grown in size, referring to case study stations anonymously whilst discussing the characteristics and programmes would give away their identity. It was felt that the most appropriate course was to use the real name of the station and also of the main facilitator who had given whole station consent. In many cases this was the station manager who understood they would be identifiable. It was felt that other participants within the station should have their responses made anonymous to ensure that anything the researcher missed as being seen potentially controversial within the station was not attributable within the final thesis.

Reciprocity – due to the sometimes highly personal nature of the interviews it was considered right that participants should have access to their interview and later to the full thesis should they wish. Giddens (1984) refers to the ‘double hermeneutic’

which is the mutual reciprocity between research, generated from everyday life from which the results are reabsorbed and used by lay actors as a mutual cycle.

Researcher safety – the empirical data gathering took place in mainly urban areas and finished late at night. In accordance with the Manchester Metropolitan University ethical framework the supervisory team discussed the potential risk (point 5.3.8) to the researcher. She had clear plans for maintaining her safety so the risks were deemed low. One of the case studies was broadcasting illegally which raised concerns with point 5.3.10 of the framework. The supervisory team deemed the case study worthy and the researcher had made arrangements to maintain her safety throughout the site visit. Advice was sought from Ofcom, the communications regulator, about undertaking such a case study. The Head of Spectrum Investigation advised that the researcher would not be breaking the law by undertaking the case study providing it was non-participatory.

5.11 Limitations

Consideration was given to the 'restrictive weaknesses' (Locke et al, 1993, p. 18) of the study which centred on six ethnic minority radio station case studies and interviews with the UK's broadcasting regulator. Much of some of the resulting data was specific to the ethnic and cultural considerations of each case study and some of the interactions were particular to the station and its community. One limitation with a case study approach is the potential limited generalisability which comes from the resulting data. That said, if a case study achieves a rich and theoretically supported narrative then it is possible 'to make contact with the more implicit and informal understandings held by readers who are able to see parallels with the situation in which they work or otherwise have knowledge about' (Robson, 2001, p. 73). The aim of the study, particularly where the 'double hermeneutic' is relevant and where the narrative is rich enough is 'to produce a sense of déjà vu amongst experienced readers' (Langley, 1999. p. 695) which adds to their contextual knowledge.

Where there are limitations through the focus on ethnicity and identity, it is intended that the empirical application of structuration theory, combined with the themes for studying radio and everyday life should provide a useful and transferable framework for future radio research.

5.11.1 The researcher and bias

> *'Those thinkers who argue for value-freedom, in whatever form, are viewed as inheriting a mythical distinction between reason and emotion'* (May, 1997, p, 52)

A qualitative research project using a mainly interpretive approach is going to be anything but value free. That said, as Giddens, (1984) notes; 'all agents are capable of reflexive monitoring of action' and the researcher was aware, that being the primary 'human instrument' of data collection, this was important for all steps undertaken in the study.

The researcher is a white female with little direct experience of being part of a radio station and had only the recounted experiences of friends and colleagues about their ethnicity and identity. The motivation for the study came from a family history of migration, a curiosity about the lack of minority language radio before the 1970's and the rate at which her grandparents had shrugged off their difference to assimilate into UK society. She recognised that there was a potential to approach the research with a degree of idealism about the social and cultural settings which constituted the case studies.

The researcher also recognised that it was not possible to learn all the languages she was likely to encounter during the course of the empirical data gathering and this created some issues for understanding and interpreting results, particularly the programme analysis. One reason for the triangulation of research techniques was to enable some verification and to facilitate a greater understanding of what was going on. At times, the station 'friend' (usually the manager) acted as interpreter for non-English language programming (about 60% of overall output) but their interpretation of the programme would later be cross checked through other interviews and elements of observation.

5.12 Conclusion

Structuration theory as written about by either Giddens (1984) or Stones (2005) comes with little prescription for how it should be empirically applied. In the field of ethnicity and media studies there is almost no precedent for its use in studying radio and everyday life within stations. This chapter, demonstrated how the research strategy had been built from a systematic refining of the research problem and its goal, a break down of the questions into their constituent theoretical parts and an evaluation of the research outcomes.

An evaluation of several sense making strategies that have employed a processual approach, as structuration is, in empirical research showed the benefits of a combined narrative and temporal bracketing strategy. This reflected Stones' use of agent conduct and context bracketing developed for Strong Structuration theory by breaking down the processes of interaction that constitute the duality of structure.

The potential for conduct and context analysis were theoretically applied to the scenarios of rule and resource use by DJs set within the locales of their studios.

The discussion has shown how a qualitative, case study approach includes this intermediate level of structuration theory, or ontology-in-situ (Stones, 2005), within the scope of a study that locates the research within various radio stations incorporating a range of ethnic identities. Using this qualitative, case study approach, the most appropriate data gathering techniques were outlined, that of observation, interview, document and programme analysis that would be used within the bracketing of agent conduct and context analysis. These techniques were then related back to the objectives of the study. In constructing an approach to analysing the empirical data for the study, the conduct and context brackets were further outlined as steps to be followed that included the theory from ethnicity, identity and radio. These brackets were used to organise the themes and subsequent codes derived during the several stages of data analysis. Finally, consideration was given to the ethical framework and the limitations of the study which concluded with the important issues of researcher bias.

Chapter 6

CASE STUDIES

6 Outline of the case studies

The research explored six station case studies and involved interviews at the communication regulator Ofcom. The case studies were Radio Asian Fever, BBC Asian Network, Buzz FM, Colourful Radio, Irish Spectrum and Somali on Air. This section provides a short history of each station, its community and the details of how each case study was conducted.

6.1 Radio Asian Fever

Radio Asian Fever is a community radio station based in the mainly South Asian inner city district of Harehills, Leeds. It serves the predominantly Pakistani and Punjabi communities also in the surrounding areas of Chapeltown, Chapel Allerton, Roundhay, Armley and Beeston. These areas of Leeds have been home to established and migrant South Asian communities from the 1960's with many settling in the late 1960's and early 1970's to work in the mill factories in the surrounding locales. Many arrived as young families with their children experiencing a bilingual life, speaking Punjabi or regional dialects of it in the home and English. Familial networks were established and grew alongside more recently arrived Benagli communities. Harehills and its immediate locales continue to change with more recent migration coming from Afghanistan, Somalia and Poland.

The station's origins lie in pirate broadcasting which was in the early 1990's by the current station manager, Jabbar Karim, and was known as Apni Awaz. During the 1990's, aside from local BBC programmes catering for minority ethnic languages, there was no radio station fully serving the South Asian communities in Leeds. The station focused on supporting an emerging local Punjabi music scene, airing music from the areas of Pakistan that were only available on tapes brought over by relatives and on providing a local news and events service. The station was regularly raided by police representing the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) and further pressure was applied by the Radio Authority to try broadcasting legitimately as an RSL (Restricted Service Licence) for thirty days. The reaction from the community was positive but this short period of air time meant the staff went back to pirate broadcasting, audaciously filling a 24 hour schedule with a mixture of pre-recorded and live material.

The raids intensified and, by the late 1990's, the staff were unable to continue refinancing the purchase of equipment that had been seized. From 1999 to 2004 the station broadcast via a further eight RSL licenses. The passing of the Communications and Broadcasting Act 2003 enabling the third tier designated for community radio meant the staff worked towards gaining a full time licence which they were granted in the second round of applications in 2005. This tier of radio is restricted to gaining fifty percent of its funding from advertising. The remaining fifty percent must be gained from grant funding. Urged by Ofcom, the Office of Communications, to use the two year grace period to plan their programming and financing, the station began broadcasting full time on 1st March 2007.

The station for political reasons and through inexperience had been unable to secure the desired funding. During this first year and prior to getting ERDF (European Regional Development Fund) money the station received a visit from Mo Chaudry, a participant in Channel Four's Secret Millionaire documentary series. This resulted in a £14,000 donation which bought them essential equipment.

The station broadcasts within a 5km TSA (transmission service area) predominantly in English, Punjabi and Urdu with afternoon programmes set aside for specialised Punjabi dialects such as Mir Puri,. The focus is on programmes airing a variety of Bollywood, Lollywood (Lahore as Pakistan's film capital), bhangra, Punjabi hits and some British Asian acts; speech is provided in the form of community conversation with the DJ interacting with listeners, talent and talk shows, poetry readings and on Fridays the station dedicates programmes to religious spoken word provided for by visiting Molanas (religious clerics from the communities).

6.1.1 The case study

The case study took place over three separate visits. Initial contact was made with the station manager who was happy to take part. However a full brief was sent which required further discussion. Asian Fever were the pilot case study for the refined methodology and testing the theoretical framework. However the data gathered from interview, observation, programme analysis, photo and video was rich enough to be used for the main period of empirical data gathering. This first visit, lasting five days, took place in March 2008, a year after the station had begun full time community broadcasting and involved observation in its main studio and back office which are located on the first floor of a traditional terrace house which contains a grocery shop below. Interviews were carried out with the station manager, the finance and administration manager and the DJs who were being observed. Interviews and observation did not take place with the Molanas as they did not feel comfortable with

a female presence in the studio. During these shows, time was spent with the station manager who would interpret what was being aired in Punjabi.

The second visit, lasting six days and encompassing a weekend, took place nearly a year later in February 2009 with the aim of documenting the changes that had taken place during this period. Interviews were conducted with the same primary agents and facilitators into the community – the two managers – and with the DJs, many of whom were new. The station had approximately 30 volunteers with only the station manager consistently taking nominal salary. A high turnover of staff occurred due to them being volunteers and the fact that visits to Pakistan often took up to eight months meant that previous interviewees were unavailable.

The third visit took place two weeks after and involved attending an event at the Bangladeshi centre in Harehills which was partly arranged to promote the radio station. It was free to attend. It was also organized to host a visiting personality who had previously appeared on the radio station. It was a large community gathering to see a popular Molana who was on tour in the UK and who engaged audiences in sung Islamic lessons. The event was attended by approximately 700 people. The Bangladeshi centre was filled beyond capacity and many attendees were watching through the windows. The aim of this visit was to see the interaction between the radio station and its communities. Due to the religious nature of the event no notes were taken; memos were recorded in video and photo, the latter appears in the thesis.

6.2 BBC Asian Network

The second case study originally started as the Six O'clock show on BBC Radio Leicester during 1977 and was accompanied by ad hoc language programming that aimed to assist the integration of the East African Asians who mainly comprised the ethnic minority communities at that time. An audience survey called Who Tunes into What (1978) found that the programme garnered an audience of 66% of the Asian population in Leicester. Its popularity and an awareness that audiences rarely migrated to other programmes on the station prompted the launch of similar programming on BBC West Midlands (BBC WM). Both programmes were launched on the AM bands.

By 1989, the services had grown to further programmes and the incorporation of BBC World Service news programming in Urdu, Hindi and Bengali via a nightly service saw a consolidation between the two stations (WM and Leicester) to create the Asian Network. During this year the Radio Authority was seeking to take back some of the AM bandwidth used by the BBC and whilst the retention of the

bandwidth for the WM and Leicester stations was achieved, most pivotally, bandwidth in the London and Manchester areas was handed back. This meant the planned for expansion in these key cities containing diverse South Asian communities did not go ahead. A consolidation of content took place between WM and Leicester to achieve a more cohesive service that was producing ten hours of broadcast per day.

During the latter half of the 1990's the Asian Network expanded to a regional station and formalized its structure by putting in place a managing editor, reporting staff and an advisory council under the Nations and Regions management structure. Further slots were found in the Northern and Central regions of the UK to provide limited programming to the South Asian communities who comprised migrant and second/third generations from areas as diverse as India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Uganda, Sri Lanka and Nepal. To support these particular interests a formal newsroom was created at Leicester with regional reporters providing local perspectives.

As the focus shifted to serving a national British Asian audience, the serving Director General, Greg Dyke, moved the Network from the management of Nations and Regions to be part of the suite of national radio stations such as Radios One, Two, Three, Four and Five Live. Significantly, unlike the other national radio stations, the Asian Network was not assigned a Controller to oversee its interests at board level. In line with the national stations, streaming internet and limited television distribution were made available with the aim of expanding the Network's audience reach.

The Government's approval of the allocation of Digital Audio Broadcasting (DAB) bandwidth to the BBC meant the station was included in the suite of digital services in 2002 alongside the newly launched 1Xtra which was to provide music and programming within the black and urban music genres. It retained its AM frequencies in the Midlands area. New members of staff were appointed at the Network to provide sports and documentary programmes and the service officially launched on 28 October 2002.

The station struggled to shake off its regional approach to broadcasting which was not made any easier by its locations in Leicester, Birmingham and London run by a small management group. The station faced accusations of poor quality speech and music content and inconsistent presenters in the Gardam report released in 2004 and in response to the recommendations, appointed a new tier of management to oversee

music, news, editorial and network issues. The Network finally acquired a Controller when it was transferred to the remit of Bob Shennan who was charged with managing BBC Five Live.

Several schedule and staffing changes took place along with a more focused approach on raising audience awareness of the digital station. These took the form of appointing DJs viewed as more cutting-edge and who were already part of Radio One and 1Xtra. They also took the station on live tours of several universities which they supplemented by significant involvement with the London Mela and appearances on the clubbing scene. What had begun as a radio station aimed at providing language programming and community news broadened its scope to represent music, news, sports and events from across the South Asian diaspora. It combined this whilst retaining the specialised language elements *and* seeking to appeal to audiences ranging from 15 to 35 years old identifying with a British Asian heritage.

The Network has had a difficult time establishing a national audience partly due to direct competition from Sunrise Radio, Punjab Radio and smaller regional stations but also due to its position as a DAB station. Members of the South Asian population are typically viewed as being enthusiastic users of new technology though this has been necessary to reach media services offered via satellite. Adoption of DAB technology, by contrast, had not been so successful.

6.2.1 The case study

The case study took place over three different visits during a further period of schedule changes and organisation restructuring. Planning and making significant contact with staff was difficult and access was finally agreed via an introduction from a member of staff at BBC 1Xtra who had participated in a previous project undertaken by the researcher. The first visit was to see the Network interacting with its potential audiences at the London Mela in August 2008. The Network had started to be involved with the running of the Mela as part of its strategy to expand audience awareness of the station's DAB presence where they were in direct competition with Sunrise Radio aimed at older listeners and Club Asia aimed at audiences aged between 15 and 25. The Mela, meaning gathering, was held at Gunnersbury Park and attendance was approximately 70,000. Observation and interviews took place with some attendees but primarily with the Network Manager.

Having established a rapport with the Network Manager, further access was facilitated by him in the form of two visits which took place during September and

December 2008 and were spread over the three locations the Network occupies. The Network still maintains a Leicester presence through its concentration of the news and sports teams which sit alongside the regional services. Breakfast and afternoon programming was aired from its studios at the Mailbox in Birmingham. The phone-in and some of the specialised music shows were broadcast from the BBC's headquarters at White City in London. Observation, interviews and programme analysis was conducted at all three locations with access further facilitated by the Head of News in Leicester and the Programme Editor in London. The final day of data gathering in Birmingham culminated in a visit to the Ministry of Sound nightclub in London to observe and carry out interviews with those in attendance at the final date of the Network's university tour.

6.3 Buzz FM

Buzz FM is a pirate radio station which has operated intermittently from the early 1990's where it had been begun as a radio station broadcasting mainly South Asian music to the inner city suburbs of Manchester. Its choice of music genre was due to a relatively well established pirate radio sector in the city with the likes of Irie FM, Lazer FM, Fresh FM, KFM, Frontline FM and Phat Nation, amongst others, already broadcasting music of a black origin. It is unclear whether EricB, the present station manager and owner of the equipment was managing the station at that point. South Manchester is multiethnic but has well established predominantly black communities around the Trafford, Moss Side and Hulme areas of the city. It was the areas around the Hulme crescents, large labyrinthine 1960's blocks of flats, which played host to strong cross-cultural and musical creative communities and where many of the pirate stations and their DJs were situated historically. It is a commonly held belief that the 1998 demolition of the crescents also took the black and multiethnic creative heart out of the city.

During the 1990's as these creative centres were being demolished and many stations were being raided by the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), EricB noted the lack of representation of black music so the focus of the station changed to a mix of soul, reggae, ragga, drum and bass, dance, garage and bashment. The station, usually located in a garden shed in Trafford, regularly moved location around the city, broadcasting from loaned apartments, a warehouse, and occasionally, a car, to avoid studio detection. It hosted DJs from other stations and built up a 'staff' of 40 regular broadcasters who each had their own style. The broadcasting ethos of EricB centred on providing opportunities by broadcasting and promoting unsigned artists with a focus on music from Liverpool (EricB's place of birth) and Manchester. EricB was actively involved in the organization of local music festivals, related RSLs and the

generation of funds for local charities whilst maintaining the station costs through his job as a heavy goods driver.

The station used the frequency of 88 and 88.1 FM which EricB claimed until the station's demise, belonged to BBC Radio Two but was only utilised from the borders of Cheshire outwards thereby leaving the frequency as 'dead space' within the city confines. The success of the station and its cultural embeddedness within the local area meant that those involved became bolder and the station undertook a full-time broadcasting schedule. This continued until approximately 2001 when the station was repeatedly raided by police under the direction of the Radio Authority. Though the staff claimed to have avoided impeding critical life services and had a policy of clean language, the audacious use of a powerful transmitter meant that it was hard for the authorities to ignore the station.

In a court case which took place during 2002, EricB had his broadcasting equipment seized and was fined a record breaking amount of £10,000 (Manchester Evening News, 4th July, 2004). The lack of funds meant Buzz FM was dormant until a weekend only schedule was resumed in 2005. The fact that Buzz FM was the only pirate regularly broadcasting by that time and the previous criminal record of EricB meant they came under repeated scrutiny and were subjected to regular police raids. Buzz FM assumed another quiet period, broadcasting occasionally, during which some of the DJs took part in projects such as Peace FM and Carnival FM until it started more regular weekend broadcasts during autumn 2008.

6.3.1 The case study

The case study took place during a few months of email exchanges with one of the longest serving DJs, called The Snowman or Snow, from autumn 2008 and ended in January 2009. It took time to establish trust with the station manager who unsurprisingly had become wary of outsiders making enquiries, and just as one visit was agreed upon during winter 2008 the station was again raided. It reassumed weekend broadcasts during January 2009 and having continued successfully for three weeks, staff were concerned another raid was impending. The visit took place on a Friday night that month in Trafford and lasted for seven hours of intensive observation, interviews with the Manager, the DJ and his assistant, and programme analysis. One week later the station was raided for a final time and has not broadcast since. Snow, his friend/co-DJ Twangy and EricB who formed the core staff at Buzz FM had grown tired of the raids and the seemingly endless amount of money required replacing the equipment.

Following the final raid Snow continued with his plan to launch an internet only pirate radio station hub that would host his, Twangy and other British pirate DJs live shows. Since its launch the website has gained momentum and now plays host to live shows every evening and continues to work with unsigned and emerging artists. In September 2009 EricB again appeared in Manchester Magistrates Court, was charged with operating a pirate radio station and sentenced with a two year conditioned discharge, fined and charged court costs.

6.4 Colourful Radio

Colourful Radio was started as a partnership between Kofi Kusitor and Henry Bonsu in 2004 following Bonsu's departure from BBC London where he had presented a talk show. Prior to this he had worked for other parts of the BBC including the Today programme on Radio Four. Kofi has a background in technology and law; he began the 'Black Britons' website which sought to right the imbalance of representation of black people who had played a significant part in Britain's history.

The radio station is located in Vauxhall, South London which is a diverse area bordering the traditionally Afro-Caribbean communities of Brixton, Stockwell and Harlesden. These communities housed families who migrated to the UK from Jamaica and parts of Africa such as Ghana and Nigeria during the 1950's and 1960's before migration laws were tightened. The 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act brought in restrictions by categories of desirable skills for those wishing to work in Britain. 'The concern was with Asian and Black immigration and the Act was therefore de facto a measure aimed at immigrants from the newer, non-white Commonwealth' (Pilkington, 2003, p. 214). The increasing racist outcry against these new immigrants by politicians such as Enoch Powell and Peter Griffiths ensured that policies were further tightened up. During this period and well into the 1980's, acts of racism intensified against the black communities in South London, one of the worst culminating in the Brixton riots of 1981 which stemmed from the extreme conditions of poverty experienced by members of the community and the racism encountered when seeking work. Despite these hardships members of the Afro-Caribbean communities were creative in their output with many luminaries cited in the development of new music styles, as part of the cross cultural pirate radio scene and progressively made inroads to successful careers.

Colourful Radio was a reaction to the lack of relevant speech output which would connect with members of these communities and those who, the managers felt, were disenfranchised from commercial media. The station began broadcasting on a Sky Channel 0194 and on the internet and featured a variety of talk and arts programmes

aimed squarely at the Afro-Caribbean community. The station struggled to attract additional funding and advertising revenue due to its restricted methods of distribution and in April 2008 was forced to cease broadcasting.

The managers had been exploring the possibilities of gaining a licence to broadcast on either a national or London wide DAB (Digital Audio Broadcasting) multiplex. In 2006/07 it was included as part of the 'bouquet' of services offered by the Channel Four consortium for the second national multiplex. Following the sale of one of the services, One Word, for £1 and the increasingly grim outlook for national radio stations the consortium pulled out. Colourful was successful in gaining a licence on the third London multiplex. In June 2008, the managers realised a change of strategy and style of output was needed. The station engaged the services of Gordon Mac, the founder of ex-pirate and national station Kiss FM.

The new strategy saw a focus on 50/50 speech and music output for a market aimed at black and mixed audiences over the age of 30. The station has been described as a Kiss/Choice FM Gold for listeners who have grown up during the soul, reggae, hip-hop and jazz scenes of the 1990's but who were open to more speech content. Gordon Mac brought with him several of the original Kiss DJs for the specialised music shows planned for the evenings. On 2nd March 2009 the station launched its service on DAB. Its schedule, though still being established, comprised speech driven breakfast and morning shows followed by progressively more specialist music programmes.

6.4.1 The case study

The case study took place over three different visits during the period June 2008 to March 2009. Contact was initially made with Henry Bonsu who was open to research being carried out. A visit was made to the station in June 2008 to conduct a single interview with the two managers during their non broadcasting period.

Lengthy discussions took place to arrange a full visit. This was due to the constraints on the manager's time during the period of satellite/internet only broadcasting and following Gordon Mac's arrival. This full visit wasn't made until February 2009. It lasted 5 days during which observation, interviews and programme analysis took place in the office and studio from 8am until close of live programming at 1am.

The study was interested in connecting periods of change but was also constrained by the impending end of the data gathering period. However, it was felt appropriate that the second visit should take place three weeks later in March beginning one day after the launch of their DAB service. This visit lasted six days broken up into two visits

spanning two consecutive weeks to ensure as wide a range agent interactions and programming could be observed. A final, informal, visit was made in April 2009 to observe a club night at Korsan Bar in Shoreditch arranged by the station. This enabled the study to consider the station's interactions with listeners; the event featured Colourful Radio DJs.

6.5 Spectrum Radio

Spectrum is a multi-ethnic radio station, based in Battersea, serving the area of Greater London using a combination of its traditional AM signal along with a DAB channel, two satellite channels and its internet stream. Spectrum was one of the first licensed ethnic minority radio stations having been set up following the 1990 Broadcasting Act that widened access to the airwaves for commercial stations. What had been seen as a missed opportunity to legislate for smaller, more community focused operations seen to be left to 'sink or swim' (CRE, 1990) in a more deregulated broadcasting environment, did provide the opportunity for large broadcasters to gain access, such as Kiss FM and Spectrum.

Spectrum Radio is unique in the UK by the way it makes money and hosts a large number of ethnic minority groups. Originally set up to host programming for the Greek, Iranian and Italian communities, it was owned by three ethnic minority business men. When the business started to fail in the mid 1990's it was bought out and gradually evolved into the 'lease holding agent' that it is now. It makes money by selling programme slots to fill its multi-platform schedules. Some groups such as the Ghanaian programme and Somali on Air broadcast every evening for two hours in their 6-8pm satellite/internet slots. Programmes such as Irish Spectrum lease only two one hour slots which are broadcast on the AM/internet service.

During earlier undergraduate research contact has been established with Spectrum Radio in 2005. A change of management and the fact that two of the intended case studies were programmes at the station meant a single in-depth interview took place for this research. This provided some contextual understanding of the operating environment of the programmes and enabled an update on changes at the station. It also enabled the perspectives of the new station manager to be included. This interview took place in between the collection visits at both Irish Spectrum and Somali on Air.

6.6 Spectrum Radio - Irish Spectrum

The Irish communities formed mainly during the early to mid 20th century when migrants came to the UK to seek work in the industrial parts of the country. Many

lived and worked around the Liverpool and Manchester environs until the factories closed down. Others moved to growing pockets of Irish migrants in London who worked in the service industries or who had started small businesses. From the 1960's many young Irish men typically sought work in road haulage and gradually settled down in communities that are now widely spread across the South East of England. The 1991 census put the percentage of Irish Londoners at around 12% of the population.

Irish Spectrum is a programme that has been running since 1992 and forms part of the Irish Radio Roadshow business run by Gerry Byrne to serve the Irish communities in and around Greater London. Irish Spectrum airs on Saturdays between 1-2pm and Sunday/Monday nights between 12-1am. It is run and hosted by Byrne who is assisted by an administrator/runner called Sheila. The Saturday programme is a magazine format incorporating Irish country music, a community notice board, roundups of the weekend's Irish pub and club events around the London area, horseracing tips, Irish sports summaries, occasional Irish personality interviews and a phone-in quiz. The Sunday programme which follows Gerry's afternoon at the Wellington pub incorporates a similar format with Irish country music, Irish sporting news, a quiz, a countdown of Irish country music and a larger proportion of community messages and dedications, some of which will have come from the afternoon's roadshow.

The programme is financially supported by a combination of on air advertising and by the roadshows which take place over the week at other locations around the Greater London area. The advertising and sponsorship comes from British based Irish businesses and is heavily tied into the programme forming part of the community notice board and sponsorship of the music and with new album promotions. The show had previously been sponsored by the Galtymore, one of London's largest Irish dance halls and which recently closed down due to poor upkeep and a dwindling, ageing, Irish audience.

6.6.1 Irish Link

Part of the research also took place at BBC Three Counties Radio where Gerry hosts the Irish Link programme that is broadcast between 7-8pm every Wednesday. The BBC station is located in Luton and serves other towns such as Welwyn Garden City, Watford and Milton Keynes that are also home to pockets of the Irish community. Many of these are families who moved out of the London area or who have been part of the local businesses and haulage industry. Gerry lives in Welwyn Garden City where he also owns an Irish pub.

The programme takes on a slightly different tempo due to the lack of advertising and sponsorship, though community notices are its structural backbone. It focuses more on Irish country music and weekly interviews with Irish music personalities.

6.6.2 The case study

The research with Irish Spectrum and Irish Link (Gerry Byrne's BBC Three Counties Radio programme) took place during August and December 2008. These two periods of data gathering were at the Spectrum Radio studio in Vauxhall. The visits occurred over a weekend to enable the research of both the Saturday and Sunday programmes. Incorporated into this was a Sunday afternoon visit on both occasions to the Wellington Pub in Fulham where a significant Irish community reside. This was one of the locations of the Irish Radio Roadshow, hosted by the manager, and enabled the observation and interview of members of the community who were also participants of the programme. The Roadshows were the primary place to collect song requests and dedications. A single visit was made in December 2008 to Luton to observe the Irish Link programme at BBC Three counties Radio and to conduct an extended interview with the manager.

Contact with the manager was made at the beginning of the empirical stage of the study and, due to his positive reception of the study; arrangements were quickly made for the first visit.

6.7 Spectrum Radio - Somali on Air

Britain's Somali communities are widely dispersed around the areas of Tower Hamlets, Camden, Hammersmith, Fulham, Ealing and Southall in London as well as the cities of Birmingham, Leicester, Liverpool, Cardiff, Manchester and Sheffield. This spread of communities has arisen due to the refugee status of the majority of Somali migrants who are fleeing a prolonged, violent civil war and sustained social disorder. The main period of migration has been from 1991 at the outbreak of war to present with families comprising Somali nationals mainly speaking their mother tongue and second generation children who grow up bilingual. Estimates of population size are wide; between 95,000 and 250,000 across the UK with Tower Hamlets being the largest community of approximately 13,000 people (IOM, 2006).

In addition to many Somali migrants leaving family behind, members of the communities are concerned about being aligned with negative press about asylum seekers, the re-emergence of Somali clan sectarianism, sensitivity about changing cultures between first, second generation and newly arriving immigrants and the implications of the 7/7 London bombings; one of the bombers was of Somali

background. This had lead to rising mistrust towards governmental organisations that are encouraging supported resettlement to Somalia at the same time as highlighting a lack of education and integration within the community.

The majority of older Somalis listen to the BBC Somali World Service to hear of political and social developments 'back home'. At the time Somali on Air started there were no regular radio programmes addressing the social, financial and cultural issues many British based Somalis face.

The programme Somali on Air, hosted on the multi-ethnic radio station Spectrum, began broadcasting in April 2006. After its first month of broadcasts an IOM (Institute of Migration) report stated the programme had attracted a listening audience of 10% of the Somali community. No further programme figures are available. Though the station is located in Battersea, London, the programme, one of the only Somali language radio programmes regularly broadcast in Britain reaches a wider audience through being simulcast via DAB, the internet stream and on Spectrum's Sky channel. The two programme managers, Mohamed (Elias) Ahmed and (Socoto) Abdirazak started broadcasting as a way of reaching out to both first and second generation members of the communities and at the time of the research, the programme was being broadcast between 6-8pm every evening. Each evening would have a different theme and style with a variety of presenters who were volunteering and received radio training at Spectrum. The programmes were a mixture of community debate and phone-ins, light music based games and a Friday religious programme featuring Islamic readings and poems.

The programme is funded by advertising which the managers are tasked with arranging. At the time of the research, adverts were sponsored by either government agencies or by Money Transfer.

6.7.1 The case study

The case study took place during two separate visits carried out concurrently with the case study of Irish Spectrum. These visits took place over a long weekend in August 2008 monitoring programme output from Friday to Tuesday and a second visit which took in programmes broadcast over a long weekend at the end of December 2008. The strategy was to monitor station changes during the intervening few months as the station was facing imminent and serious financial problems.

Contact was made with one manager, Elias, who was immediately open to the research taking place. Observation, interview and programme analysis took place in both the main offices of Spectrum Radio where the programme has use of a desk and

storage space and in the broadcasting studio. Interviews were conducted with both managers and with the station staff involved in each evening's programmes. Due to the relatively new status of the programme and the wide areas the programme covered, no events were arranged over the data collection period so it was not possible to observe the station interacting with its listeners.

6.8 Ofcom, the Office for Communications

The Office for Communications was set up as a result of the stipulations of the Communications Act 2003 in respect of radio regulation, replacing the Radio Authority. Ofcom brought together television, telecoms and radio regulation when it became clear that rapid technological development was blurring the boundaries between their technologies and services. This convergence suggested the logic of a consolidated regulator to licence across a variety of platforms and to accommodate changes in media delivery and ownership.

A consolidating media environment stemming from the increased commercial orientation of broadcasters and other communication service providers saw one of Ofcom's primary aims being to oversee these mergers and changes with a view to safeguarding the 'interests of citizens and consumers' (Ofcom website, 2011). Ofcom's regulates radio through its Content and Standards Department within which the Radio Policy and Broadcast Licensing department is further divided between Radio Policy, Television Licensing, Radio Licensing, and Community Radio Team. The Enforcement team is separate and makes use of the Communications Act 2003, the Broadcasting Act 1990, the Broadcasting Act 1996, EU Regulations and the Wireless Telegraphy Act 2006, the Radio Equipment and Telecommunications Terminal Equipment Regulations Act 2000 and the Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act 2000 during its work to investigate and prosecute pirate radio operators (Ofcom, 2007).

6.8.1 The case study

The research was interested in obtaining Ofcom's perspectives on stations from across the broadcasting spectrum incorporating community, commercial, public service and illegal broadcasters. To enable meaningful analysis of the inter-relationship of organisational structures, that is, different radio stations, regulatory bodies and associated organisations, interviews with key agents in each radio department were arranged.

The Manager of Commercial Radio Licensing had taken part in a previous pilot study undertaken by the researcher and he facilitated the organisation of interviews

with the Head of Community Radio and the Head of Spectrum Investigation. These interviews took place at Ofcom's headquarters in London during the middle and latter stages of the empirical data gathering to ensure that the topics discussed were drawn from the emerging findings and research objectives.

C h a p t e r 7

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS & ANALYSIS

7 Findings and analysis

7.1 The rules and characteristics of the case study stations

"What constitutes ethnic minority radio and their digital and analogue operating environment?"

7.1.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an analytical and explanatory account of ethnic minority radio as positioned structures operating within the sector. The analysis utilises codes from the theoretical framework derived from Stones' (2005) quadripartite nature of structuration, alongside Baumann (1997) and Karner's work on ethnicity (2007) and Scannell's (1996) theorisation of radio and everyday life. This achieves a narrative which explores the station as a set of structures that comprised the interactions of agents, the analysis utilises the contextual and situated recursive rules used by positioned agents within the station and inter-related structures. Through this lens it is possible to examine the characteristics and motives shared by minority radio stations and what sets them apart from 'mainstream stations'.

This opening section explores the themes and structures that define ethnic minority radio. It addresses the processes found in the context of the agent-in-focus, their perceptions and interactions which are the elements initially most visible to the researcher. These agents are examined as positioned within 'clusters' (Cohen, 1986) that form the radio station. The observations and interviews drew out often very similar processes occurring between all the station case studies and therefore these commonalities are analysed both in terms of their relevance to general station activity and also what differentiates the stations as being ethnic minority in scope. Contrasts between the case studies were sometimes marked and these begin to differentiate situated and contextual priorities, constraints and different resource use that are addressed in the third section of discussion.

7.1.2 The notion of attending to communities who are underserved

A common theme between all of the stations was a conscious objective, or communicative ethos, to provide a broadcast service to a community they identified as underserved by mainstream radio. For some, this objective was demonstrated in their agreement with Ofcom, either as a key commitment for community

broadcasters such as Asian Fever or in their format and promise of service which applied to BBC Asian Network and the programmes Somali on Air (SOA) and Irish Spectrum as partners for Spectrum Radio. Colourful Radio's objectives formed part of their definition of service agreed with the multiplex owner to form part of the suite of services on the London III multiplex and lastly, Buzz FM enshrined it in their practice because as pirate broadcasters, they were under no obligation to commit to a defined community.

Stations saw these underserved communities as either spatially defined and/or as communities of shared interest. These communities constituted locales as 'settings of interaction' (Giddens, 1984) and all were located in conurbations with 'high presence availability' (ibid), that is, a concentration of target ethnic communities, from where members of the station came. All the stations aside from Asian Network were located in their heart of their broadcast communities. Smaller stations with an analogue signal such as Asian Fever, Buzz and Irish Spectrum tended to be bound with and relied on the interactions of local community life as a definition of the station. Asian Fever were very conscious of their close relationship with the deprived South Asian communities in Leeds. A DJ commented 'regardless of who is the presenter who is here, who is not here, who owns it, who doesn't own it, that's all trivial, it's what the community think, if they've taken it to their heart or haven't…you always need the community because it's their voice' (Friday afternoon and Sunday morning DJ, Asian Fever, 2009). Buzz FM's underserved community, though one of interest revolving around music of black origin was one felt to be ignored by mainstream Manchester stations. Its objectives were to reflect this network of local listeners and to support the development of new music artists within the community because 'this is what pirate radio is all about, I mean these kids would never get a chance, never get played, and it's good music' (DJ, Buzz FM, 2009). For Irish Spectrum, its communities had become blurred and dispersed over time across the South East necessitating programmes on Spectrum and its sister Irish Link show on BBC Three Counties. There was however a strong sense of keeping together an ageing community bound by familial ties and a migrant shared history of social hardship. A listener said of the programme manager, 'he's never done down on the Irish round here you know? He's always done the things that matter…he always makes an Irishman proud of what they are' (Listener, 2008). Of all the stations, SOA's programme reached, via their Sky channel, farthest to communities across the UK who were linguistically and culturally linked but separated by the fragmentation of asylum. The managers recognised a need to bridge the linguistic and cultural needs

of Somali parents and their British born children whose interests were not served anywhere else on radio.

BBC Asian Network was less defined by ethnic and cultural communities of locale despite beginning as a programme on BBC Leicester providing for a linguistically underserved community. It had grown to be a national station aimed at younger audiences who were mainly English speaking. These communities were viewed as being internally fractured but sharing many common issues and tastes bounded by a 'British Asian' identity. The station encompassed these interests, 'as 'the line goes, 'the sound of Asian Britain' - that's kind of the cohesive denominator between all these disparate communities' (Network Manager, Asian Network, 2008). The Network and Asian Fever recognised and sought to serve a new underserved listenership of British Asian 'kids who don't know their roots and don't know anything about their culture and traditions' (Manager, Asian Fever, 2009).

Colourful Radio's position had originally been located in speech radio aimed specifically at the Afro-Caribbean communities of the UK whom the managers felt had been 'dumbed-down' and socially ghettoised solely as music aficionados. The changes at Colourful since launching on DAB widened their content to a mixture of speech and black music but narrowed their geographic boundaries to 'super serve that London audience' (Head of Radio, 2009). They termed this underserved listenership as the 'Kiss Gold' generation alluding to one of the manager's first ex-pirate soul music stations.

7.1.3 Music which defined the station and its communities

Music is one of the most prominent communicatively shared cultural identifiers and all the stations had music policies to differentiate themselves from mainstream radio and to reflect their communities. Music, as Hendy (2000) discusses, is a 'central instrument' for creating a sense of place where identity and ethnicity can be expressed and explored. Music defined their daily schedules and programmes. Full time stations had carefully managed zones of the day which moved their listeners from a higher proportion of speech in the morning towards specialised programmes in the evening unless it was Friday, in which case Asian Fever and SOA played Islamic religious lessons and sung readings.

The programmes of Irish Spectrum and SOA incorporated a minimum of 60% music content and for the former, the music reflected the approach that unlike Irish newspapers, 'you can't read music, you listen to it' (Manager, 2008). The manager played a dedicated playlist of Irish Country comprising artists who were considered

traditional though still active composers. There were artists who would not be heard anywhere else on the radio, which embodied the ethos of Irish Spectrum and also financed it through advertising album launches and associated Irish music nights around London. This music ethos was very much tied with the roadshow the manager took around Irish pubs in London and the Home Counties. These events, attended by various generations of Irish families were the opportunity for them to make music requests and dedications for the following radio programme. SOA aimed to reflect the two types of audiences the programme had, both Somali parents and their children. During the younger programmes presenters combined music that was 'Qaarami' meaning 'old fashioned and retro' (Female Presenter, 2008) with contemporary US and UK R&B and urban genres. Mainly though a newer type of music was played, an example being the manager's backing track featuring Somali rhythms with melody sung by a Canadian Somali. This backing track, made by the presenter reflected his and the listeners' understanding of the multilayered sounds coming from cosmopolitan Mogadishu bringing together traditional folk music, jazz, African rhythms and Arabic voices which formed the main music policy of the programmes.

Both Colourful Radio and Buzz shared a similar approach to music, it too defined the identity of the station, brought through by the agent's lived musical experiences and a desire to fill 'a big vacuum on legal radio of a certain style of music' (Head of Radio, Colourful, 2009). Colourful Radio sought to be 'a kind of a station which aims at that generation that used to listen [to pirate stations] but doesn't have a home of black music on legal radio now' (ibid). Their playlist policy only extended until drive time after which the specialist DJs, enabled by this high degree of agency, expressed a shared passion for soul, hip-hop, reggae, lover's rock, northern soul, dub, funk, motown and R&B. The DJs were there because of the opportunity to play music with a greater degree of freedom having come from heavily playlisted stations such as Choice FM and Kiss. Buzz were also keen to avoid a rigid mainstream music approach, incorporating a mix of drum and bass, bashment, garage, jungle, reggae, and a lot of soul. They reflected the diverse tastes of their communities of listeners by playing host to up to thirty DJs with differing interests. One DJ clarified the station manager's position that 'Eric's plan of action has always been that it's music without restriction, that's his key to it' (DJ, Buzz FM, 2009)

BBC Asian Network specifically sought to champion new British Asian music though this was often kept to the later evening specialist shows such as Bobby Friction. Their main policy was to reflect the communities represented by music from across the South Asian diaspora. The music manager understood that 'records

travel, they translate and they're all across [the playlist] so that feeds into…daytime it's quite cohesive…you're not looking for any huge shocks' (Music Manager, 2008). Asian Fever took a more particularised approach, mirroring the Punjabi communities who sought the sounds of Pashto and Kashmiri folk songs, Lollywood, Bollywood and Ghazals (Urdu songs based on Sufi spiritualism). Both the Network and Asian Fever focused on representing a wide range of bhangra, especially on the daily 6-8pm show on Fever. Bhangra is accepted 'by the community as a whole, synthesising certain cultural identities who came from India and Pakistan and their children have obviously grown up very different to their parents in Britain so you stick it all together and…it is very British' (Music Manager, Asian Network, 2008). Despite very different music policies, all the stations treated music as a schema, or set of rules, that was consciously reproduced and changed. Staff recognised music's importance to communicate meaning and create a sense of place for the staff and their communities within the station structure.

7.1.4 A communication of shared culture

Culture was played out in the shared contextual rules of the station and in action through the programmes and DJs. For some stations this was pronounced. The Irish Spectrum programme through its Cavan born presenter, the music, adverts and the participants were all 'very Irish…by their very nature they've got to be… you're not going to be credible, you start diluting…so many of the songs come from a way of life from a culture, that's why we're different, you know, Irish people are a different culture…listening into me it's like being in Ireland again' (Manager, 2008). The communication of a shared culture at Asian Fever was similarly located in the presenters who 'know and understand the community…they understand the culture, the traditions, the needs, the demands and therefore they are able to relate with their listeners' (Co-Manager, 2008). Without this nuanced practical knowledge that was ethnicity as 'structures of seeing' (Karner, 2007), or understanding, members of their community the presenters would easily cause great offence or be unable to connect with their listeners.

The shared culture at SOA was employed to communicate a different way of life in the UK through the reassurances of a strong Somali oral culture. The managers were aware that British Somali's often felt 'crushed between cultures' (Manager, 2008) and that listeners felt more united by a collective storied identity. The structures of language became a platform for bridging experiences. Programmes therefore incorporated shared contextual rules using the Somali language to talk about 'culture in background history…and we told them histories of Somali stories for the kids and they call us back on the same day and they tell us these stories' (Manager, 2008).

Much of the programming was reciprocal with the community 'dinta' (parents) and children taking part to share their experiences and create new narratives as a process of community 'learning and change' (Coad and Herbert, 2009).

Colourful Radio was still transitioning from its initial start as a 'mainly Afro Caribbean station to one offering its music base offering more representative of London as a whole' (Sales Manager, 2009). To be marketable as a commercial DAB station, it was seen as crucial to be shifting its focus. That said it had marked itself out as different through its established DJs, music policy and also what were felt to be important elements of a shared notion of a black culture by highlighting arts and cultural events. During the morning speech elements this was in evidence by appearances from The African Company who were performing Shakespeare's Richard III, a discussion of a play about Paul Robeson, and lifestyle guests who all shared a similar cultural and ethnic identity. The breakfast show would always feature snippets about prominent historical black figures and focus its news stories on items which had relevance to the local Afro-Caribbean communities such as training, business start ups and music happenings.

Asian Network though aiming to be accessible to all listeners, South Asian or not, constructed its news, phone-ins and arts programmes through a British Asian lens. News packages were written about forced marriage, reviews were of plays about the Punjabi caste system and phone-in topics as mundane as a belief in haunted houses drew on shared belief structures amongst listeners and presenters. When this was balanced with a less particularistic outlook the shared Reithian culture within the BBC came to the fore in book reviews about English linguistic anomalies (A Damp Squid, Jeremy Butterworth) or the latest Hollywood, as well as Bollywood, blockbusters. Conscious of addressing 'the Asian community' that contained within it many separate shared cultures the Network hoped that by 'looking at what brings us together…that we're in Britain basically and we have similar experiences that we have gone through, or are going through, we have similar hopes and ideas, common goals' (Arts Producer, 2008) that this would produce an additional umbrella of shared culture.

7.1.5 Shows which explored their communities

As mainstream radio talk shows feature topics which examine the minutiae of social life highlighted in shifting news headlines, so did the minority stations but with a focus on their own communities. These programmes provided a space for the reproduction and exploration of community and ethnic structures through their facilitation of discursive action and often challenging nature. All stations except

Buzz FM had a phone-in or featured guests to discuss topics which marked out the station and its listening communities. For some stations this formed the contextual rules of their broadcasting ethos, because providing a voice for their communities worked concurrently with facilitating self-examination and challenging boundaries. This was the case for Asian Fever, Somali on Air, Asian Network and to a lesser extent, Colourful Radio.

Both Asian Fever and SOA had weekly phone-in programmes which addressed news and issues from their British based perspective. Their formats consisted of an introduction by the presenter on the topic where the situated and contextual rules of engagement were 'agreed' with the listeners. Potentially controversial issues such as family breakdown, gun crime and discussions about politics 'back home' needed to be guided carefully. This was to avoid accentuated extremes which at Asian Fever drowned out the silent (quiet) majority and in the case of SOA, might revive banned talk of sectarian clans. Their hope was to rise above the separateness which clan discussion brought and that was perceived to 'make the community an even worse place than it was before so what we say is "let us talk about the problems of the clans and how we can come up the better solution, how we can all live together"' (Manager, 2008).

Asian Network had a daily three hour slot for talk and discussion that was broken down in three one hour phases. The first would be a news inspired phone-in with pre-arranged contributors to set topic boundaries such as spirituality and haunted houses. The second, called 'Divine Debate', contained highly mediated discussions on a chosen topic such as faith schools with studio based participants incorporating Hindu, Sikh and Muslim perspectives. The last hour would contain a more meditative topic such as 'music with a message' which sought to discuss the meaning of music with the artist. This section aimed to connect music artists 'out there who appeal to the audience, our audience, Asian audience, that have got something more about them in terms of the lyrics, in terms of stuff they say' (Phone-in Producer, 2008). In all these programmes the presenters took positioned oppositional roles to guide, challenge and facilitate community views.

Colourful Radio's exploration of its communities was more subtle and episodic throughout the morning shows. Guests during breakfast would represent the ideals and aspirations of the community such as young black men who were educational achievers or Afro-Caribbean figures from the business community to give financial perspectives on national news stories. Priority was given to particular charities such as Sickle Cell Society and Leukaemia Research Fund where awareness of, and

appropriate donors from within, the community was low. Defined debate and discussion stayed in the morning slots but exploration of the station's communities extended into the evening. This was facilitated by the knowledgeable specialist DJs who conducted interviews with prominent music personalities such as Etana, a female Jamaican reggae performer and Sam Bostic, a prominent soul artist/producer from the USA.

The time limitations of the Irish Spectrum programme meant that the manager rarely took an exploratory approach, conscious that the one hour slot needed to pass on the Irish news and sports, racing tips, diary events of the week, air listeners' dedications, play the right amount of country music and broadcast the adverts for Irish businesses as these financed the programme. Instead, the roadshow provided the extension of the programme into the Irish community and facilitated its on air communication through taking requests and messages. The communicative ethos of the station was not about self-examination but capturing the community and its music on the radio.

7.1.6 The concept of being a community notice board

This capturing of the community on air was a shared feature of four of the six case studies as the form of a community notice board. Without the notices, messages and song requests stations like Irish Spectrum, Asian Fever and Buzz FM would have lost the core drivers for their existence, namely to reflect their ethnic and cultural communities and to enable their voices. These messages captured the 'structures of action' (Karner, 2007) such as language, music and community values. Listeners and staff were assumed to possess the 'cultural competences' (Moores, 2005) to be able to access the intended meanings.

At Buzz FM, limited human and technical resources meant the DJs often ran out of paper to record on air reads and their mobile answering service frequently reached capacity. Despite the station focus on communicating new and 'old skool' music the DJ would spend up to fifteen minutes between music tracks reading out messages between family members and 'shout outs' (mentions on air) to listeners. This time was also spent announcing news of local interest such as the passing of a respected DJ and local music producer or upcoming music events. Equally frenetic was the pace of communication of upcoming events and social gatherings at Irish Spectrum. Many of these were paid advertisements but all focused on family, music and sports gatherings at Irish bars, pubs and cultural centres. These adverts featured Irish businesses including Pat the butcher who would personally record his weekly specials ten minutes before the Saturday broadcast, detailing that week's offerings to the Shepherd's Bush Irish community. Pat would often be incorporated into the show

to talk about topical issues such as the impact of the credit crunch on Christmas business. These advertisements appeared alongside personal messages from and between members of the community many of whom would continue these conversations at the roadshow or the advertised social events.

The notion of a notice board took on a slightly different role at Asian Fever where larger organised social gatherings were rarer. Instead the notices were messages of communication between listeners, often using pseudonyms, to build up a social undercurrent to all the programmes. These messages would continue over long periods of time until listeners felt they knew each other enough to meet in person at religious celebrations such as the ladies 'Chaand Raat' market on the eve of Eid. The station combined this facilitated communication with the more traditional South Asian role of sharing news of listeners' weddings, birthdays or deaths as well as the occasional charity fund raising event. These events were historically communicated door to door and in the case of funerals 'in the Muslim community they do it so quick…now its community has grown so big and everyone is so busy working or their own business or whatever, it's, I think the radio is playing a very big part there' (Manager, 2008).

When the SOA programmes did not focus on specific social issues facing British Somalis or were not of a religious nature the schedule made way for a phone-in 'game' which took place on a weekend evening and was run by the younger presenters. The 'lucky dip' requests show entailed Somali listeners calling in and picking a number which corresponded to being able to make a request, making a dedication/message, being asked to sing their own song or other communicative tasks. This coaxing structure facilitated many listeners who were usually too shy to engage with other members of the community and like Asian Fever, a use of pseudonyms meant listeners felt emboldened to make their views and feelings known.

7.1.7 Use of languages and oral communities

Only half of the case study stations were started *and continue* to exist through the daily use of minority languages to communicate with their positioned networks of listeners. Such reproduction of language structures reflected not only the general disposition of the agents of the station but also the context of their listening communities. Both Asian Fever and BBC Asian Network broadcast in multiple South Asian languages. Asian Fever's schedule constituted of mainly Punjabi, Urdu and English during the morning output with the afternoon show set aside for specific Pakistani dialects not heard elsewhere and the evenings reverted to a mixture of

English and Punjabi. This reflected the positioned others, the listeners, in Leeds where Punjabi took priority in the home and whose community of volunteers were carefully selected to try to increase their provision of specialised language shows.

> *'The idea is that the spoken word is stronger than the written because if you look at the history of migration, people migrate for economic and financial reasons, and they're the ones who are illiterate so just because they can speak their language does not automatically mean that they can read or write it either'* (Co-Manager, Asian Fever, 2009)

This philosophy came from awareness that first generation migrants had found integration difficult because of their illiteracy so the radio station provided a trusted first connection to wider social life. This approach also constituted the agent's language use at SOA's who like Asian Fever defined themselves as part of an oral community that embodied a 'traditional way…mostly they talk…they tell each other, one by one, the other, the other, mostly they don't go read the papers or leaflets' (Co-Manager, 2008). Also like Asian Fever, this was sharply contrasted by the involvement of younger presenters who were British born and English speaking. Their motivations to volunteer were partly to improve their familial language skills because they understood its importance within the community, especially for the first generation who were 'afraid of the language to be lost…they're afraid to lose all recognition' (Saturday DJ, SOA, 2008).

Asian Network broadcast in five South Asian languages but their priority was mainly to an English speaking second and third generation audience that was also reflected in their diverse English speaking staff. They recognised that the language programmes still attracted an older demographic who had grown up with the regional AM station prior to DAB launch. Such programmes formed part of the institutional legacy of the station's structure rather than a core element of its present priorities. However, like Asian Fever and SOA, these programmes were important for those, including some of the second/third generation staff, who sought to connect with their linguistic identity. This often caused divisive debates, especially from the Bengali, Tamil and Singhalese staff and listeners who felt under-represented though managers felt there was 'enough on our plates really with five languages and trying to do them justice' (Network Manager, 2009).

Colourful Radio's language whilst English, firmly identified itself with its South London communities with occasional slips into what Hewitt (1986) terms London English; a mixture of South London accented Jamaican Creole rooted in a shared British music and cultural history. This situated English also incorporated Ghanaian and Nigerian colloquialisms. Irish Spectrum and Buzz also broadcast in English with identities communicated through the use of strong Irish or Mancunian accents, colloquialisms and in the case of Irish Spectrum, the occasional smattering of Gaelic, especially when referencing the folk history of songs.

7.1.8 An incorporation of religion in the fabric of the agent and the station identity

The shared contextual rules of the listeners and the situated rule reference employed by presenters as programme outcomes incorporated a religious or spiritual element in five of the six case studies. Religion for these stations formed a significant aspect of a shared culture that called upon structures of action in the 'doing' of religious programming and structures of feeling as staff understood the emotional significance of such programmes. Religion could be addressed overtly in specific programmes, in the general disposition of the DJs in their general belief structures or acknowledged as significant to the listeners through discussion and music. Asian Fever and SOA shared a greater degree of Islamic reference due to the Muslim cultural structures which constituted daily life and language of both the listeners and presenters. The reference of 'Allah' in so many Punjabi, Arabic and Somali phrases meant Islamic reverence was incorporated from pleasantries to specific phone-in discussions. At Asian Fever a sense of disapproval from some sections of the religious community about their relatively relaxed programming meant the station operated its first year without the involvement of the Molanas (clerics). In the Harehills area of Leeds there are several strands and interpretations of Islam taught at the different mosques leading to internal fractures between each school of belief. The managers, themselves Muslim, understood the significance of Islam for the community and their potential role of bringing these factions together at the radio station. It was during protracted discussions with the various Molanas that the station manager said 'if you're going to come in and show the beauty of Islam, I'm interested but if you're not and if you're gonna you know, be a bit extreme or be angry or violence or anything I'm not interested' (Manager, 2008). The station now dedicates full Friday schedules and all of Ramadan to the Molanas on the clear understanding between them and the manager on the parameters of their broadcasts.

BBC Asian Network had compartmentalised religion into specific programmes. The morning's Devotional Sounds programme incorporates Islam, Sikh and Hindu beliefs

which open the day's schedule. There are particular discussion programmes such as Divine Debate which sought to challenge and explore issues around religion, belief and its communities rather than reflect the dailiness of a particular faith. The presenter was mindful of community reaction to the stances he took and recounted that 'one of the best things was someone text in once and said "that Nihal, he hates religion, why is he doing this?" which is a sign that I actually did my job because I don't hate religion, I'm a Buddhist' (Phone-in DJ, 2008).

Both Colourful Radio and Irish Spectrum were neither overtly religious but a certain rule reference ran through the discourse of both towards a high proportion of DJs and listeners whose faith was mainly Christian. At Irish Spectrum, Catholicism was expressed in the regular 'god blesses' shared in aired dedications or found in the cultural strength and established nature of the Irish families at the roadshows. Some of the Colourful DJs had a strong Christian faith that, though never firmly referenced on air, was born of experiences of growing up in strong church communities shared with many with an Afro-Caribbean background.

7.1.9 Connections to grassroots and inter-related communities

There were clear differences between four case studies which incorporated the smaller stations/programmes and the two larger stations. Smaller stations were physically positioned within specific locales within their communities and grassroots organisations on the understanding that the intensity of these interactions sustained the stations. Larger stations were positioned to enable them to interact with several types of inter-related structures that primarily reproduced the stations. There was greater distance between these stations and their communities. Buzz FM had been embedded in the Manchester music and radio scene for twenty years and this was demonstrated not just through the interactions between the DJs and listeners but also the interconnectedness with other organisations. The station was a known outlet for unsigned artists and breaking music but it also had a reputation for being able to connect with younger listeners. This meant that local colleges and councils had worked with the station and the most recent example was their sponsoring of a drug awareness leaflet written by the PCT (Primary Care Trust). The manager was aware that the local children were prone to these pressures and felt it was one of the station's roles to take a prominent stance. The station's well known DJs were also regularly invited to present shows on the Moss Side RSLs (Restricted Service Licence) in support of local cultural and ethnic minority events like the Alexandra Park Caribbean Carnival.

Asian Fever was slowly developing links with community and local health groups with an aim to strengthen the 'social gain' requirement of their key commitments to Ofcom as a community radio station. Their long history as a pirate and RSL broadcaster meant charities working with Islamic Relief and Hamara, a women's health charity, often approached the station for publicity and assistance. Conscious of enabling dialogues between members of the community and public services, as well as being able to finance the radio station, paying organisations such as the local PCT and police force worked with the station on specific programmes and community phone-ins. Somali on Air took a similar approach despite being hosted as a commercial programme. It felt it was a priority that the programme was educational so it developed ties with Somali professionals to take part in topical phone-ins. The manager said, 'we bring doctors here, and people talk about health issues, day to day health. We bring scholars, religious scholars, we bring business advisor to talk about how they can make their business more successful' (Manager, 2008). The necessity to finance the costs of hosting the programme at Spectrum meant they carried advertising from business and governmental organisations such as the IOM (Institute of Migration), the Home Office and Money Transfer.

Though the Irish Spectrum programme was partly built on the grassroots interaction between the communities, the manager was clear the programme also needed to be profitable. His background as a pirate broadcaster and experience of running the roadshows meant financing the programmes was a complex set of inter-relationships that also informed the content. A close relationship had been built up with an Irish music distributer in the UK which enabled the Irish chart countdown and exclusives on the show. The venue advertisers were also crucial as part of the agenda setting, notice board element of the programme and the competitions run each week were facilitated by promotional prizes offered through a PR company. This very commercial approach was tempered by the manager's deep understanding of his listening community so that the elements that financed the station were also ones that facilitated community interests and ties.

The two larger stations, Asian Network and Colourful Radio had entirely different relationships with their communities which meant a different set of inter-relationships sustained the stations rather than close grassroots interactions. Where Colourful did incorporate the interests of pressure groups such as Somali Concern, it was for a news package and the presence of some of the cultural reviews such as the African Theatre Company, whilst reflecting community interests, was also related to spot advertising for the station. Like Irish Spectrum, the reggae chart countdown was sponsored by a record shop in the West End and the events diary broadcast as live

reads were also repeated as paid advertisements. Unlike Spectrum Radio, the station did not build 50% of its content from grassroots interaction with its community. The communicative ethos of the station centred on music and talk rather than specific community representation; their platform on DAB meant financing the station was closely intertwined with its daily interactions of a dedicated sales team with clients and advertising agencies.

Because of licence fee subsidy, the Asian Network did not have the sort of financial inter-relationships of Colourful. However their incorporation into the BBC also meant their grassroots interactions were limited and expectations for their programme content was much higher. Their inter-relationships were with other BBC departments such as news and current affairs, factual programming and music strategy. Their priorities lay with developing relationships with other media organisations such as Sony, Universal and Harper Collins to facilitate content for the arts programmes and developing close relationships with music publishers to encourage artists to approach the Network as a main representative for British Asian music. Interactions with their community of listeners were also distanced because the speed at which talk show content was decided upon meant finding contributors and guests from databases of 'talking heads' and previous participants rather than merely hoping enough appropriate listeners would call in.

7.1.10 The organisation of agents within the station

Linked to the examination of the inter-relationships of the station with communities and other organisations is how the stations, as groups of positioned agents, were structured. The stations occupied spaces with clearly marked regions for the 'zoning of time-space in relation to routinized practices' (Giddens, 1984, p. 119) that defined different times of the day. Private offices and meeting areas marked the boundaries between station managers and certain staff enabling a retreat from public activities or to do non-broadcast work. Communal waiting areas and busy studios formed part of the public presentation of the station to its listeners and participants and these were marked with station publicity. All the stations aside from the Asian Network and Colourful Radio had very flat organisational structures which, in part, were due to restricted resources but also the scope of the content being broadcast. Buzz FM, Asian Fever, Somali on Air and Irish Spectrum comprised only one or two people taking an owner/manager role who also broadcast programmes alongside volunteers.

Unlike some pirate stations, Buzz did not operate a 'pay to play' policy for DJs who took part for the pleasure of playing music, interacting with the community and occasionally promoting their live appearances. This leanness of structure was partly

because none of the programmes or stations produced their own news or documentary output though many aspired to diversify when funding allowed.

By 2009, Colourful Radio had a more traditional commercial radio structure with a managing director, a tier of programme, music and advertising managers and a third tier of those dealing with day-to-day administrative and advertising tasks. This was a significant change from the initial interview in 2008 when the format was still mainly speech. The director was happy 'with the structure of the station at the moment because at least we're not running around like headless chickens we used to be' (Director, 2009). The DJs at that point were appearing on a voluntary basis, in part to promote their personal work and freely play their own music, but also because the station was unable to pay them. Lastly, Asian Network was a highly structured radio station. Its integrated nature within the structures of the BBC, its need to manage complex resources and its occupation of three locations meant tiers of staff and inter-linked departments dealing with administration, broadcast journalism, DJs and presenters, broadcast editors, and programme managers, departmental managers such as news, music and network co-ordination who occupied a layer below the overall station manager. For some DJs who had moved to managerial positions these 'staffing structures are a huge benefit. I was at a community station, picking up the phone to listeners in my own programme' (Music Manager, 2008). These roles were all contained within the Network though much interaction would occur with its staff and staff across the BBC.

What both Colourful and the Asian Network shared was a more institutionalised way of positioning agents to comprise the station and its various operations. The meaning of the roles, tasks and the actions demonstrated what it meant to be a radio station was shared by all the programmes and stations.

7.1.11 Summary

To establish what constitutes ethnic minority radio and their digital and analogue operating environment this section has examined the themes, agents and structures which characterise the case study ethnic minority radio stations. This was done through the analysis of the external structures and the general-dispositions found within the conduct bracket of the agents in focus. Whether serving hyper-local or national, dispersed communities, all the stations were defined by unique music and talk content that gave a 'sense of place' for exploring shared notions of culture and ethnicity. For the majority of presenters, the stations were the only locales they could express freedom from playlists through music which spoke of themselves and their communities. Be they pirate or national public service broadcasters, this freedom

often manifested in the opportunity to represent new music prior to it being aired on 'mainstream' stations. An examination of the contextual rules of the station structures and the outcomes of action, such as the broadcasts, illuminated the status of the stations as centres of shared culture. To achieve an authenticity within their communities the stations were part of, agents were carefully chosen for their 'cultural competences'. These external rules of ethnicity were required to understand and reproduce storied identities and language structures. The possession of these competences meant the agents could employ structures of action, using rules and resources of the programmes and of ethnicity in their daily behaviour to create shows which explored their own communities. This was expressed in stations being used as community notice boards, as spaces to locate, reproduce and test the boundaries of community identity or explore language and religion. Not all stations had the same priorities, partly due to the organisation of agents within the radio stations. Legacies of past practices, differing commercial pressures and varied hierarchical arrangements reflected in the weighting managers gave to the cyclical, daily operations of the agents within the station.

7.2 The life narratives of ethnic minority radio

"What are the personal experiences of those involved in shaping the radio stations and the environment they operate in?"

7.2.1 Introduction

The previous section examined the characteristics of the case study ethnic minority radio stations. An explanatory account of ethnic minority radio and its operating environment needs to explore not only the contextual and situated rules which comprise the stations as outcomes of interaction but also the general dispositions of those agents involved. The study especially concentrated on the identities, motivations, life paths and language of the DJs and managers to engage with the personal experiences they brought to the structure of the station and its programmes. In doing so the analysis drew on Karner's (2007) structures of seeing, feeling and action, observed during interactions and the ways that staff described their social world. The aim was to explore a richer narrative which inevitably starts to touch on the significance of shared identity, reification and fluidity explored later.

Specifically, this analysis draws on codes from the agent conduct bracket where the general disposition of the agent is located to focus on their character, narratives and background. These elements were either noted during interactions with other agents or during broadcast. Themes were explored during one-to-one interviews. This discussion brings together many of the common experiences of the DJs and managers and how these relate to their activity at the radio station. Whilst the agents have ethnically and culturally diverse backgrounds, what brought them to radio held many commonalities.

7.2.2 The ethnic and linguistic backgrounds of agents at the station

The importance of a distinct ethnicity was of a varied priority amongst the stations. At both Asian Fever and Somali on Air the ethnic identity of their presenters was seen as crucial for being able to reach and be trusted by their communities. A manager at Asian Fever confirmed this when she said 'ethnicity as far as the makeup of the radio station is concerned is very important, we look at it very, very closely when we bring in people…we do need to have people who represent the community, who understand the community and who can voice their concerns for them on their behalves and that is what, to me, ethnicity is about in this place' (Co-Manager, 2008). The manager summarised the staff at the station as being 'capacity built' which reflected the 'cultural competences' (Moores, 2005) recognisable as structures of seeing and feeling those from within the community were particularly attuned to.

Within the South Asian community that Fever served were several distinct identities and the managers felt that they needed to mirror this by choosing volunteers for specific programmes. The presenter of the Kashmiri poetry programme accentuated his ethnicity, broadcasting in a village dialect of Punjabi as well as speaking Urdu. He felt the popularity of the show was linked to his authentic accent and language retained after thirty years of living in the UK. The community responded well with listeners calling the station to ask 'if I can speak English to which I reply 'yes I think so'' (Afternoon Presenter, 2008).

Presenters and managers who had come to the UK as children talked of a strong Punjabi and English identity that came from having never formally learned Urdu as their older siblings would have done in Pakistan. Therefore, the majority of the community 'got along with Punjabi and learnt English really' (Manager, 2008). This connected with the manager's diverse adolescence spent with both black and Asian friends during the 1970's as they sought to avoid the 'paki-bashers'. The younger presenters of the drivetime and bhangra shows were more comfortable speaking their mother tongue of English though the managers encouraged them to reflect their Punjabi and Bangladeshi identities with the listeners. When their courage at the mixing desk had grown, these presenters, depending on their background, skilfully switched between mixtures of Punjabi, Urdu and Bengali combined with urban slang such as 'cool, wicked and phat'.

These presenters, some of whom had grown up outside the broadcast community in mainly white areas of Leeds spoke about occupying different ethnicities depending on who they were talking with. The Co-Manager moved between 'herself' as a modest sisterly female member of the community, assertive ex-lawyer and single woman. The manager moved between his younger self, integrated into the black music scene and his current self, facilitator of 'Punjabiness' within the Asian community.

Presenters at SOA also presented multiple sides to their ethnicity, especially the managers who had left Somalia in the 1990's and lived in countries such as the Djibouti, Switzerland, France and the Netherlands before finally gaining refugee status in the UK during the late 1990's. Their movements and education had lent them a fluidity that enabled them to move between Somali, French and English identities with heightened awareness of what that meant for others in the community. Such experiences formed their reflexive biographies, recounted during programmes and everyday interactions and reflected and renewed by similar storied identities of their peers.

The programme was co-hosted by both young British and Somali born presenters who worked together in correcting each other's second languages. They identified with their British and Somali peers; those feeling adrift from a core Somali identity, those who had difficulties integrating and members of the community who had recently fled Somalia, many of them teenagers. These young listeners were felt to occupy the most difficult spaces having 'migrated from a different country, come from a completely different society and background, having to adapt and conform to the main society' (Female Presenter, 2008). This fuelled programme content where British and Somali born listeners were able to discuss how they were adapting to life in the UK and the extent to which it was important to retain their Somali-ness.

Both the white and Asian staff at the Asian Network in many cases shared diverse backgrounds, located in their growing up with South Asian music and culture in areas of London and Birmingham that during the 1970's and 1980's were as diverse as Leeds. First generation staff in particular had seen their parents simplify their ethnic identity to assimilate into British society. One DJ recounted that his father retained a firmly Sri Lankan identity whilst being 'a real anglophile…voted Tory his whole life, got the Times delivered to the house everyday' (Phone in DJ, 2008). His experience was of a father who took him to Sri Lanka 'but he never spoke Sri Lankan, Singhalese in the house, so we never picked up the language, he never really taught us about our religion' (ibid). This had led him to explore his ethnicity, language and religion himself whilst living a British, South London accented, hip-hop, bhangra and R&B musically grounded identity.

His reading of his ethnicity was: 'I think there are probably some Asians that believe that I am a coconut, [brown on the outside and white on the inside] and yet, I married Sri Lankan and I go to Sri Lanka every year, we have a house there, I spend a month there a year, I have a lion holding a sword tattooed my whole arm which is the Sri Lankan flag, you know, I go to temple not as often as I should but I am very Sri Lankan' (ibid). Such emblems and behaviours called on 'structures of seeing' (Karner, 2007) ethnicity, an ordering of schemas that brought Sri Lankan-ness into actions within daily life.

This experience was not unique; staff and listeners shared a curiosity which led many to 'wanting to connect back to their parents' cultures, they go back to South Asia say for a family trip or something, they work out who they are and become very, very keen on the culture and they look back at their history and culture as a defining point of 'who we are' so it's a less of a homogenisation' (Arts Producer, 2008). In exploring their histories and shared identity, staff were reproducing and

reinterpreting structures of feeling, an emotional grounding that called on new 'sounds, sights, and smells that…become familiar, and…trigger memories' (Karner, 207, p. 34). Rather than seeing ethnicity as a hybrid construct the programme manager felt that such exploration was a 'cycle that will continue with different generations, the next generation will want to know more' (ibid). Identity and ethnicity for second and third generation South Asians is a fluid process that will be continually revised in the context of shifting understandings.

The manager/presenter at Irish Spectrum referenced his narrative of coming from a 'small farming background in the rear end of Cavan in Ireland' (Manager, 2008) as part of his radio identity. Within the community, Cavan was often the source of humour about the inhabitants' lack of business acumen so the manager revelled in disproving this regional stereotyping. For him, his Irishness was 'an identity, it's what you grow up with, you know, it gives you in this crazy world perhaps a little bit of equilibrium, of feet on ground' (ibid). Yet his identity was as reified as it was fluid and his home was as much his local community 'where I live, I don't insist on living in a puritanical Irish street, you know' (ibid).

It was difficult to separate a sense of ethnicity and identity from the musical life narratives of those at Colourful Radio; when they talked of their background it was often located in their choices of career as DJs, musicians and performers. For those that had grown up during the 1960's and 1970's there was a strong sense of parental pressure for academic achievement commonly felt by many first generation interviewees regardless of their particular ethnicity. Some members of staff had had to make their career choices in the face of opposition; parents were 'very, very clear that they wanted me to be, you know, something like a doctor or a lawyer standard, you know, immigrant professions' (News Manager, 2009). Many voiced their appreciation that their parents were behind them 'which is very unusual for African parents but I think they saw how passionate I was in those days' (Reggae DJ, 2009).

Staff of all backgrounds, but particularly African and Caribbean, talked of the significance of reggae, R&B and soul music as a shared experience in their families. The latest records from Jamaica were much anticipated; on 'Sunday afternoon it was sort of part of the whole cultural thing to have the stereo out, you know, you get all the best cutlery out and everything else and mum would buy her records and put them on the little record player where you could put ten records on and they drop down one by one' (Soul 360 DJ, 2009). The themes, styles and politicised messages of these records and the changing nature of soul and R&B resonated with 'the black youth at that time 'cause I guess as a lot of us being like the first generation black

British born kids so we were…reaching that stage of like being 13, 14…there was this kind of identity thing coming about where we had…a conflict between two different, two different cultures which …seemed like we had to choose one or the other to kind of aspire to' (ibid).

This narrative, of choices faced by first and second generation children, was commonly heard across the case studies of Colourful, Asian Network, Somali on Air and Asian Fever. The staff at Colourful Radio, Buzz FM and the older staff at Asian Fever came from varied backgrounds where a love and history of growing up with black music meant they shared a close identification. The pursuit of radio and music careers had provided feelings of both enablement and constraint to challenge and change the positions parents had envisaged their children adopting. The sense was of a generation which had grown up together sharing spatially and/or temporally located narratives and identities that was not ethnically bounded, in its 'traditional' sense.

7.2.3 The personal significance of music whilst growing up

For the majority of participants across all the case studies the intermeshing of music and community had defined not only their future careers but crucially, their ethnicity and identity.

Growing up, the staff had found a reassuring sense of place within music amidst periods of great social change and sometimes, upheaval. Young DJs at Asian Fever had grown up with music being integral to family life and for one DJ his love was for 'bhangra music. It's all I've been listening for years, [but] my influences come from everywhere. My dad used to listen to the old, old, old stuff, like all the ghazals' (Bhangra DJ, 2009). The ghazals underpinned many of the presenter's upbringings and the appreciation for this Urdu poetry meant it warranted its own programme. The DJ who managed it had also grown up listening to ghazals but they remained 'a very difficult poetry, it's not easy to understand, it's not everyone's cup of tea, you got to be a little bit of knowledge' (Ghazals DJ, 2009) to engage with it.

Not all music was fostered within the family structure but was a product of the experiences of DJs who had chosen to define their own future away from home. One DJ was creating a mix of rap and dance music with Asian influences as part of a Leeds based performance collective. Her music was both spiritual and fun and it was her safe place to explore her identities. Despite music's importance to her identity the familial tradition of achievement and approval weighed heavily. To be taken seriously she wanted to be able to share it 'with my mum and dad…I want my mum

and dad to be proud of me regardless, I don't want them to shut me out. But I've got to show them that it's gotten somewhere' (Female Bhangra, 2009).

At the Asian Network, a fluid relationship with music was evident in many of the DJs and managers. One DJ, who presented the 'Music with a Message' slot, did so with little direction from the producers as they acknowledged the authority which came from an identity so bound together with music. During an interview with the hip-hop artist Black Twang, his character changed from bipartisan talk-show presenter to social equal; adopting a comfortable and relaxed approach linked clearly with his general disposition through an apparent rapport. This ease and fluidity came from growing up in Essex where Asian music had little personal significance. He said 'I was a Hip Hop kid, as most Asians are, they love black music and then when it got to the point where black music that they'd grown up listening to was actually fusing with Asian music and sounding brilliant, that was a huge, I think boost' (Phone-in DJ, 2008).

This ethnic fluidity was shared by a white member of staff who had grown up in Southall, London, immersed in South Asian music, principally bhangra. It led him to leave a career in law to 'concentrate on music as well as radio and I set up a production unit called the Punjab Hitsquad who presented on 1Xtra…so that was my entry into music - I had a career as a producer at the time - one of the first Asian acts and we did a lot of urban productions' (Music Manager, 2008). Both white and black DJs had grown up during the 1970's at a time when the reggae, and later the soul, sound systems were at their peak of popularity across British cities.

These sound systems were a tradition started in the 1930's and had come from Jamaica. It involved portable audio equipment and an art of vocally linking records together. These events were a way of sharing the latest music with appreciative audiences and the popularity of particular sound systems depended on the DJs being the first to acquire exclusive 'dubplates', single press acetate record releases. For many of the DJs their life narratives were firmly rooted in the reggae, rock steady, ska and dub records regularly heard in the family home and at the sound system events (see Figure Four). This was contextualised by a love of pop music as one DJ recounted how from 'the mid late sixties…I was…into anything from David Bowie to T-Rex, Mott the Hoople, anything…you know, I wouldn't even really want to admit to liking heh nowadays' (Soul 360 DJ, 2009).

Figure Four: DJ Elaine, now part of Colourful Radio, performing with Rapattack sound system during the early 1980's. Source: Home grown: the story of UK hip hop, Urbis, autumn 2010

The sound systems in the UK had started off mainly playing reggae music imported from Jamaica. Unwelcome police and public attention, racism and social unrest aimed at a galvanised black community spirit meant these events had to be held privately in community halls and clubs. As one DJ recalled, 'from the age of eleven or twelve, it was all about reggae, we used to follow a sound system by Chaka. I used to lift these boxes to get into club…it was early door in them days, it started at seven o'clock and it finished at ten, ten thirty…I only lived around the corner from it…but in truth…mummy didn't know, as far as mummy was concerned I was 'just going up the road mum, back soon'' (Soul DJ, 2009).

From this scene a firmly British reggae tradition was the developing, typified by the 1981 release of Smiley Culture's Cockney Translation. This song mixed patois and cockney rhyming slang to develop new linguistic phrases, patterns and anglicised words. It represented a 'culture in which blacks did indeed move freely between 'standard' English grammar and vocabulary, a Jamaican-derived form of black British creole and regional working-class accents, combining influences from all three' (Jones, 1988, p. 54). This newly fertile British based sound was the environment from which references to funk, soul and hip-hip music began to be incorporated as specific sets at reggae events or as newly founded separate sound

systems. The evolving soul scene was often a cause for intense disagreement with aficionados of the traditional reggae sound systems. One DJ recounted how:

> *'there was certain people that wanted to keep it very much as a reggae sound thing and, you know, myself and a few others were like, we want to move into the soul thing…even down to the thing with the equipment because the reggae sound used to be just one turntable, somebody on the mic, you'd got one person to select the tunes, who was going to give it to somebody else who's going to put it on the turntable, the mic…man's doing his thing to keep the crowd entertained whilst there is no music playing and then the tunes would play.*
>
> *Whereas from the soul aspect, it was the very early advent of two turntables and a mixer and there was…conflict of opinion in that regard and then it got the point where it's like well you know what? If you want to go down that route all the best to you, I'm getting off at the next stop'* (Soul 360 DJ, 2009).

As is often the case with teenagers some of DJs rejected their parental preferences for roots music and instead sought out this burgeoning British and US soul scene as a place to define their own multifaceted ethnicity and identity. This theme was repeated in various interviews and typified by one DJ who said that 'everything I grew up in, family, community, it was about reggae, reggae, reggae, I got fucking sick of reggae, and I wanted some soul. So I went one Friday night to the Lyceum, I must have been all of fourteen or fifteen at the time and I was just blown away by the music, the mixture of people, because with reggae, it was all black people, so I got blown away by the mixture of people, black, white, Indian, Chinese…so since then, I've just been a soul head' (Soul DJ, 2009). The pull for some towards the allure of soul music was a direct challenge to the structures of seeing a black identity within the political and social parameters that surrounded traditional reggae music. Soul music events such as this served to reposition a black identity as one open to the possibilities of moving between several different cultural worlds. The importance of the music developments in the 1970's and 1980's meant that for some, their identities

were firmly embedded in 'black music, before it donned this shiny suit' (Reggae DJ, 2009) redolent of late 1990's and later commercial R&B and soul

The DJs at Colourful and Buzz had skilfully negotiated around the external tensions between the soul and reggae scenes and had spent careers playing both and reflecting the developments of US and British black music by blending it with new genres. This was demonstrated by the wide range of music which now falls into the black music genre played at both stations.

7.2.4 Commonalities of a pirate radio background

Colourful Radio, Asian Fever, Buzz FM, Asian Network and Irish Spectrum all contained staff who had a background - or were still active - in pirate radio broadcasting. Ofcom, the media regulator acknowledged that some pirate stations constitute a community service. The Head of Spectrum Investigation summarised its definition of 'community' pirates as 'if you tune into them, a lot of the musical genre definitely matches with a particular group, whether it be African music, West Indian music, Polish music, so it is definitely targeted towards the group. The other thing about genuine community radio stations and I use genuine loosely, is that they tend not to run many adverts, so they're not, on the face of it, there to make significant money' (Head of Spectrum Investigation, Ofcom, 2009).

SOA was the only station that didn't have a pirate background as they felt that to have done so would have jeopardised the possibilities of either being a commercial or community radio station. For the other stations, pirate radio during the 1970's and 1980's had been a setting where they had 'cut their teeth' as DJs, managers and entrepreneurs. Many viewed their pirate history past as a period of enablement to express their ethnic and musical identities and openly reject the constraining rules of commercial radio. The momentum of alternative and pirate radio grew to such an extent that by the mid eighties both LBC and BBC London had started to incorporate some soul, hip-hop and reggae into its playlists but this only scratched the surface of an underground movement that occurred across the major cities of the UK. When the 1990 Broadcasting Act did not include the much mooted third tier of community based radio the necessity of pirate radio has been maintained. It was only as a result of changing family commitments and the 'sector's' movement away from the community based pirate output that many of the case study DJs and staff stopped their involvement.

In London, the licensing of previous pirate Sunrise FM in 1988 was seen to have negated the desire for additional Asian underground stations. However, this did not

fulfil the need in others towns and cities. In Leeds, the cross-cultural musical background of two members of Asian Fever's staff meant they were part of the scene of growing pirate reggae stations. This led them to be involved in starting Apni Awaz FM in 1989. One participant had spent his college years DJing parties, playing punk rock, funk, jazz, new romantic and dance music. He was also aware that whenever he went to 'Asian homes or Asian friends in their cars, they would all have this cassette and there was such a big buzz around someone got a new cassette from Pakistan and, you know there's a joke about so many Asians in a little Mini or a Micra but really they're all in a car listening to a tape' (Friday afternoon and Sunday morning DJ, 2008).

This motivation to play the music tapes from 'home' was coupled with awareness that many potential listeners felt socially isolated in Leeds. His aim was to start a service for this community. Apni Awaz received a positive reception from listeners and their community consciousness extended into visiting classes at the local school. In the context of the service they felt they provided the DJs had difficulty with being branded 'as a criminal and I don't like the word criminal and pirate seems to go with that so we call ourselves underground, just like underground music, you know, if it's not released by one of the big media companies' (ibid). This unwillingness to equate piracy with criminality and a wish to enable community communication was common across all ex-pirate interviewees.

At Irish Spectrum, the allure of pirate radio was the potential it had with identifying a community and the romance of 'the magic of radio' (Manager, 2008) to communicate commonalities. The 'magic' of shared music through piracy echoed in the recollections of the DJs at Colourful Radio. Their backgrounds were so enmeshed with the sound system movement in London that they saw the potential of pirate radio to extend that shared musical experience. One DJ had co-run Solar with Gilles Peterson who went onto mainstream DJing and music production and Invicta, both well known soul and hip-hop stations. He said, 'we felt we were doing it because we were in love with the music and we wanted it out there and we wanted to show the establishment that there was a choice that needed to be exercised' (Reggae DJ, 2009). The attraction for many of the DJs was the ability to share music which was not being played on the sound systems or in the clubs, and in ways which were novel such as continuous mixes blending various styles of music. Piracy's appeal was to be 'in charge of your own playlist, you decide what you want to play, you play it how you want to play it and you know, obviously as long you abstain from you know, doing and saying certain silly things which obviously, would afford you unnecessary attention that was pretty much the only restrictions you had' (Soul 360 DJ, 2009).

As the sound systems had provided means for some members of the Afro-Caribbean community to make additional money when rampant racism meant jobs were difficult to acquire, so piracy enabled the development of station management and business skills. Irish Spectrum's presenter/manager was unruffled by the multiplicity of tasks he undertook to run the programme because he drew on his pirate 'background…where you do everything, muck gotta be swept off the floor, you do it, aerial gotta be fixed, you do it, you do whatever, it's gotta be done, and that's why you do it, you know, I mean, there's no such thing as I'm the producer, or I'm a presenter, you do the lot' (Manager, 2008).

Pirate radio is criticised for harbouring associated criminality, fraudulent activity and interference to licensed stations and safety of life services. But it was also the training ground for a high proportion of radio station and production managers in licensed commercial, community and public service radio today. Barnard's contention that 'it is arguable whether the pirates really represent anyone other than themselves' (1989, p. 171) ignores the fact that many stations linked to the case studies such as Apni Awaz, Solar, Invicta, Baseline, Power Jam, Kiss and London Greek Radio were born of the significant community support of the sound systems, a real lack of commercial provision and the blossoming of cross-genre British based music being created at the time.

7.2.5 Personal motivations to be part of the radio station

Depending on the purpose and scope of the radio station, agents brought to it tacit and discursive motives to their position within the station, informed by the general disposition, reflexive narratives and connectedness with friends, family and the community. For managers who shared a pirate broadcasting history a DJ's statement that the late 1980's was 'the beginning of the entrepreneurial spirit…when old Maggie [Thatcher] came along and you know, after old Norman [Tebbitt] telling everybody to go and get on their bike…that age of entrepreneurism was kind of like really kind of pressed out to the masses' (Soul DJ, Colourful Radio, 2009) summarised core personal motives for pursuing the success of the radio station.

For other DJs, theirs was a private motivation which was achieved by being part of the radio station. A DJ at Asian Fever was driven by a desire to communicate with the younger members of the community through her own music, played during her programme. She brought her personal narrative of community alienation, a conscious lack of ontological security through being an outsider that informed the conjuncturally specific structures drawn on in her role at the station. During her programme she sought to challenge conventions which had privately constrained her

and rebuild her sense of self. The station afforded a public/private space which was 'like my own little project, separate from the music so it's, I just come here and it's a total different outlet' (Afternoon DJ, 2009).

The younger DJs had half an eye on radio's role in achieving their personal aspirations. One British-born female DJ had come to the station to practice her Punjabi and increase her confidence in the community. The experience raised her confidence to the extent that she was not available for interview on the second visit because her aspiration to pursue a career in drama had led her to participate in the finals of a national Indian TV dance competition. Some DJs were motivated to develop a career in radio alongside a more traditional route of a university degree. Radio was for one DJ an opportunity for some personal freedom and 'get exploring…you can just kind of do everything and like people are listening to you and you get instant response from them and you get to be creative and then do what you want' (Female Bhangra DJ, 2009). The notion of personal identity exploration via the very public medium of radio was shared by a DJ who said 'I'm sort of very reserved, quiet, sensible but [in character] I try to come with a feeling that he's, he's big headed, he's larger than life, it's like someone taking the micky out of you and he does all that' (Friday afternoon and Sunday morning DJ, 2009).

For the managers of the smaller stations and programmes, the possibilities of the station's community impact became their personal motivation. A former teacher who brought her social work experience to the station was driven by the possibilities for 'young listeners who don't know their roots and don't know anything about their culture and traditions but hey, the radios are here and they're learning from it' (Manager, 2008). This sentiment was shared by the managers of Somali on Air whose personal motivations was to harness the social opportunities of radio. One said that 'I'm not doing radio for the sake of radio, heh, I'm doing to get that money to do something useful…When I see the response of people and when…I can hear their problems when they get the right advice…I really, that night I can sleep very very well, or sometimes I cannot even sleep how happy I am' (Manager, 2008).

Many of the DJs at Buzz FM had grown up during the late 1980's and early 1990's; a period of high unemployment and they brought this experience and the aspirations for their own young families to the station. Their motivation was to bridge the gulf between the personal creativity that existed in the community with the opportunities for achieving recognition. One's DJ's experience was of misdirected government projects that 'the youths don't want to do…because they're not; they're not what the

youth want to do. The youth want to make music and stuff like that and I know that because I was there once when I was growing up' (DJ, 2009).

Colourful Radio staff pursued both situated business and personal motives. One of the managers had a long history of presenting speech radio and had experienced the difficulties of achieving equality amongst his white peers at the BBC. His starting Colourful was particularly motivated by being able to offer young black students the opportunities that did not exist for him. He was conscious that the situation was still difficult for 'young people who feel you know, that nobody's talking to them, people are talking at them and they feel that their goodness isn't being seen' (News Manager, 2009). His perspective was that 'ethnic groups have always been pushed into doing community radio but not commercial radio, not fully fledged commercial radio' (ibid), therefore Colourful was an opportunity to balance particularistic and universalistic priorities. The particularistic priorities were to successfully reproduce the station, and their universalistic priorities were to change the rule structures of radio to enable wider representation.

Both the manager of Irish Spectrum and a manager at Colourful shared the same motives of making a particularistic product, ethnic minority radio, fulfil both perceived media needs and make a profit. Irish Spectrum was very focused on providing a community service for the London Irish communities which the manager gained great personal pleasure from but it was always with an 'eye on the pound note' (Manager, 2008). A Colourful manager articulated this priority as 'if you're given a service which…isn't catered for and there's an audience there then…it's cutting your cloth to fit your…suit as it were…you should be able to earn money on it and make a successful business out of it' (Sales Manager, 2009).

The personal/professional relationship some agents had with music meant that despite the commercial nature of the radio station and their love of building brands they still maintained that 'I'm not in it because of the money…I don't wear dreadlocks because it's the latest fashion [but] because I've had them since 1987 heh…I'm rough, raucous…but at the end of the day I'm true and I'm honest and I…love the music, I believe in it…it's what I've always done' (Head of Radio, 2009). This love of music was also a personal motivation for some of the staff at Asian Network. A manager who had been involved in Asian radio stations from the early nineties continued to find satisfaction from the 'purpose of collaboration where we do pull different communities together, different disparate music genres together. Making collaborations happen at the station but also the second, probably main

purpose is that's always been my push as a project here is getting Asian music on that platform as a whole' (Music Manager, 2009).

7.2.6 Summary

This section explored the personal experiences of those involved in shaping the radio stations and the environment they operate in. To achieve this, the analysis drew on the agent conduct bracket to explore the general-dispositions of agents within the radio stations. The personal narratives, motivations and histories are the contextual experiences of the positioned agents who interact with their communities and other staff to form the radio station. They brought with them differing perspectives, priorities and interpretations of what 'makes' their role at the radio station and the approach they took during interactions with others. The narrative histories of the staff were shown as a process of storied identities and life paths that for some coincided with a wish to alter the traditional structures of radio and music. Some did so through a common participation in pirate radio which helped establish not only a sense of self but provided them with the knowledge of situated broadcast and community structures that enabled them to develop a continuing presence on radio. Many of the staff brought with them a consciousness of their role as mediators of exploring identity. Their programmes provided a feeling of place and provided a space for the structures of seeing and feeling to be communicated, reinterpreted or rejected. Broadcasting was a place not only for developing and exploring, in dialogue, the 'front regions' of themselves but served to augment and protect the private 'back regions' that gave security and definition to 'who' they are.

7.3 Rules, resources, power and the positioned agents of the stations

"In what way do rules, resources and power play a role between positioned agents in the constitution of the station?"

7.3.1 Introduction

The previous sections established what ethnic minority radio stations are through the structures they call on and the general disposition of those involved. This section[1] explores the use of rules and resources, relative causal influence and resulting power which constitute the radio station. To achieve this, conduct analysis was used to uncover the conjecturally-specific priorities, constraints and influences the agent senses within the outward facing realm of context analysis, as agents are pulled in different directions of their own personal projects and those of positioned others. The priorities, situated constraints and enablement surrounding the use of rules and resources are examined. The outcome of such use, in the context of positioned others, demonstrates an agent's relevant causal influence in the operation of the station and their power to reproduce or affect change in this and the related structures. Three primary concepts are used from structuration theory, those of structure, rules/resources and power in the context of time-space. They help to frame and analyse the subtle interplay between agents involved with the reproduction of ethnic minority radio. Such analysis shows the neutrality of power in the context of the duality of structure. The duality is played out during interaction between agents which reproduces the rules and resources of the structure allowing it to extend across time and space.

7.3.2 Situated and contextual rule use and causal influence of the DJ

An examination of situated and contextual rule use during broadcast, brought to the fore the causal influence of the DJ to reproduce, gently alter or radically change the programme, the station and its structures. The usual studio involved a mixing desk, telephone equipment, computers and cd players placed in an arc around the DJ. They used their situated knowledge of the processes of broadcasting to use the equipment which usually levied a high amount of agency to the DJ. The practice of 'driving' a programme, that is, produced by a team in an adjoining studio was unique to the BBC (see Figure Five). It is a practice which comes with its own situated rules that both constrained and enabled agent action. DJs were somewhat enabled to concentrate on their role of presenting the programme without having to consider the technicalities of 'driving' the desk. It was also a practice that constrained because they relied on a team who controlled the mixing desk and phone calls, separated by

[1] This chapter came from a conference paper written for and presented to ECREA 2009, Barcelona.

glass in another room, to make structural programming decisions. The effect of such a rule practice was exhibited by two commercial ex-Sunrise Radio DJs at Asian Fever. At Sunrise they too had been 'driven' and the liberation of controlling their own programme meant frequent mistakes and technical gaffs. Training the Molanas to take over during Ramadan meant simplifying the rules surrounding the use of the station's technical resources. The manager recalled how she was 'setting everything up for them and telling them "when you want a break from your talking you press this one up and you push this one down" heh skiing, telling them how to ski heh…with about 30 seconds 'till the news, you'd go in and put the news in…now the Molanas do it all themselves' (Co-Manager, 2009).

Figure Five: Driving the phone-in programme at BBC Asian Network, London

These situated and contextual rules were felt in the process of broadcasting by the DJs in various ways. The rules employed by DJs at Buzz FM reflected the freedom of pirate radio and their ability to acknowledge the wishes of their listeners. The practice of playing a track again, or to 'rewind' it almost as soon as it had finished was a rule structure that reflected the tastes of those broadcasting and of positioned others. It was communicated in text message interaction and the DJ's ability to overrule the usual structures of commercial playlists. The use of broadcasting structures and wanting to meet the needs of the community often provided situated constraints to negotiate on air. At Asian Fever, there were tensions between playing a consistent programme of music and wanting to reflect their community. This was

demonstrated by the difficulty of when 'you're playing a really fast pop music and then you have to stop and say "well by the way someone's passed away and our condolences go out to the family but hey, let's get back to some disco music" heh you know' (Manager, 2008).

The situated rule use that came from a DJ's practical knowledge of broadcasting rules and their personal life experience of music combined to maintain a flow of programming that still incorporated listener needs. A DJ at Colourful Radio explained these tacit processes as trying to 'break it down into certain sub genres and saying, alright we need a few of those, a few of these, a few of that…but when it comes to the show it is pretty much like make it up as you go along…you have got rough ideas of what you want to play, when you want to play it, but nothing too rigid, you know, if somebody comes up with a suggestion and…it works you know, then I'll play it' (Soul DJ, 2009). When DJ's were able to control their programme content like this it was also an opportunity to bend the rules. The Manager at Irish Spectrum drew on his pirate and commercial knowledge during situated rule use in broadcasts to extend and allow greater scope for accommodating his sponsor's wishes. As a longer than usually accepted advert played he commented that 'you can get away with it if it includes some music' (Manager, 2008). For all that he modified rules for his benefit he also paid attention to the positioned rule use of the community. He maintained a flow of talk and music adhering to 'some levels of taste and decency, I think everybody to a degree can laugh at some little thing that's in some way naughty or in some way a little bit vulgar' (ibid) but he never took broadcasts beyond this.

The practical knowledge embedded in the managers and DJs employed during moments of situated rule use did not come naturally. It was often built up from co-operative discussion on the objectives of their programmes, the processes of making them and a consideration of their listeners. Staff used the conventions of radio broadcasting to build the intentionality of a programme that once established would eventually become a flowing process of building situated and positioned rules. The manager at Somali on Air outlined their processes of developing programmes as:

'we argue, we say "listen, why is it so important, how can these people present it?" but once we know the profit of their particular programme, once we know how to present it, where to get the information from and way of doing it, who going to do it, is it the right person, do they need other help from other people er once we know everything then we find space for that programme but even this space we have to talk about, why is it practical the space, is it important to that particular day, are those people we are targeting for that particular programme available that particular day, all this is stuff but once it's set up…then that's it' (2008)

Programmes were similarly co-operatively constructed at the Asian Network though with a higher degree of access to allocative resources. The talk show team's primary activities were to build a programme from the day's headlines and employing their authoritative resources to access databases of potential participants. This database was one of many technological containers of power that also incorporated the interests and motives of positioned other 'expert sources' which the agents could engage with to construct a programme very quickly. This was most definitely enablement. However, there was equal constraint felt by staff as many participants were 'generic' BBC contacts and less relevant to the South Asian community. To counter this they compiled the details of previous participants and staff used their authoritative resources to avoid incorporating repeated and privately motivated opinions that could restrict 'who' the programme was to potentially communicate with. At work the team in the 'driving' studio worked in clearly defined roles with those researching, others fielding callers with the programme manager overseeing decisions. They behaved as a hive with positioned roles to play out which called upon situated rule references that also formed their collective understanding of the rules of the show to be picked up, reproduced, shared and adhered to.

7.3.3 Rules and resource use in the structure of the station and inter-related structures

At the radio stations, the use of rules and resources was not without the influence of other structures which had a bearing on day-to-day operation. These influences were as mundane as technology used by teams within stations to constraints of the station's operation outside the law.

The news staff at BBC Asian Network had the considerable advantage of resources which applied to all stations across the organisation. A program that collected news stories provided an editorial platform that was used by the staff to construct their running order, write stories and to share content. This program called EPNS (Electronic News Production Service) was provided by Associated Press to combine news wires from themselves, Reuters and from BBC items so that staff consulted it to write their own material. Users could define their own searches 'so I can say, yes ok, Pakistan or India, anything with the words British Asian in there, entertainment, Bollywood, would be of interest to me so I can actually put that and set my system like that so anything to do with these will come up and flash on my screen' (Senior Broadcast Journalist, 2008). The processes described by the journalist show the subjective general dispositional priorities that informed the scoping of prospective news items by agents and how, despite the best resources, programme output was determined by the combination of authoritative command of physical resources and the contextual rules of the station outlining what was newsworthy.

The priority staff at the Network gave to the choice of languages broadcast was constrained by the resources of the station. The Network Manager recalled how 'we just haven't got the hours on air to do it and the resources if you start to adopt another South Asian language, then you're going to have to bring in more people to look after that language, whereabouts do you put it in the schedule, which bits fall off?' (Network Manager, 2008). This led to continual debates between staff and listeners from non-catered for minority languages such as increasing Sylheti over Bengali and a lack of inclusion of Tamil or Sri Lankan stories in the schedules. Though this was viewed as a constraint it was equally an enablement. The Gardam report had stated that the 'Asian Network should take measurable steps to tackle the perceived inequality in the treatment of different Asian communities. It should review its range of language broadcasts to include at least one language from South India or Sri Lanka' (2004, p. 110). The manager's choice not to pursue this further enabled the station to carve out an identity which they believed pitched the content firmly from a 'British Asian' perspective. The staff, conscious of a crowded South Asian market place and outside criticisms of the Network's lack of social relevance used this to position the station as unique.

The issue of language provision was reflected at Asian Fever, a station that was centred in a diverse community constituting a variety of spoken minority languages. The managers had been approached by 'the Arabic groups, the Iranian groups heh they want to come in and do programmes as well but…we don't know what they'll be saying, we have to be very careful' (Manager, 2008). This was a decision made

due to their lack of volunteers that possessed these authoritative resources but was also rule based and ideologically driven. The station existed for its defined, mainly Punjabi community where social need was perceived to be the highest; therefore the managers did not want to dilute their content or their audience.

The micro concerns of the staff at Asian Fever focused much more on the intimate rule structures of the community to define the rule and resource use at the station. Programmes were 'not just about playing music, it's about informing people if someone passed away…funeral gatherings, in the Muslim community they do it so quick…I don't know how they ever did it before really but it was like running round knocking on people's door but now its community has grown so big and everyone is so busy working…I think the radio is playing a very big part…it does touch a lot of people in so many different ways' (Manager, 2008). Such communication by DJs utilised situated rules they called on from their lived experience in the community and enabled the station to be relevant to its listeners, embedding its role to maintain and develop community structures. The Music Manager at Asian Network had at his disposal far greater allocative resources than Asian Fever. He recalled working 'at a community station, picking up the phone to listeners in my own programme' (Music Manager, 2008) but recognised that a situated lack of allocative resources encouraged a higher degree of listener engagement enabled by the employment of his own authoritative knowledge of the community; something less well defined at the Network.

Intermittent broadcasts and the threat of arrest continually constrained Buzz FM and its DJs who nonetheless achieved an extension of its presence and relevance to its community through the use of internet technology. Youtube, a free resource, meant it 'made a massive difference, I've had contacts from all over the world…but especially the local ones, you got to keep it UK' (DJ, 2009). Such use of technologies such as Youtube, text messaging and the internet stream facilitated not only an extension of the community but also constituted a 'container of power'. The Youtube channel sought to reproduce the music and taste structures of the radio station when it was 'offline' and the broadcasting equipment had been confiscated. In its daily operation as an FM station, the Buzz DJs used what restricted allocative resources they had with great authoritative skill. The two 'pay as you go' mobile phones used during broadcasts to receive listener messages quickly ran out of memory which disturbed the flow of the programme. Using their authoritative resources they overcame this through the use of situated sociability and rule use, enabling the DJ to incorporate the ridiculousness of the situation into his DJ talk:

> *'This job gets harder every week, it should get easier right, all these years on the radio…Reading the shout outs, that's what gets hard. [Laughing].*
>
> *Private line is going now, too many messages, my phone is blocked up, oh what am I doing? If you're trying to get through on the private line just wait a second, I'll just delete some messages. You know what? I need a new phone!'* (DJ, 2009).

What was a constraint in terms of resources was also an enablement because other more remote, well staffed, yet mediated radio stations could only hope to have this frequency of listener interaction and involvement. The station's engagement with their community enabled the DJs to achieve causal influence and credibility with newly signed artists and record companies. They were able to encourage artists to take part in person despite their lack of allocative resources that meant that the Buzz studio was usually a garden shed in Trafford. Once musicians reached a point of mainstream credibility, the station sought new and less recognised people to promote. Asian Network, despite access to enviable allocative resources did not always hold the same causal influence within the established music industry. During the breakfast show the staff had problems reaching the rising South Asian R&B star Jay Sean who had agreed to carry out an on-air interview. The interview was signposted throughout the programme but staff were unable to reach him by telephone. The DJs at Asian Fever suggested that once musicians had surpassed the parameters of their 'South Asian' audiences they no longer felt that engaging with ethnic minority radio was contingent to a continuing successful career.

Colourful, as it transitioned over to DAB, hoped to achieve such a regular flow of interaction with listeners. By adhering closely to the structures of radio genres and collectives of listeners as defined across the commercial sector it tailored programmes for 'urban AC [adult contemporary] because we're aiming at the 25, I say 25, 30 pluses…that want to listen to 40 years of soul music and everything…soulful, very melodic, it's like we're like a Smooth but for black music' (Head of Radio, 2009). The use of commercial genre rules was strategic; being recognisably defined by other inter-related entertainment structures meant the station could command better (free) resources. The lifestyle show made use of regular guests who brought their own power to the station. Their participation and the station's definability meant they were afforded competition prizes from film studios such as

Sony and Paramount to give away on air with the aim to raise listener participation. The importance of genre rules and their presence on DAB meant the station agents felt they were finally 'rocking and rolling' (Lifestyle Presenter, 2009).

A lack of knowledge about inter-related structures such as company law and broadcast codes sometimes proved a constraint to the station structure. During an initial visit to Somali on Air the managers dwelt on the difficulties they faced by behaving like a community radio station, offering volunteer training and not charging for some services, whilst being part of a commercial outfit. The Co-Manager recounted that 'I believe we was wrong the way we started as commercial radio, if we had that idea starting as a community radio I think we could do a lot of things different…we could have help from the other government organisation' (2008). They lacked the authoritative knowledge of other positioned structures such as Ofcom, other minority stations and small business law to secure their financial operation. Some months later they had made progress to understand the rules of commercial and social enterprises and their role within these structures. SOA finally registered as a social enterprise meaning 'all the money we get we can do advertising, all this stuff, we can get public funding but in case we do profit, then that profit should go back again into providing services to the community' (Manager, 2008) which had always been their operating ethos but without the formal benefits of registration.

Except for Colourful Radio and Buzz, all the stations brought up the issue of PRS (Performing Rights Society) and PPL (Phonographic Performance Limited). These were analysed as relevant positioned structures. Both organisations handled the collection of music copyright fees for artists they represented. The system was roundly condemned by managers who respected the copyright licensing process but questioned the agency processes. For small ethnic minority stations the majority of the music played came from overseas artists or small British labels which were poorly represented. The managers viewed PRS and PPL as 'just another revenue…it's a lot of rubbish, I mean I would love to know which Asian artists actually receives any copyright money' (Manager, Asian Fever, 2008). A resistance to the rules of these agencies had led the manager to question PRS about its agreement with artists. PRS 'fobbed me off…"oh yes, we have some Bollywood artist and all this", I said "well, which ones?"…and they says "oh, well you know", "well what?" you know, they don't have an answer' (Manager, 2009). The stations were happy to reproduce the structures of the copyright collection agencies if they were able to show the stations which minority artists played on their station received payment. The manager at Asian Fever took this up directly with PPL whose vague response was '"oh well we pay this other company that help you know, the artist"'

(ibid). The structures of PRS and PPL were however viewed as important by stations who tried to influence positive representational change. Managers were aware that the Asian music industry had been unconventional in its distribution and promotion of artists; this was seen as a weakness within the BBC. Asian Network had been lobbying artists and record labels and they believed the situation was 'changing…we've been pushing the labels as much for uniformity as possible to be in line with the music industry' (Music Manager, 2008). The manager believed changing the haphazard rules for publishing would better support artists but also enabled him to alter the playlist rules within the more powerful structures of the BBC. This was a result of 'getting tired of going into boardrooms and talking to people about key Asian artists, these huge artists that are based in Britain and I know they're selling out clubs to 6-700 people once a week, shifting the units, but they're not selling them in HMV, they're not registered so it doesn't matter' (ibid).

7.3.4 Enablement, constraint, positioned causal influence and power of station agents

The duality of structure is defined by the interaction of agents who are able to reproduce but also negotiate the rules and resources to their best interests. This complex dialogue of negotiation is what Giddens terms the 'dialectic of control'. Like the duality of structure, it is a two way 'negotiation' of power where the 'less powerful manage resources in such a way as to exert control over the more powerful in established power relationships' (Giddens, 1984, p. 374). The analysis so far shows how by this balance or imbalance, that rule making and resources can constrain or enable the endurance of the stations and the activities of its agents. This section examines how agent causal influence relates to power.

7.3.4.1 Rajar

The dialectic can be illustrated by a station's ability to reach the listeners and proving such numbers through the membership of appropriate measurement tools such as RAJAR (Radio Joint Audience Research Limited). Such tools equate this audience to the generation of funding or revenue. The greater occupation of time-space and interaction with other structures can correspond to the stations agents' ability to encourage other sets of rules and resources to favour the station structure. RAJAR is owned in part by the major commercials and the BBC who often show less interest in more accurate audience reporting methods as a way of protecting their advertising or public subsidy.

For Colourful 'we all have reservations about RAJAR, Ofcom told us as much, Ofcom have reservations about RAJAR but unfortunately it's the current currency of

which everyone uses' (Director, 2008). Despite these reservations the station staff understood their relative lack of causal influence to change the structure of RAJAR. The financial stability of the station depended on their inclusion in RAJAR. But finding the funds to pay for the service meant it was 'a chicken and egg thing, you need to get something started to actually get it onto DAB so that then, once you've got your RAJAR then you can go to Radio Works and you can go to advertising agencies and go "look, this is our figures, we've actually got a currency, now we can work on"' (Sales Manager, 2009). At the time of transitioning to DAB, the station was relying on website usage measurement to encourage advertisers and enable the finances to participate in RAJAR.

For some stations such as Spectrum Radio 'RAJAR isn't the best vehicle because the way it works on a postcode system[2], you're gonna have big peaks and troughs in your listening and frankly it's not what a station like Spectrum Radio sells on anyway' (Director, 2009). The switch off rate between different language programmes and the dispersed nature of its listening communities enabled the Director to develop a revenue model which did *not* rely on traditional advertising and audience numbers. It instead made money from allocating broadcast slots to ethnic minority groups and including station wide advertising between programmes. The BBC and its commercial partners in RAJAR were part of the RAJAR structure, holding high causal influence on how the research model developed to benefit these large stakeholders[3]. Staff at the Asian Network were highly sensitised to the significance of RAJAR figures for determining the success, or failure, of the station. Their technical resources such as its website and the RAJAR reports was the staff's way to gauge the audience reaction to events organised by the station such as 'a big promotional campaign in February…tied in with a couple of BBC Two programmes…the online hits and everything went up so we knew that the audience was responding…we get the audience figures from RAJAR every quarter and they will reflect things as well' (Music Manager, 2008). The changing RAJAR figures could both enable and constrain those at the Network. However, at the time of this research, falling audience figures revealed in quarterly results merely added to low staff morale.

[2] RAJAR uses a diary method of quantitative data collection. Households are selected by postcode to keep a diary of radio stations listened to for at least five minutes during the quarterly diary period. It is seen as less appropriate for stations which draw audiences from small geographical communities or have pockets of listening communities nationally, and internationally.

[3] The methodology surveys stations serving larger geographical locales areas. It is viewed by smaller stations as inappropriate for their audiences with the previous manager of Spectrum describing the relationship between the BBC and larger commercial stations who determine the methodology's scope as a 'cartel' (Paul Hogan, interview, 2005).

7.3.4.2 High and low causal influence

Observation and querying of specific actions during this research highlighted the constraint, enablement and relative causal influence agents held which afforded them power within their position at the radio stations. Internal constraints within larger organisations also created constraint and enablement within radio stations. The news team at Asian Network exhibited their own freedom in operating the resources available to them. Agents within the team were enabled within their own restricted hierarchical roles by using previous privileges gained from working at News 24 during internships. Staff were able to access blocked news items in the BBC EPNS (Electronic News Production Service) program; though this was not commonly shared knowledge 'there are ways and means of doing it, which unfortunately, quite a few of us know how to do it' (Senior Broadcast Journalist, 2008). This subversion of the rules also sensitised staff to potential constraints. A journalist explained how some news items were blocked because the Today programme had not 'greened' (given the green light to) their running order; it was 'compulsory. They haven't done it, they have done bits which is a bit wrong, because they should have greened everything' (ibid). The effect was to constrain other agents working on news items and was perceived as a power play by agents at the Today programme considered across the BBC to have more cachet. Not 'greening', or, giving a green light to the use of their resources defined their own separate space and marked out their higher causal influence and power experienced by other staff.

A casual statement by the Head of News at the Network further demonstrated the underlying tensions and instability experienced by the staff. Discussing the EPNS (Electronic News Production Service) news program for constructing content its value was 'part of the key, you know, to justify why we exist…to get those stories which nobody would be running about the British Asian experience' (News Manager, 2008). This need to justify its existence became a situated priority for the staff's work and the positioned resource use of the EPNS system enabled them to be included and to create news as part of the wider BBC family.

Tensions at the Network ebbed into daily interactions between staff who were concerned about how the reduced percentage of broadcast talk to music would affect their roles. Anxieties were voiced by one member of staff who said 'to be honest with you we don't quite completely know ourselves what's going to happen with the new shows…for us…working on shows…[colleague name] has now worked here for really long, he's worked in different departments, for us just moving to a different…that's what we're thinking about now' (Researcher, 2008). Job security and concerns about personal roles within the Network were not unique. DJs and

managers at other radio stations, particularly Colourful, recalled a recurring lack of causal influence to determine their own futures as managerial decisions were often not revealed until the morning of staff dismissals. One Colourful DJ's daily concerns about the technical problems experienced in the playout system were as much about wanting to achieve a high quality sound as asserting his interests in the fledgling radio station. He raised issues with managers about the lack of proper processes such as verbal DJ contracts and a perceived lackadaisical approach to monitoring. By raising these issues and handling the playlist policy for the radio station he was embedding himself as part of the managerial team; an opportunity that had not presented itself at Choice FM where he was also working.

Part of the feeling of low causal influence of staff within the Network as part of the BBC hierarchical structure was due to a lack of strategic direction. It had dogged the development of the organisation from a network of local radio stations to one that was national in scope. The station had a Director but during this time 'we moved into network radio under Jenny Abramsky but we didn't have a host station in the way that the other digital networks did, like BBC 7 was part of Radio 4 and 6 Music part of Radio 2, 1Xtra part of Radio 1' (Network Manager, 2008). It meant that at board meetings in London controllers allocating resources, both authoritative and allocative, did not incorporate the Network's interests. As a result 'we were on our own and got left behind, got missed off…no one mentioned the Asian Network' (ibid). Processes which other parts of the BBC had in place were therefore lacking within the Network.

These processes were fundamental to developing a container of power; the legacy of past programmes and recordings that marked it out as being an institution extending across time-space. Managers spoke of filming every event, capturing videos of artists and tracks to disseminate online. This aimed to create long lead ups and legacies afterward that were 'a real multi layered, multi platform approach to doing live events' (Network Manager, 2008). It was a wholly new approach for the Network, conscious that lacking overall direction had left a gap in Asian Network's archive history. Holding events was not enough to be able to grow the station as a brand and the Music Manager understood the contextual importance of technology use as a means of spreading an emerging legacy over several platforms. This aimed to appeal to younger Asian listeners who were not traditional radio listeners that provided a new layer of authentication to daily life in media that they connected regularly with. As such the systems at their disposal 'are a huge advantage for us, the technology that we have, the playout systems that we have, it's unique in the Asian landscape. The production values we're able to produce to, the programming that we have is

made possible by the systems, structures and the technology, operational back end structure that we have at the station that does give us an advantage' (Music Manager, 2008). Only the recent addition of a new tier of authoritative managerial resources had enabled the command of allocative technology and started to create this legacy.

7.3.4.3 Managing broadcast and financial resources

The importance of managing allocative resources was a major concern for the commercial team at Ofcom, the communications regulator, one of whom partook in the Digital Working Group that handled the take-up of DAB for larger stations. The potential for mismatching the authoritative use of these allocative resources meant it 'could be an interesting scenario…any planned migration from FM to DAB…could create a real window of opportunity for the pirates' (Commercial Radio Manager, 2008) to take over the available FM space. It was an opportunity managers knew pirate broadcasters would relish as the perceived rigid rules of community radio had failed to entice pirate broadcasters. The reason for this was cited by a DJ at Buzz FM who said 'I hate working them legal stations, I do them from time to time when I'm out and I've got a producer sat behind me telling what to play and what not to play and 'oh check these levels' and I'm like, 'I could do it with my eyes shut'; I don't need that, I can do that but you have to have it there to meet the criteria' (2009). The DJ was enabled at Manchester's Peace FM or the RSL Carnival Radio to play to the same broadcast audience as Buzz when Buzz was off air following a raid. He was also constrained by the communicative and operating ethos of these community stations who were conscious to adhere to the 'rules' imposed by Ofcom that were utilised and transferred by the producer 'sitting' on the DJ's shoulder. This unwillingness to be constrained meant the DJs adapted their use of resources to suit pirate broadcasting. A DJ's record collection constituted their personal container of power, a legacy of music and recordings that were usually transported to stations with great care. Rather than comply with the rule structures of legal broadcast the Buzz DJs had adapted these containers to the medium of CD conscious of their disposability because records were 'too priceless if we get raided' (DJ, 2009).

The rule and resource use in stations were often guided by external structures such as Ofcom, multiplex owners and parent stations where there was a dialectic of consultations and periodic interactions. Ofcom's operational costs were met by 'the licence fees that broadcasters pay to be on air every year so any TV or radio station or people using the frequencies for telecommunications have to pay a fee' (Commercial Radio Manager, Ofcom, 2008). This meant that for Colourful, Asian Fever and indirectly Somali on Air and Irish Spectrum, there was always the consideration of producing enough revenue to pay for their licensing and technical

fees. These stations aimed to meet these fees, and to generate some profit where possible, through advertising.

The mounting costs of their DAB licence and multiplex space payable by Colourful to both Ofcom and their multiplex owner were a pressing issue to the whole team. The Director felt caught 'in a catch-22 position' (2009) between choosing RAJAR measurement immediately on DAB launch and paying those additional costs or seeking advertising funds without the reporting tool most large advertising houses demanded. His reticence was a wish to balance the knowledge that the first few reports would reflect poor listenership figures as the station was new but hoping the listenership continued to rise so they could account for this. In addition to these concerns was a consciousness not to 'disappoint the sales team, you know, because they might see the first [report] and think no one's listening and then morale becomes even more difficult to be able to go out there confidently and be able' (ibid) to sell the radio station.

The manager of Irish Spectrum demonstrated high causal influence in determining his own revenue by the integration of the roadshows and advertising small local businesses that sponsored the show. He clearly outlined his intentions that the show served both to promote the roadshows and produce a small profit as much as to provide a service to the Irish communities around Greater London. Despite such skillful rule use the manager faced reduced financial resources because of the economic downturn. The roadshow bookings had decreased as the usual anticipated eventfulness of Friday, the end of the working week, was substituted by the choice of families to stay at home. The manager instead sought to juggle additional Sunday bookings, meaning an occasional pre-record Sunday night show to ensure a regular income.

In the face of financial difficulties the managers at Somali on Air tried to remain upbeat, focusing on the enablement of producing Somali shows despite the fact their community 'thought this was not possible to do, to have a radio in UK in Somali language. They felt it would be too expensive for Somali people to do that, true it's expensive, very expensive, but it's all about your creativity. We are not doing right now this because we are rich but because we are creative' (ibid). Their optimism did not escape the lack of 'money to run this station…I was asked two thousand every month, I do not have two thousand at all' (ibid). To achieve a differentiation from the BBC Somalia service and appeal to British based advertisers the managers avoided sensitive political discussions that alienated some audiences and sought to be 'completely different, we talk mainly about social issues in UK because BBC Somali

service do not talk about that' (Manager, 2008). The station was then able to attract the financial backing of the IOM and Western Union. However, the manager's lack of authoritative resources on how to negotiate the rule structure of grant funding and other sources of income meant that the financial resources at Somali on Air were highly sensitive to the economic downturn. The manager confirmed that 'some of our main sponsors said that they gonna stop for a while to assist the financial situation' (Manager, 2008). Having maintained a daily two hour programme on Spectrum until winter 2010 the programme was reduced to a single Sunday slot though with the added benefit of the AM frequency.

The managers at Asian Fever also faced similar problems with financing the station and negotiating the rules of grant funding; in part a stipulation of the Community Radio Order. The manager's relative inexperience with seeking finance in any other way than adverts and sponsorship combined with their low causal influence with the local council grant making area committees jeopardized the one grant they had achieved from ERDF (European Regional Development Fund). Caught between the grandstanding of the local Labour and Liberal Democrat parties, the station lost the £50,000 matched council funding and 'all of a sudden the pressure really hit home then, we had no money and we thought we had this money and we'd done all our research and shopping of equipment and how we were going to do everything and it just went absolutely upside down' (Manager, 2008). Money as an allocative resource was an anxiety to all the stations to varying degrees but for the community and smaller stations, more so. Coupled with the smaller broadcast area, the potential to maximise the percentage of what Ofcom allow in their rules as commercial revenue was difficult. 'The aim is for social gains and outputs but…they've shackled us with restrictions and when you put a shackle on somebody, they're gonna take small steps forward, yes, but eventually they'll just trip and fall flat' (Co-Manager, 2008). Power was exemplified as both an enablement and constraint. Ofcom, the body that licenses stations, provides a platform for their operation but within a very narrow definition for their terms of operation. This constraint, alongside Asian Fever's open door policy to its community, meant the station felt less able to charge for the airtime which community groups wished to access. Various visitors were observed coming into the station to request support for various projects. The manager explained one request for air time, 'highlighting, you know, mental health really in the Asian community which I've said "yeah, you're more than welcome to come and join us and let's put like a programme together". But neither one of them wants to pay anything so…' (Manager, 2008).

Encountering problems with grant making bodies, the managers felt constrained to seek most revenue from local advertisers but like the Spectrum Radio programmes, the economic downturn made matters difficult. The pressures of running a small and busy station and the reliance on local business meant that when business priorities changed to only paying 'their rent, their gas bill or whatever, if they don't pay us, what happens? We stop their ad. Wow' (Manager, 2008). Ofcom discussed the constraints on funding described by the Community Radio Order whereby 'a station can only take up to a maximum of 50% of its income per year from the sale of on-air advertising and sponsorship and a station can only take up to 50% of its income per year from one source' (Head of Community Radio, 2009). The manager's history of pirate broadcasting meant his situated rule use still focused on dwindling advertising funds rather than sustainable grant funding. When the managers had sought local grant funding they had met unanticipated constraints. The political wrangling that had been a barrier to initial local authority funding changed when party representational structures altered at the council and communication with the regulator Ofcom enabled the station to wield higher causal influence. The manager recalled how after Ofcom intervened the 'council came back on the scene because the local councillors in this area lost the seat…so they said "right, let's get your application back on track" and it was actually a Labour councillor that pushed it through' (Manager, 2009).

The constraints surrounding community radio were a prime reason for the manager and DJs at Buzz FM not seeking a licence. The station ran on little funding, despite occasional raids, so the trade off for a licence with a lower reaching transmitter was not viewed favourably. Ofcom compared the likely 150 watts Buzz FM's transmitter was operating at versus 'a community radio licence…that limits the power to 25 watts gives you an insight into the fact that you know, they are operating now at a significantly reduced power…[whereas] getting much greater coverage areas are naturally a much better proposition for any would-be advertisers' (Head of Spectrum Investigation, 2009). This potential for restricted advertising funds achieved with less powerful transmitters was compounded by the additional financial and licensing constraints that commercial and community radio brought. This would constitute having 'to pay people royalties for the music that they're playing, there would be conditions within the licence that would determine the amount of news they have to broadcast and you know, potentially amount of sport news they have to broadcast, how much music they can play and how much discussion they should have so you can see there are lots of potential constraining factors' (ibid). As it was, the manager

at Buzz FM was happier to risk arrest rather than compromise the communicative ethos, freedom, transmitter reach and earning potential of the radio station.

Colourful Radio had faced similar funding problems to Asian Fever and, like it, had been eager to start a full schedule of broadcasts knowing that without a 'product' to sell, advertising revenue would be impossible to achieve. The newly enticed and experienced Head of Radio used his authoritative resources to bring recognised and talented DJs to the radio station. The manager had got the station 'up and running and…something on air…we came on, on 11th August 2008 and heh I've kept it on air since then with nobody being paid a bean' (Head of Radio, 2009). He was able to do this by offering the DJs the freedom to play their own music, something not experienced at other stations, and by calling on their goodwill that he was going to create in Colourful as successful a station as his previous organisation, Kiss FM, had been. The managers treated their pre-DAB launch period as a testing ground for fluid rule development using scant allocative resources. Their power came from their authoritative resources; industry experience, salesmanship and trust.

The Sales Manager had moved to Colourful on both goodwill and an opportunity to achieve higher causal influence in his role than he had experienced at rival Jazz FM. He saw the potential for Colourful to engage with local, and underused, advertisers that also enabled him to navigate around the lack of RAJAR measurement. He recounted how the consolidation of the national and semi-national stations meant they had ceased to engage with local advertisers and instead pursued the large national contracts and advertising house agreements. Whilst financial resources were reducing for these stations because advertisers had no interest in engaging with what he termed as 'pseudo local' networked stations, he was demonstrating his causal influence by developing advertising packages which emphasised Colourful's distinctive London identity. The development of spot advertising and live reads aimed at encouraging small business that would not have been of interest to the larger stations, was enabling Colourful to access a new market.

7.3.5 The neutrality of power

It would be easy to write off the community and smaller stations as powerless when measured against the might of larger station structures. To do so would be simplistic and unfairly compare structures which serve clearly different purposes and with different scope. A traditional analysis of power would miss these subtle agent interactions which at whatever 'level' generates power for the structure to operate well within the target communities. Here the time-space concept is of great importance. All the stations existed on the same time-space continuum. They

comprised sets of agents who use the similar categories of allocative and authoritative power. The analysis has demonstrated that all stations faced similar issues which were determined by their ability to negotiate rules of the station and inter-related structures but also their situated causal influence. The smaller stations often lacked allocative and, sometimes, authoritative resources. Similarly though, the larger stations were sometimes deficient in being agile enough to change or quickly determine specific resource use.

With a greater extension across time and space, for structures such as the BBC and the parent station of SOA and the Irish programme Spectrum Radio, came greater resources and rules to have to negotiate and reproduce. Power was neutral; all the stations, with the exception of Buzz, had access to the same categories of allocative and authoritative resources. Power was also relative in the sense that greater power was achieved depending on the position of the structure across time and space which was in turn dependent on the station's target audiences occupying different locales and broadcasting scope. A community station's interests differed greatly from a larger or commercial station but how it used its resources and the resulting enablement and constraint was a common factor in all of them.

What set any of the ethnic minority stations apart was not size but the efficiency and creativity with which they negotiated their own and related rules and used their allocative and authoritative resources. However, as Giddens identified and as is apparent in this analysis, it was the deeply embedded nature of the rules and resources of some structures which made them 'institutions'. The position these institutions occupy in society meant they had access to greater possibilities for enablement and constraint. However, whilst such structures potentially had greater causal influence they were constrained by the legacy of how things were done.

The recent devolution of power by Ofcom to the multiplex operators to allocate services had been the prompting of many frustrating exchanges in the dialectic of control. Despite Colourful Radio's newness it made use of its authoritative resources to bend the rules in its favour in seeking a DAB licence by openly applying with more than one multiplex owner; a very unorthodox method of negotiation. However, the hierarchy in this dialectic was played out by the protectionist powers of some structures to ensure this broadcast resource was kept to certain radio brands. For Colourful, such protectionist behaviour lengthened this dialectic. Though recently acquiring their DAB licence, the process began in 2004 when 'Digital One said very clearly to us, "there is no capacity left on DAB, on the national Multiplex". They were protecting it; they basically copied some of their channels and put it on the

DAB Multiplex' (Director, 2008). Only when the communications regulator, Ofcom opened up bidding for the second national multiplex did space begin to appear elsewhere.

For the BBC, spectrum allocation had always been less of a problem. Its duty to serve the public interest through licence fee funding was a strong allocative resource which had meant it had a greater ability to endure along the time-space continuum. As one Ofcom Manager said 'we don't control the destiny of individual stations like Radio One or BBC Radio London or whatever, so that part of the band is officially gifted to the BBC to manage in the way that they want obviously as long as they're complying with the kind of agreed [broadcast] power levels' (Commercial Radio Manager, 2008). This, however, meant powerlessness in spectrum allocation for the BBC's ethnic minority services. Here the dialectic of control was played out between agents *within* the BBC over the allocation of the precious FM band to some stations. The result was that the national station, Asian Network with its position on DAB, had to work doubly hard through a higher degree of audience interaction to gain the smallest foothold in the London market.

7.3.6 Summary

This section explored the role that rules, resources and power play between positioned agents in the constitution of the station. This was achieved through the use of conduct analysis to examine conjecturally-specific priorities, constraints and influences combined with the outward facing realm of context analysis to explore position-practice. The analysis demonstrated the use of rules and resources, the importance of causal influence for individuals and stations and showed how power is generated.

The conceptual framework elucidates the complex nature of how staff reproduce the station structure and negotiate inter-related positioned structures found in the subtle nuances of agent interaction. This has been shown in identifying the relative causal influence agents hold in the generation of neutral power. Resources and most rules are common to all of the stations and rather than being hierarchical or deterministic, the resultant power is a neutral entity and is contingent on the complex interactions surrounding the enablement, constraint and causal influence of agent interaction. These common categories of rules and resources mean stations face similar challenges which can be analysed as existing on the same time-space continuum. Their endurance has been shown to be based not necessarily on might and domination but through agents' harnessing of resources, ability to alter rule structures and to be able to contain power as a legacy across time and space.

7.4 Reaching their audiences; interactions between the station and its community

"How do ethnic minority radio stations reach and interact with their audiences?"

7.4.1 Introduction

The analysis and discussion has so far explored the characteristics of ethnic minority radio stations and the narratives of the agents who comprise the positioned rule and resource users. This led to an analysis of the types of action, structures in use, power and rule use which occurs in daily interaction. The positioned interactions can reproduce these structures, alter the structures over long periods of time or instigate change very quickly. A significant part of the daily interactions at radio station involve the listeners and station staff. However, as will be shown, the type, quality and frequency vary greatly between the six case study radio stations. For some, it is integral to their operation, for others it informs some of the actions carried out at the station but is less vital to daily action.

This section explores the data coded using agent conduct bracket (especially their situated rule reference), agent context bracket (the positioned others involved such as the listeners and other staff) and the agent context/conduct bracket (incorporating outcomes to community, station, language and individual causal influence) in the analysis. These brackets are derived from the methodology that utilises Stones' (2007) suggestion for ordering agent conduct and their context of action to identify the processes that comprise the duality of structure. The purpose of this fine grained analysis is to trace the interactions of positioned agents, the shared contextual rule use and the resources which facilitate interaction. These constitute the shared narratives that are built up during interaction and the outcomes related to station and community structures.

7.4.2 The context of station and listener interaction

For four of the six radio stations, interaction formed approximately 50% of the programme content and therefore played a significant role in the dailiness of the station. These stations were Irish Spectrum, Somali on Air, Asian Fever and Buzz FM. Interactions occurred at both Colourful Radio and BBC Asian Network but the nature of engagement was different so listener/station interactions were less integral to the dailiness of the programmes and the schedule.

The interactions examined are ones that took place within the studio or which had a direct role in facilitating the programmes. Some of these did occur in the back office

but were less frequent and were to do with programme planning rather than live interaction. Interactions took place in several ways: listeners could telephone the studio and speak with the DJ either privately or on air; text messages could be received, usually directly to a computer terminal in the studio; emails were received and/or exchanged with those in the studio; the use of social networking facilitated some interaction and, finally, listeners occasionally interacted with the station staff face to face at the studio or at station arranged events.

Interaction occurred for various reasons but mainly took place during live broadcasts to facilitate 'shout outs', dedications and song requests. Less frequent interaction was engagement in a participatory programme such as an on-air talent show, live poetry readings, the 'lucky numbers' game, during studio and phone-in debates or to meet the station staff at events such as the London Mela, club nights, live roadshows or at religious gatherings. For studio based interactions these could occur many times per programme and were features of the broadcast day. During more mediated programming the rate of interaction decreased but took on greater meaning and opportunity for shared narratives and perspectives. Least frequent interactions were at the live events which were heavily promoted at the radio stations and were about shared community experiences rather than one-to-one meetings.

7.4.3 How the station facilitates interaction

Resources used for interaction varied and were not necessarily dependent on the financial power of the radio station but often had to do with the legacy of how actions were undertaken. For example, Irish Spectrum and Somali on Air shared studio space used in slots for programmes. Whilst the transmission equipment was of high quality the transient nature of programme partners at Spectrum Radio meant investment in new studio equipment was less a priority. The programme managers struggled with a single telephone with six lines for listener interaction. For Irish Spectrum this is what the manager had always known and due to the frantic activity of the one hour programmes, he had an assistant in the office to take calls and bring these messages through. The staff at SOA would use the telephone in the studio with one person at the microphone, broadcasting and one or two others attending to the telephone and taking messages. At Asian Fever, the daily emphasis on interaction meant they had invested in computerised text message and email within the studio so that participation could be handled by the DJ at the mixing desk. Calls which came through did so via a virtual telephone switchboard and if the caller was registered on the database, their details would flash up on screen as the phone silently rang. This enabled the system to be used for two purposes; silent 'flashing' *in between* songs to

prompt the DJ to 'shout out' their name or 'flashing' *during* songs which indicated the caller wished to speak with the DJ.

At Buzz FM, resources were more rudimentary in part due to a previous raid when the laptop which streamed live broadcasts and enabled the receipt of emails had been seized by police. This meant the assistant in the studio used a 'pay as you go' mobile to receive text messages from listeners detailing 'shout outs' and requests and occasionally to speak one-to-one. When the message box had reached its limit, some listeners would contact the DJ instead on his 'private line' as the assistant frantically deleted old messages.

The legacy of DJs being 'driven' by producers and technicians from a separate mixing desk in an adjacent studio at BBC Asian Network meant interaction was highly mediated. Approved text messages and emails were received, printed off and taken through to the DJ for live reads, and telephone, unless it was for the phone-in, was rarely used. During phone-ins callers would interact with the production team before being connected through to go on-air with the DJ. The BBC website enabled users to post conversations on the message boards; however as BBC website staff had to 'approve' these messages before they appeared online it meant conversations were less 'live' for listeners.

Listeners contacting Colourful could do so via text messages received onto the studio computer, by telephone straight to the DJ and by email which was mediated through the Colourful website as a way of driving listeners to this resource. DJs at Colourful and Asian Fever used the social networking websites Facebook and Twitter to notify listeners of when their programme was live and to instigate live interaction as the DJ broadcast.

Interaction formed the dailiness of the radio stations in different ways. At Buzz, Irish Spectrum and Asian Fever, it provided the cyclical and routine rhythms of the programmes with listeners using email, text and phone to take part in the programmes as observers and unseen participants. This was most pronounced at Asian Fever through the use of the computerised phone and text system. The 'flashing' up of registered users would indicate approval of the music or a comment being made on air. These negotiated interactions with the station's community of listeners directly fed into the schemas of the programmes. This would be incorporated into the speech of the DJ with names called out such as 'oh I see Mrs Roys is up this morning, and Shazi is too'. Similar interactions were noted at Buzz; these occurred at a high rate involving the DJ incorporating these unseen others into

his talk between tracks (see Figure Six). A listener to some of the black pirate stations in London echoed the perceived motivation for participation. His text message to the DJ would be intended for other unseen listeners and would say 'big up that person, the person would be listening and the next person like send back a text and they say your name and sometime you get a buzz of it, hearing your name call on the radio' (Pirate Radio Listener, 2009). The level of intense interaction at Buzz was noted when a DJ requested at least fifteen texts from listeners if they wanted to hear a further hour of broadcast; forty-three messages were received within fifteen minutes.

Figure Six: Buzz FM DJ with transcribed text messages

At Colourful, the interaction included some text messaging and emails to DJs but the system was new and was not heavily used. The main interactions were with the DJs using Facebook; they had set up pages and accounts so that listeners and those who attended their club nights could be 'friends' and engage with the DJ during the evening specialist shows. These interactions were often international in nature with listeners using the internet streams and conversing at the same time. The Asian

Network's more mediated interactions would incorporate emails and texts usually pertaining to a specific point in response to DJ or phone-in talk, constituting eventfulness rather than a daily rhythm. Both the Network, Somali on Air and Asian Fever used their phone systems to incorporate listeners in on air chat and performance. At the Network this was mainly during the morning phone-in where listeners could engage with the topical discussion or during drivetime for more 'light hearted' chat. Asian Fever and Somali on Air both shared a phone-in format for more serious discussion of relevant mainly British based issues. They both also had an on-air talent show where listeners called in to perform songs, tell jokes and recite poetry or religious readings. For Asian Fever this culminated in a live talent show at a local arts centre where many of the regular on air participants attended to compete and finally meet each other.

The most community linked form of interaction occurred at Irish Spectrum through the roadshows and the broadcast programme. This occurred weekly as the manager fulfilled a schedule of four roadshows a week across the Home Counties. These music and dance events enabled members of the community to complete request slips with dedications for family members in London and Ireland. These, and the additional calls received during the show for both dedications and the quiz formed the structure of the programme with the manager pausing between tracks to pass on the messages.

7.4.4 The reproduced narratives of station/listener interaction

The facilitated interactions had the effect of building up complex narratives between listeners over time and often between participants who would never meet face to face. Some stations became a stage for position-practice of a shared community identity. Broadcast meaningful interactions created a ripple effect of 'reproduction, learning and change' (Coad and Herbert, 2009) of community structures. For many, certain programmes on Asian Fever were a daily event that had enabled listeners to become aware of, and interact with, positioned others of their community. The two managers felt this went some way to reduce the isolation felt by many in the area. Listeners would often listen throughout the day from their homes, in kitchens, at the takeaways or as taxi drivers at work. These participants would 'flash' throughout the day and in some cases would listen out for other pseudonyms of listeners so they could engage in 'conversation' through the DJ. The Co-Manager noted that listeners were gradually 'making contact with each other and you think 'have you ever met them?', "no, I've never met…" like this morning [a listener] he's dedicating a song, he hasn't met the guy heh' (2009). The newer use of the text message system augmented the quality of this facilitated chat so that listeners would compose

messages and dedications for other listeners that they hadn't met but had got to 'know' from regular name calls on air. One text message read 'Slaam baji hope ur wel plz cud u play a nyc trk 4r my best mate shazi an ladoo an glub jaman! 4rm kyla'. (Hello sister, hope you are well, please could you play a nice track for my best friends Shazi, Ladoo and Gulub Jaman! From Kyla). This text message, typical of those received at the station, captured several structures being reproduced through the station. Examples such as particularised 'text speak' shared amongst younger members of the community, a reproduction of imagined friendship groups that only operated through the station and shared 'cultural competences' (Moores, 2005) of words such as 'Gulab Jaman' (a South Asian sweet) used, along with others, as pseudonyms.

The dedications and 'shout outs' was also an opportunity for listeners to communicate their feelings for each other on air. DJs would regularly receive requests for romantic songs from husbands to their wives. The unspoken contextual rule use meant the DJs would never name the people involved but give clues as to their identity. This communication fostered a sense of an empathetic listening community and strengthened family structures. The DJ's romantic song choice had a theme of 'wanting to be locked in a room with someone and the key being thrown away' (Co-Manager, 2009). The mention of a related family name meant the children texted in their approval of the song choice. During some programmes the phone would ring repeatedly during songs so that listeners could talk to the DJs. At SOA, the notion of a community fractured by migration meant interactions at the station sought to connect members of the community listening not only in the UK but particularly in Sweden, the USA and Ethiopia from where dedications and messages were received. The game programme 'lucky numbers' and other request shows fielded these extended narratives being played out between dispersed listeners, much in the same way as Asian Fever. Listeners would dedicate songs to '"my friend" or "my husband" or "my wife" or "my friend whose on my crew wants to listen this" and yes, and some of them, they congratulate weddings and there's a lot of happy birthday and things' (Manager, 2008). It sought to strengthen community structures through the use of schemas of meaning, cultural expression and shared feelings. The pleasure the managers felt at being accepted and utilised for interaction by the community meant the DJs attention to announcements of shared importance were both enabling and constraining. The DJs who had come from Sunrise, a commercial station, initially found the interaction constraining. They occupied their own 'zone, they [didn't] care who's flashing or who's texting or whatever' (Manager, 2009). This changed over time, realising that community radio was a continuing

conversation that also provided immediate feedback enabled them to talk 'a little bit more to the community on the phone' (ibid) during songs.

The narratives at Buzz FM had been built up over a period of twenty years and the DJs incorporated these into their talk. Dedications would come from listeners accompanied by reminders of past events that the community shared and represented a positioning of experiences to provide authenticity. One particular text was dedicated to a listener who had been murdered some years earlier; the impending anniversary of his death was remembered by fellow listeners in response. The station also fulfilled a trusted role within the community and a first point of call when incidents occurred. One episode recalled by the manager took the form of a missing child who was located by the DJs through alerts aired during a weekend's broadcast. Mainly however, interactions were more mundane but were meaningful to the station and its listeners:

> *'Shout out to baby Tia who's falling asleep, well she's fallen asleep, nighty night from your mum, who loves you, and that's Lindsey in Moston. [Laughs]. Lindsey in Moston is saying to baby Tia she loves you loads, she's fallen asleep so night night. Shout out to Will who's locked on in Whalley Range, that's your mum and your dad as well. Shout out to DJ Magic by the way, shout out to Luke and Clare, hold tight Lucy, can't forget Beryl and Roy in Old Trafford, the Blakeley Crew on that one as well'* (DJ, 2009).

This stream of 'shout outs' constitutes much of the 'structures of feeling' and meaning that Karner (2007) addresses in the operation of ethnic communities. The station is a community notice board and a service where people can hear themselves and hear the presence of networked positioned others which comprise the Buzz FM community. Within this community are smaller ones, the 'crews', the families of parents and their children both listening to the station. The DJ's situated knowledgeability brings these elements together to create the cohesive community of listeners.

At Irish Spectrum the integration of the programmes, the roadshow and other community events meant there was a long legacy of community narratives played out through the programme and face-to-face. The adverts on the programme centring on traditional music nights emphasised the wish of the audience to retain, protect and

seek comfort from an Irish identity. This was further reinforced as music narratives of memories shared by listeners and was typified by Peter Burk's song about the Galty Moore, an Irish dancehall which had closed some years before and used to be the prime courting venue in London for the then young Irish migrants. Songs such as this had great meaning for Irish Spectrum's mostly older listeners whose relationships and families had revolved around introductions made at such places.

These shared memories extended into the community for members who attended the roadshow where their birthdays were celebrated with extended family; such occurrences highlighted the importance of the programme and roadshow for capturing a shared notion of identity and reflecting it back at the community as a continuing narrative. The manager knew how much live events meant to the community, that only radio brought these about and managed to 'capture…Irish music, like Irish culture, there's nothing, there's nothing else' (Manager, 2008). Music was central to creating a sense of place both through the shared locale of experience and across time as structures of feeling by the re-experiencing of sounds that 'trigger memories whenever encountered again' (Karner, 2007, p, 34). This was echoed by an attendee of the roadshow in Fulham who underlined Irish Spectrum's role to continue a shared tradition rather than alter it. He said 'you know the way he speaks, the music he plays, he keeps the music alive, he doesn't play the popular music, we really appreciate it, he keeps the Irish country music alive' (Roadshow Guest, 2008). So long as this strategy remained profitable and enjoyable there was no need to change the structures of the programme.

7.4.5 The impact of interaction for community and station structures

These interactions and richly constructed narratives facilitated by the radio station had two outcomes. First, the subjects dealt with and the interactions mediated through the station subtly changed community structures. Second, the interactions, priorities and narratives of the listeners gradually changed the station's structures of broadcasting and agent identity.

For Irish Spectrum, attention to its community of listeners and a wish to broaden the programme's reach had constrained choices for finding a suitable slot for the sister Irish Link programme at BBC Three Counties. The Manager had been offered an early Sunday evening slot but he was aware that 'all the people who went to the pub on a Sunday, you missed them, all the people who went to see sport, Irish football and all, there's no way they would be home from that, all the people who went away for the weekend, all the people throughout the summer would have barbeques, have

family over, family out, out in the garden with the kids' (Manager, 2008). The outcome was the scheduling of Irish Link at 7pm on Wednesday evenings.

The Asian Network, though in operation for over twenty years, lacked the grassroots complex narratives that were built up at stations such as Asian Fever, Buzz, SOA and Irish Spectrum. This was for two reasons. First, the formal structures of broadcasting and programme ethos present across the BBC meant the station saw its role more to educate, entertain and extend the concepts of what Asian culture was for its listeners. Staff sought to prompt learning and change of community 'structures of action' through challenging accepted norms of behaviour. Second, and as a result of this approach, the programme structures were built less on interaction and more on presentation of these intentions. Conscious of the distance that the agents felt between the station and its listeners, the station was working to alter the traditional programme making structures of the BBC, to incorporate listeners' voices and to embed the station with communities as meaningful, trusted and relevant. The managers saw this as key for marking out the station as unique and to secure its survival. Staff had experienced difficulties with engaging listeners who 'did right from the start but then it didn't really work and you have got to persevere with it…the kind of first aim is to get out into the communities and feel like they are on location and with them so…they might feel more comfortable' (News Manager, 2008). Whilst they worked to establish closer ties they shared objectives with Asian Fever and SOA, to facilitate better communication between the community and *also* how it was viewed by other parts of society. The support of British Asian music was extended to the 'Uni Tour', a live event open to the general clubbing scene and which also promoted the station's new broadcast areas, such as London. A bhangra promoter attending the culmination of this 'Uni Tour' at the Ministry of Sound in London recounted how 'police [were] trying to stop it for a while and I'm glad that we're still having Asian gigs in London and on a large scale, not a small, you know, hidden away kind of thing' (Promoter, 2008). Those at the Network focused on changing negative stereotypes of the community and the reticence of the mainstream promoters to host what were perceived as troublesome Asian events. Their priority for running the 'Uni Tour' was not only for the Network's promotion but, through enabling their authoritative resources as 'the BBC', to change the structures of the music and live events industry. In the same way that the sound systems and black music had struggled for mainstream recognition in the 1980's those at the Network hoped to demonstrate Asian focused nights like these were relevant, profitable and showed the extent of a fluid, relevant, relatively affluent and influential young community.

The agents at the Network also turned their attention to challenging parts of the listening community through the choice of daytime music and the phone-in programme to directly alter the tacit inbuilt knowledge shared in the community. Using the same approach of seeking listener contributions in the morning show, they sought to address perceptions within the wide Asian community on issues such as disability, class snobbery, marriage breakdown and worklessness. 'Stereotype Hype examined 'stereotypes in the Asian community so for instance one of the questions was you know, are "do British Asians have a problem with freshies[4]"' (Phone-in DJ, 2008). This sought to address the tacit snobbery of some settled British Asians towards recently arrived members of the community by using the tacitly shared reified opinions and rule use as topics for challenging and altering on air. Such playfully controversial programmes led one Pakistani listener to call the station declaring 'British Asians were the most racist people he'd ever met and from the age of 13 when he came to secondary school, he was bullied every day' (Phone-in DJ, 2008). When the outward projection of the Asian community was one set apart and autonomous in British society, this inward projection highlighted the difficult fractures addressed in Husband's article on the meaning of ethnic minority media. (Husband, 2005). Those at the Network understood their ability to enable members of the community such as the caller, initiating higher causal influence to air their personal narratives and challenge community structures.

The managers at SOA were also focused on a programme schedule which enabled the community to discuss taboo or issues many of which were associated with generational differences and transition difficulties felt by migrants. These issues were suggested by listeners during seasonal phone-in programmes which aired ideas for the coming few months. The current affairs programme dealt with exploring low educational attainment amongst first generation children, marital breakups and gang culture. These were difficult issues for parents who saw British society as threatening their family and ethnic culture and which led them to have one foot in the UK and one still in Somalia. Such programmes were highly anticipated to the extent that the multiple telephone lines would be utilised with listeners 'emotionally talking about some of them telling us really strong what happened to them, how this issue is touching to them' (Co-Manager, 2008). The manager's understanding and following of the tacit rules of the community enabled listeners to open up on air, in their own language and in the 'safety' of shared company. The programme on gun crime in the UK addressed the high level of involvement of Somali youths and elicited the

[4] The term 'freshies' refers to members of the community who have recently migrated to the UK. It is slightly derogatory as it denotes the person's lack of British based cultural competences

spontaneous participation of five mothers whose sons had been killed. The co-presenter recalled:

> *'I mention their name and their age and the date, and where been stabbed. People start calling me and talking about this, I remember the mothers of those who died contacted me I never, I never, I didn't know them, I never seen them, they came on the line, "hello can I help, where are you calling from there?" "Err I am the mother of that kid…my son had been stabbed by East London driver, Somalian", and she was crying. Ibrahim, he couldn't do the programme, he stand up, went outside, wept, crying. I say, "OK I will do it, I will continue", and I did it…At the end of the programme we say, "well how we can stop this?"'* (Manager, Somali on Air, 2008).

The intention of the managers and the DJs at Somali on Air through this shared narrative was to empower the community to address their own issues and enable subtle changes to their shared cultural structures. The manager summarised this focus as 'I always bring the issues we want to discuss and to show our community to flow' (Co-Manager, 2008). Such an approach gave the managers great agency to employ shared structures of seeing (religious narratives and beliefs) and prompt community learning and change. The lack of Somali media in the UK and the serious interest the managers took in representing the Somali communities extended beyond the programmes through their involvement in other community groups. Access to the candidates in the impending mayoral elections was treated as a priority, not for the radio programme but because the manager was conscious to 'discuss about issues with Somali community…I'm representing the Somalis here' (Manager, 2008). The manager understood that the interaction of political, media and ethnic structures through attendance at such events lent him higher causal influence to account for and develop the Somali community structures. Not all the subtle alterations to community structures were serious. Like Asian Fever, the dedications show enabled callers using pseudonyms to communicate through messages and the types of song chosen. One was received from a young man, calling who dedicated 'Amore' to a female listener also using a pseudonym. Such flirtatious language would be forbidden in face-to-face contact, and as such, the DJ's were encouraging but also

suitably coy about such 'clandestine' communication. This common use of pseudonyms enabled listeners to 'try on' different self, in confidence, through the use of pseudonyms that tested community boundaries.

At Asian Fever, the meaningful dialogues which were built up over time were sometimes personally enabling. Here, the listeners viewed some DJs as trusted constants in their lives. One listener was intensely shy and so was known on the telephone system as 'Anonymous' in Punjabi. The interaction with a particular female DJ meant 'she's come out of her shell, has started to go to college to learn to write English and maths and has started a business catering for weddings' (Co-Manager, 2009). These small changes were part of a greater focus on personal agency within the South Asian community. By widening familiar cultural and familial structures during broadcasts, listeners were enabled to start accessing and interacting with wider communities in Leeds. Perspectives within the community were explored through the phone-in discussion and during some DJ programmes. The phone-in was hosted by two presenters, male and female of differing ages and backgrounds that would open the debate with opposing views and ideologies. One presenter recalled how 'I've had callers call in and shout abuse because they don't agree and I've had callers who agree…the community have changed a lot, they've opened up so much more, today we're talking about Islamic culture, a year ago we couldn't even touch the subject matter, we could not talk about Islam, people would not allow us because they would feel that it should be a scholar' (Phone-in Presenter, 2009).

This understanding of the community's capacity for change was reiterated by another DJ who used a gentle format of music and chat on a Sunday morning. His use of shared collective cultural, religious and ethnic schemas allowed a joint process of slowly changing 'people's mentality who maybe not have the right sort of mentality of life, women's rights, other things…not Islamic but over the years…people have picked it up…so slowly, subtly we sort of explore them things but in a light hearted way cos if you go too heavy you get the fundamentalists out and they sort of, they highjack your show' (Friday afternoon and Sunday morning, 2009).

The managers at Colourful Radio wanted both to make a commercial success of the station and to become an integral part of local community structures. The newness of the station meant interaction was infrequent but when it did occur was contextualised by challenging and understanding notions of their local community. The work of one manager to raise the profile of young media students at a previous day's event was incorporated as talk through listeners' calls on the breakfast programme and by the

appearance of one of the students on the lifestyle show. For this manager, Colourful Radio was a stage to show the positive strides the community was making to break down external reified notions of what young, black students could achieve. The breakfast show was also host to interviews with representatives of parts of the black community in London. The challenging of reification and radicalisation in the Somali community produced an extended and contested interaction on air that without the contextual ethnicity use and understanding of the presenter meant the depth of fractious questioning could not have occurred elsewhere. Interaction and community change extended beyond politicised 'black' issues to the specialised music shows as a way of addressing a wider London and UK audience. The shows extended the music and cultural structures of the presenters and the station to new listeners through the use of Facebook and email where the interactions were with a wide variety of listeners. It was during these programmes that the 'group' or community of 'colourful people' the station was mainly aiming for was being created and explored. The result was that for Colourful the interaction between listeners was defining and building the structures of the radio station as it became established.

The seemingly mundane talk and dedications at Buzz FM had a greater meaning than solely for entertainment, fulfilling DJ interests or communications between the listeners. One DJ was aware that 'with this station, we know it ourselves, the kids are in the house, they're not out on the street, they're in the house listening to the radio, all the gangs and all those kids, they're all in the house' (DJ, 2009).

All the station agents understood that the role of the station fed into familial structures as a shared experience and so the action of the radio station being on was to strengthen these structures. Sometimes episodes of particular interaction and live broadcast had the mutual effect of reproducing and altering both community and station structures. The following DJ chat was instigated from news received at the studio by phone and conveyed to the listeners.

> *'I've got to go on a serious tip right now, before we get right back into the humorous stuff; very, very sad news this week, a Manchester radio legend passed away, a man by the name of Randolph, if you don't know who Randolph was, if you er, were in Manchester in the eighties, Randolph was the pirate king who used to run alongside Sam Brown on ITR Radio and Lazer Radio as well…*

> *I RIP Randolph, I worked on a number of stations, Carnival FM, Moss Side FM, Hulme FM with him, WRCC Radio and in fact, one of my fondest memories of Randolph was um, when our cousin, my Twangy's cousin Portia, we needed some studio time one time to record a track and Randolph came up with the goods, no money changed hands or nothing, just gave us studio time down there on Princess Road and let us use the studio for free man to record some tracks for our Portia. I can see him now; he was a really nice man, sad news to hear he's passed away'* (DJ, Buzz FM, 2009)

This whole passage discussing Randolph served many functions for both the radio station and its community. The DJ was the communicator of local news which would have resonated with many listeners due to the subject's embedded nature in the Moss Side and pirate communities. The DJ's discussion incorporated shared memories and narratives told by positioned others such as Portia, EricB and Twangy, 'myths' of past radio stations and music. It formed part of the DJ's personal narrative which he shared on air and the doing of this, with the incorporation of these positioned others, strengthened the notion of Buzz FMs community of listeners and the local area's community structures. It had a duel role of strengthening and reproducing the structures of the radio station, that is, the dailiness, eventfulness and intentionality of the show, as well as reproducing and strengthening community structures.

7.4.6 Summary

This section explored how ethnic minority radio stations reach and interact with their audiences. To achieve this both the agent conduct and context brackets were utilised to encompass the situated rules used during broadcasts and the general-disposition of agents enabling them to interact with positioned others, namely members of the listening community. The outcomes of these interactions formed a duality, that is, an intertwining of mutual reproduction and change of station and community structures through the medium of radio. For four of the six case studies, daily interactions, bound tightly into the programmes structures, played a significant role. Despite sometimes meagre resources, the stations had developed highly sophisticated structures of communication and rules of engagement for which 'cultural competences' and the use of the structures of feeling and seeing were crucial elements. The frequency and depth of these interactions demonstrated how important the stations and their DJs were for the reproduction of shared narratives and as a

conduit for position-practice across their community. These narratives had, in some cases, been built over many years with second and third generations becoming part of continued conversations that captured incremental changes to station and community structures. For programmes such as SOA, these interactions were an opportunity to bind together fractured communities and begin to explore the meaning of community within daily life in the UK. These interactions were not always implicitly about the reproduction of community structures but as much about challenging boundaries, capacity for change and exploring new narratives. For Asian Network, these interactions were about defining new structures for the station through opening up new channels of music and ideas. Whilst the maintenance of the station and communities were high priority, station agents were attuned to the enablement that a single, sustained conversation could have for individual members of their listenership. Lastly, the interactions often signified the deeply felt and experienced histories shared between the presenters and listeners. The concept of 'imagined communities' was shown real, embedded in radio talk that reflected a legacy of continuing relationships.

7.5 The structures of programmes

> *"How do relevant agents interact to create, reproduce and alter the structures of the programmes?"*

7.5.1 Introduction

The discussion thus far has examined the characteristics of the case study stations which drew on the general and situated dispositions of those involved to explore the way they use the rules and resources that comprise their daily activities. This led to an exploration of the meaning of the interactions that take place between positioned others and how these form and modify the shared structures of listener and station daily life. This section draws on this knowledge to look specifically at the meaning of radio broadcasting and how these structures are drawn upon during programmes. To achieve this, Scannell's themes for radio and everyday life are utilised along with the situated use of rules and the priorities, constraints and influences of the broadcaster. These are brought into the construction of the programme intentions, the sincerity and sociability communicated to the listener and the way these form the dailiness of the station and its listeners. The eventfulness and dailiness parts of the analysis combine both the situated station rules and resources alongside the role of positioned others (institutions and listeners) in their use at the radio station.

7.5.2 Dailiness

> *Radio's effect is 'to re-temporise time, to mark it out in particular ways, so that the time of day (at any time) is a particular time, a time differentiated from past time-in-the-day or time that is yet-to-come. The time of day in broadcasting is always marked as the time it is now. Its now is endlessly thematised in a narrative of days and their dailiness'* (Scannell, 1996, p. 149).

Dailiness is this continuous, uninterrupted and never ending flow of routinised interactions and actions which constitute the radio services which reflect daily life. Its analysis serves two purposes, both within station activity and as a means to examine the meaning of a radio programme and how it fits into the recursive station's schedule and shared calendar events. It is also how radio 'attends' to the listener, how it fits into their positioned daily life and the meaning it has for them. This section examines the cyclical nature of structures within programmes that constituted the station, how these structures reflect the daily lives of the listener and the importance of calendar and reversible time for the radio stations.

Cyclical structures existed in the daily programmes that mutually ensured each station's continued existence. Jingles, the bane of some listeners' and DJs' lives were central to the marking of the station's identity and Asian Fever, Buzz FM and Colourful DJs understood this importance in attending to the listener. The jingles were cyclical, played repeatedly every hour and utilised particularly by the evening DJs at Colourful and Asian Fever to separate out themes to their programmes. The DJ at Colourful who hosted Soul 360 twice a week acknowledged their reciprocal existence in the show. It allowed him to express himself to listeners in their unique construction but also supported the communicative ethos of the station. Jingles were worked into the show and offered structure to the programme but were also subject to distortion and personalisation, augmenting the zoned feeling to the programme and to thematise the day. The jingles were personalised to the show and the DJ because 'there's that whole thing of getting…various artists to do them… that is…adding credibility to what you are doing' (Soul 360 DJ, 2009). All the DJs understood the importance of jingles for both the listener and for developing the presence of the radio station. The Colourful DJ emphasised how 'even if you haven't got your own personal jingles you should at least run the jingle for the station 'cause in a way I actually find it quite annoying if I stumble across a station and I am hearing music that I like but I don't know what the station is…and I move on, but that's a form of one's personal experience and knowledge' (ibid). At Asian Fever a bhangra DJ took a highly structured approach to the use of jingles using them to zone his programme and to preview exclusive tracks with a voice announcing 'in the next thirty minutes'. Jingles would be mixed on top of exclusive tracks to prevent the listener recording them. This was a highly situated use of rules born from his practical consciousness about the conventions of radio broadcasting.

The cyclical use of backing music on the majority of the stations by DJs served to mark out their own identity and indicate to the listener where they were in the broadcast day. Music was highly personal to each DJ and was used recursively between songs to add richness to their talk. Backing music was also transitional during programmes to mark out defined themes and objectives. One DJ at Asian Fever used it to change the mood and effect of the programme during a participatory reflective section as it was the place for listeners to get 'senty menty' (sentimental) about a changing weekly theme. He achieved this by calling on structures of feeling that recalled commonly experienced memories and emotions. The manager at SOA used a gentle Somali song during his usually reflective show that indicated it wasn't a participatory programme. On the Saturday programme, the younger DJs use of energetic backing music indicated that phone lines were open. The importance of

backing music in broadcast identity was considered by the Buzz FM DJ who had used the ‘same tune for about seven years. I changed it once and someone phoned up and went ‘where’s your tune? I always know it’s you because you play it’’ (DJ, 2009). Of the six case studies, only Irish Spectrum avoided the use of backing music. The manager likened it to a prop that had the potential to distance him from the listener, interfering with the flow and content of talk.

Music also provided a structure for programmes and the schedule. All the full time stations had music policies which focused on playlisted and mostly unchallenging and recognisable music during the day that slowly transitioned to more specialist offerings at night. This served to zone the day from breakfast time to mid-morning, lunchtime to drive-time and from thereon to the early hours. At Buzz FM, the Friday programme was zoned thematically which the DJ announced to listeners, providing the ‘horizon of expectation’ Scannell (1996) discusses. His welcome on air detailed the agenda saying ‘as always, starting off with the drum and bass, the jungle, and then in around about an hours time we switch on the flava back into the soul, the R&B, the hip hop and some reggae flavas as well. Keep it locked, the phone line details and all that business coming up in a couple of minutes, just settling into the hot seat right now, 88.1 live out of South central Manchester is the Buzz’ (DJ, 2009). This beginning set out the intentions of the show which was the combination of music being signposted for the rest of the three hours and the prioritising of text messages which formed the backbone of interaction between the DJ and the listeners. Listeners were addressed as old friends. The introduction was a sequence of situated rule referencing and acknowledgement of the role of positioned others but it also highlighted the DJ’s personal identity through his use of language. This rule referencing was not consciously considered but built from shared musical and historical narratives that combined with the situated rule use of broadcasting norms to construct a programme introduction that provided a familiar sense of place and time. The Manager at Asian Fever employed his practical consciousness to ‘wing it in the sense that you know what each slot is about’ (2008) so he would adjust the music depending on the time of day he needed to fill in for.

Structuring of programmes at Colourful Radio was quite rigid. Externally provided news happened on the hour and advertising breaks were scheduled from fifteen, thirty-five and fifty-five minutes past the hour. DJs followed a managerial policy of playing a new music track before the hour and an ‘oldies’ track when broadcasting resumed after the news. Their broadcast rule use defined less risk of driving listeners away from challenging or unfamiliar music if there was an expectation of conventional musical familiarity to follow the news. Supplementary to the adverts

was the 'live reads' book that DJs were expected to reference each hour. The book contained paid for verbally communicated advertisements such as calls for television contestants or the launch of a historical ethnic minority exhibition that the DJs were expected to weave into live talk. The book also included new play-listed tracks for daytime inclusion. Irish Spectrum incorporated a similar paid for approach for on-air promotion of events.

At Asian Network there was a greater emphasis on the use of talk to structure the schedule. The systems and rules of the radio station and those in general use at the BBC were indicated through the prevalence of planning and post-programme review meetings. During programmes, discussions took place in the separate production room with packaged stories and interviews being accepted or vetoed. Such decisions depended on the different priorities of those involved with consideration for the intended younger audiences' interests. Often there were tensions about conflicting news stories being developed and pursued by other journalists across the BBC. This demonstrated a creeping organisational paranoia experienced by agents within the Network. After each programme a team debrief took place in a closed office intended for positioned employees to reflect on the strengths and weaknesses of the programme they had just aired. These debriefs were defined spaces where processes of learning and change took place to continually review the programme structures. However, agents were equally involved in their own conscious repositioning within the cluster of colleagues, guided by their personal motivations and roles within the structure of the station. These meetings were embedded in the structure of the day and could be fractious or fluidly professional depending on the individual concerns of those involved.

News formed a central part of the Network's content and schedule not only during the breakfast programme but during punctuated bulletins and extended programmes throughout the day. Daily interactions centred on the use of technical resources to share ideas, construct stories and plan programmes. A senior broadcast journalist explained that her preparations for the next day's news agenda followed interactions with 'the planner [who] would have told me 'look we've got this x-y-and-z in the system for you and having done the programme, I know roughly how many stories I need so for example…about eight for a half an hour programme...I have about three things in place for tomorrow so when I come in at six o'clock I know I won't need to start from scratch. Some days you probably would have to do that because some days are really dire' (Senior Broadcast Journalist, 2008). The formula followed by the journalist meant generating content for the lunchtime Wrap show which would be repeated for the summary of news in the evening. This formalised the schedule and

followed expected radio conventions of news frequency that met expectations of dailiness felt by the listener. Programming incorporated the news 'trustworthiness' of the BBC by contextualising South Asian orientated stories by the shared national calendar events such as the political conference season. This news agenda fitted in with 'the perspective of British Asian communities' (Network Manager, 2008) seen to hold diverse tastes. This allowed a greater degree of freedom to produce original content that marked the outcomes of the station as unique within the BBC. The manager's thinking was that mirroring established formats provided recognisable structures for the station and listener to outline clearly the intentionality of the Network and of individual programmes. A similar process of 'prospecting' news stories went on at Colourful Radio.

The cyclical nature of dailiness also reflected, and in some senses constructed, the daily lives of the listener. The manager of Irish Link/Spectrum highlighted the importance of attending to the listener through consistency in the regular scheduling of the BBC programme. Prior to his taking it over Irish Link's scheduled time had 'already changed a number of times and when you keep changing times of programmes…it doesn't help…people say "when the bloody hell is it on?"' (Manager, 2008). The BBC's respect for the manager's position within and knowledgeability of the Irish community alongside his experience of broadcasting lent him a high degree of causal influence to settle down the scheduling of the Irish Link programme.

The importance of consistency was particularly felt by older listeners of stations where it was a daily companion. A listener in her seventies interacted with the older presenters at Asian Fever and her requests were met with 'anything for you Mrs Roy' (Manager, 2008). One phone call, made in Punjabi, resulted in a track which translated as 'every time I see you I feel love' and was meant in affection because they understood radio was both a connection to the past, her 'home' and her present community. The cyclical nature of the schedule was important, marking out days which aroused a sense of connection within the community for those isolated from wider social life. For many, the potential for radio as a companion was a shared experience and daily listening to the station reproduced the structures of the community for those who felt socially isolated. These community and radio structures permeated the work time of 'Asif Khan and his friends, they're on the Cliff Lane and he says "baaji [sister] the first thing we do is we go and ask the manager to open the office and turn his computer on" I says "why?" heh he says "because we work in the basement of the restaurant" and they've hooked up the speakers and they take them down into the cellars…and he says to the manager "you can go whenever

you like, but leave your computer on"' (Manager, 2009). The radio station and its programmes structured their working evening and enabled the staff to feel connected to their community.

The zoned areas of the day at the stations always remained the same, re-temporizing time by marking parts of it out through the themes of music and talk. For Colourful, the station had a split in format with familiar morning talk programmes giving way to more music as the day progressed. The cyclical nature of the day, broken into zones of talk and music reflected the manager's changing view of radio consumption. The schedule was constructed to tune into the varied media a listener will consume. He accepted their audio promiscuity, where 'you pick and choose what you want, you go to cd's…Last FM…SySez if he's on here…'cause you know he's house music and you're part of his email friends and Facebook friends and all that stuff …You deal with radio different to the way in which you used to where you used to have to get them in the morning to drive them through the day, fucking hell, I hate that' (Head of Radio, 2009). What the manager described was an understanding that listeners gravitated towards programmes which spoke to 'the socially projected 'me': me-in-my-particularity' (Scannell, 1996, p. 13). It was no longer relevant, nor a priority for the station, to be 'driving' listeners through a cyclical day. Rather, the focus was on appealing to 'particularities' by producing content for 'those with access to the relevant cultural capital, [who] will feel interpellated by, and at home within, the particular form of sociability offered by a given programme' (Morley, 2000, p. 110).

Daytime speech programming, in particular, used format and scheduling structures which were recognisable to listeners in providing 'order' to the day. This was particularly so for the breakfast and news content on Colourful Radio and BBC Asian Network. Colourful Radio's breakfast show format followed perceived expectations of listeners to hear national news, music and talk that also incorporated items of particularised interest. As breakfast gave way to the midmorning show the talk became more effeminate with various lifestyle guests. The Head of Radio, though subscribing to these established phases of daytime programming was aware that the new status of the station and the perceived changing nature of radio listening patterns, offered relative freedom to redefine their schedule. These programmes were a testing ground for the type of dailiness the managers wanted to create. By gauging listener interaction during these programmes and therefore their 'currency' to the commercial station they were subtly altering the content. Aware that lifestyle programmes risked being gender biased, the Head of Radio said 'I think it needs to be a bit more maley…at the moment it's a bit womansy. Now we can either really take that and run with it and go "OK, so all those women at home with their kids, this

is a show for you that plays music you used to dance to in the clubs and kind of gives you some good womanly talk" and that may well be the way to go. At this moment in time…we're building on it' (2009).

Early to mid afternoon programming structures often took the form of more reflective yet slightly more demanding content. The arts programme on Asian Network was constructed to rely less on interaction because their listeners 'want a friendly listen and are not so proactive about trying to be involved' (Arts Producer, 2008). This approach was also taken by Colourful and Asian Fever, where the latter scheduled the poetry and readings show presented in particularised village dialects of older listeners. This zoned nature of radio broadcasting and its meaning for listeners was discussed by a senior broadcast journalist at the Network. Her shifts were marked by the passing of radio time so that the late shift correlated to her drive 'on my way back, I'll be able to listen to Book at Bedtime' on BBC Radio Four (Senior Broadcast Journalist, 2008).

The later scheduled time of the Sunday Irish Spectrum programme mirrored this reflective mood. Taking listeners into the solitary zone of night time, it provided a wrapping up of the roadshows that had taken place over the weekend. The programme was a space for listeners to share memories and sentiments, having interacted in person, and reproduce the structures of feeling within the London Irish community. The cyclical nature of the programme came to the fore as it ended with a preview of events taking place the following weekend to be taken up during the Saturday afternoon programme in its 'agenda setting' guise.

7.5.3 Intentionality

The communicative ethos of the station and of its presenters is brought together in the intentionality of the programmes that are broadcast. According to Scannell, there are three elements to understanding the intentionality conveyed in a programme. They are the use of shared meanings and social structures understood by broadcaster and listener; how these are instilled in the programme; and the incorporation of the listener's knowledgeability and capability to engage with the programme. Central to ethnic minority radio programming it is also about the shared cultural and linguistic competences (Moores, 2003), knowledge and understandings the station staff bring to the programmes without which jokes, cultural references and asides would be lost in meaning.

The shared cultural and linguistic competences were integral to Asian Fever's programming during which the DJs often planned and punctuated afternoon and

evening specialist shows with readings, news and information snippets that they understood would resonate with their audiences. What appeared in the morning to be quite loosely structured music programming often employed more traditional radio structures whereby the DJs would use a combination of upbeat Bollywood, bhangra and everyday chat to greet the listeners with. This made way for the interactions which structured those shows and was anticipated by the listener. The occasions a DJ deviated from this through the use of prolonged poetry or readings was greeted by subdued response.

Sometimes the reified use of identity was consciously considered in the intentionality of the programme. This approach was taken at Asian Network where the focus was on building a fluidity nurtured through wide ranging conversation and music. Station agents saw the community as one being formed by, and part of, interactions which covered many identity spheres. During Divine Debate, the use of reified identities clearly defined and directed interactions in the programme. To invite listener participation, guests enacted recognisable social and ethnic roles using cultural references that acted as shorthand for deeper structures of seeing and action. The strategy for the Network's Divine Debate was 'the one area where we need…people who are labelled as active within a religious format…somebody who we can say "this person is a Hindu"' (Phone-in Producer, 2008). The intentionality was conscious use of reification as a parameter for identity exploration.

Participatory programmes on both SOA and Asian Fever featured high use of care structures with DJs planning the introduction with poetry and music to set the sociability for the listeners to adopt. Similarly, during the debate programmes, presenters would research the topic and angles for the first part of studio discussion and interviews before opening the phone lines for listeners. Doing so laid the 'ground rules' for engagement which were built upon week on week through rejection of unacceptable views or the barring of participants not registered on the phone system. These were often callers who were deemed trouble makers 'swearing and totally disagreeing with a notion we're putting across…saying "we'll come to the studios and we'll beat you up"' (Phone-in Presenter, Asian Fever, 2009).

The approach at Somali on Air was to push towards neutral ground. The managers purposely avoided saying 'any about religion, mostly we try to avoid it, and politics, is very sensitive' (Manager, 2008) because the team were aware of how potentially divisive Somali clan politics is in the UK. They actively supported a British perspective and banned all clan discussion on the programme. The intentionality was to deny a perceived dangerous reification onto air. This communicative ethos

extended to the Friday prayers programme where only recordings of moderate clerics, including women, were played. The manager employed his own situated intentionality to navigate away from the differing community views of Islam to promote his fluid British located reading of it.

The managers at Asian Fever pursued their communicative ethos of exploring different perspectives into the Friday schedule which comprised different Molanas (clerics) taking a programme. Vetted to ensure their lessons incorporated the positive messages of Islam, the staff understood the value of having these different voices on air because of the familial ties listeners had with particular mosques meant they rarely heard a different interpretation.

The intentionality conveyed in music was the key method for all the stations to embody their communicative ethos (providing a specialised and unique service to their ethnic minority communities) and reflecting collective listeners' tastes. Within the broadcast structures of drivetime, employed by the majority of case studies, the intentionality went beyond the usual format of music and irreverent talk. At Colourful Radio, the DJ balanced easy entertainment as giving 'them something new so if…people are going "yeah, I heard you playing this tune the other day, oh man, that was wicked"' (Music Manager, 2009), then the DJ felt he had achieved some shared personal meaning. The Head of Radio was adamant that this communicative ethos shaped both the identity of the station and reflected the cultural competences of the audience. Ethnicity, its relevance to the station and its communication in music was clear because:

> *'black people will know that it's for black people and white people will just go "they've got great music, I don't want to hear about black this, black that, black power, black blah de blah because at the end of the day, I'm a white person, I just want to hear good music" and that's the important bit about it…you don't have to say "I'm a black person playing this black track" um for a black person that's listening on the radio to know that'* (Head of Radio, 2009).

For the specialist music shows at all the stations, intentionality was located in the meticulous planning the majority of the DJs undertook. Shows would be thematically driven, based on the particular musical styles of the DJ, but they also brought an

inherent understanding and rule referencing of the tastes and enthusiasms the audiences they broadcast for were known to share.

This consideration of the listener and enthusiasm for their music was demonstrated by DJs wheeling cases of music to the studio (see Figure Seven) which contained what was their 'signature' sound or by working at the station between shows to add their music onto the system. There were unspoken rules that other DJs did not use another's music collection or backing track as this would encroach on individually constructed broadcast identities.

Figure Seven: Colourful Radio DJ with CDs and records brought in for his show

Reflecting the community's support for new music was also a commonality with interviews and the debuting of exclusive tracks an expectation of all the radio stations except for SOA which lacked the necessary industry resources and contacts. Sometimes music was the vehicle on which managers and DJs could take risks and push their communicative ethos in directions they hoped to take the station. This was the strategy for Asian Network through the use of artists such as DJ Kayper who 'still sounds pretty raw, even after two and a half years but it's important for us. You know, a diminutive young Gujarati girl from Croydon who is the best DJ on the station' (Music Manager, 2008). Such artists embodied the intentionality of the station through being distinctly British Asian; who transferred the Manager's and

DJ's sense of authenticity expressed in their love of new music, their awareness of niche scenes to an audience which they saw as comprising listeners similar to DJ Kayper; young, fluid and knowledgeable.

Intentionality was sometimes communicated in music that spoke of nationalistic or ethnic pride but which was bound to the sponsors of the show and the CDs they sent in to be aired. The reggae show on Colourful was sponsored by the Dub Vendor chart, a London reggae shop with a history of supporting British and Jamaican reggae for over forty years. The chart on Irish Spectrum was sponsored by an Irish music website that supplied the programme and listeners with the latest country music from Ireland. Sometimes intentionality was conveyed through music to rouse emotions or specific shared memories such as during Asian Fever's Sunday morning show that used listener participation to produce prolonged musical narratives. Shared memories were the focus of playing the music of 1990's Mogadishu on SOA or songs about the Galty Moore dance hall on Irish Spectrum. Music was also a way to explore new perspectives and experiences in live interviews with artists from Jamaica and America during both the Reggae and Ghetto Heaven shows on Colourful Radio.

7.5.4 Sincerity

Broadcasting in some sense, always involves a performance, a 'period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers which has some influence on the observers' (Goffman, 1959, p. 32). This was observed in the programmes and reflected later in interview. At the Asian Network, the news programmes took on a sense of informed performance projected by the presenter and the reporters who employed a dramatic, highly intonated approach in their delivery. This reflected across the Network where a 'BBC' element of speech performance, though sincere, was more marked. The defined career structure at the BBC, from journalist to editor and upwards meant that a certain amount of institutionalisation reflected in the sincerity of the programmes. At other stations, there was an overriding approach to sincerity delivered through speech that was one of normalness; with the odd exception. Deviation from 'normalness' was found in the breakfast programmes on Colourful which had a high degree of performance used to engage the audience and project characterised reflections of ordinariness. The three breakfast presenters took on roles as 'ethical man', 'the mediator' and 'the cynic' in light-hearted discussions of the news. By pursuing this characterisation, the programme drew on several style structures by being 'a cross between the star, the sport, the mail, the, you know, little bit of the times and a little bit of fucking financial times' (Head of Radio, 2009).

Many of the DJs developed their own broadcast identities, from the high energy interactions with their listeners and the style of music they played. These often contrasted with their daily self and demonstrated a clear demarcation between the 'front and back regions' (Giddens, 1984) of the self to preserve the 'maintenance of social distance' (Goffman, 1959, p. 75). Off air and in repose, their body language and demeanour would revert to 'themselves', though performance was not something the majority had ever overtly considered. At Asian Fever, some of the DJs took on a highly energetic character, reminiscent of the DJ in Good Morning Vietnam, purposely to engage, play with and provoke responses from the listeners. The programmes would employ a high paced mix of music and shared greetings with the listeners and between themselves, facilitated by the DJ. The manager whose style many others adopted spoke of his performance as energetic and busy. It tired him to the extent that as soon as a song began he slumped into his chair and retreated to his private self. He explained how his style came from finding a suitable self that reflected the bhangra beats and his objective, during the 1970's, to enliven the Asian community whom he viewed as 'boring'. The Sunday morning DJ was one of the few agents aware of false performance, that is, a knowingly constructed character. He actively sought to utilise it in forms of exaggerated, recognisable talk. He aimed to be 'always whacky, funny…I've got little snippets that I actually go into characters and I go into little sections where especially for our little audience I try to cover all the themes of human emotions' (Friday afternoon and Sunday morning DJ, 2009). His aim was never to demean or upset listeners. However, before listeners learnt the 'rules' of the programme, he had been accused of sending up parts of the community. Rather, he utilised the programme to provide a space for self-reflection and to consider shared narratives; 'I personally believe a radio should be a mirror of the community, of what they are and, and it shouldn't just be a fantasy world' (ibid).

The specialist DJs at Colourful shared a broadcasting style of sincere performance; voices on air were a presentation to suit the music style and it was a transformation that was effected and enacted as soon as the headphones went on and the mic went up. One DJ talked about his personality on air and the priority he gave to fitting in with the context of the station. He said, 'I understand… you've got to give the station's ID as soon as you open the microphone so everybody knows, if they've just locked on, who they are listening to…but…bits of you will come (Soul DJ, 2009). The DJ's sociable character became an accentuated performance on air; his voice became even smoother and the tone changed to a hushed conspirator with the effect being a sharer of secrets and information in between the club style mixed music.

When he did speak it was an event, punctuated by the music levels which stayed louder, the beat timing providing rhythm for patterns of talk.

For the stations where dedications, information and general chat were employed, DJs used the performance of narrative to impart community information in a naturalistic and familiar way. An Asian Fever DJ was contacted by a listener who 'said "the songs help you pass the time but it's what you learn in between the songs…you're chatting away and you're talking to each other and you're discussing things and you bring in organisations, that's when we learn the most' (Co-Manager, 2008). The young presenters at Somali on Air affected a smooth performance each time they returned to the microphone, singing on air as if they had been in the studio to the preceding music track. The intention of such jovial communication was to transmit a positivism that the programme, particularly the phone-in requests shows were aimed to have. As smooth as they intended their performance to be, it reflected their upbeat and joyful demeanour in the studio.

There were marked differences between the presentation of the DJ's self on the Irish Spectrum and BBC Irish Link programmes. The sheer volume of content to broadcast and the agenda setting intentionality of the Saturday Spectrum meant this way reflected in a highly performative presentation by the DJ. He took on a more characterised Cavan identity, faster talking and often breathless with energy as he read out the multiple pages of dedications. On the Sunday Spectrum show and on Irish Link, there was a more reflective presentation, particularly during the latter which omitted the adverts and made way for in-depth interviews with Irish country stars. No matter which slot or programme it was, his presentation remained warm and projected to the listener as a close family friend. The presentation at Buzz FM was a sincere performance with the DJ hardly deviating from his usual musical and 'lingoed way' of talking. The only change as he spoke to the listeners and mixed music tracks was a clear enjoyment of the act of broadcasting heard through his smile.

7.5.5 Sociability

Sociability on radio is the creation of an artificial world, where agents renounce 'both the objective and the purely personal features of the intensity and extensiveness of life in order to bring among themselves a pure interaction, free of any disturbing material accent' (Simmel, 1971, p. 132). At Asian Fever, cultural competences are a requirement to for this interaction where a high proportion of the 'bringing off' (Moores, 2003) of sociable moments were participatory. The Sunday morning programme reflected the meditative mood of the listeners. One listener had a regular

slot where 'she controls, she tells me what songs she wants on it, she tells me what er poems she want on it, what I've got to say, what my backing music's got to be, what the format is' (Friday evening and Sunday morning DJ, 2009). Programmes and DJ styles were constructed during interaction to create ongoing relationships for the 'bringing off' of sociable moments. The presenters did this in a variety of ways. Buzz FM, Irish Spectrum and Asian Fever all showed a deep understanding of their communities, demonstrated in the DJs on-air identity that incorporated characters from their community into the programme. Phone discussions with 'Pat the Butcher' on Irish Spectrum or Eric Benét on Colourful extended the station out into its listeners' lives through this flow of discussion and interaction.

The position that the presenters took with their listeners differed depending on the sociable tones adopted. Community radio is perhaps freer of expected formality and this was shown through the lighter tones of the younger, more inexperienced presenters. One DJ's inexperience became part of her character and personality. She said the listeners 'know I just laugh, I just laugh with them and I think they just realise I'm the one that just messes up and just laughs at myself all the time' (Female DJ, 2008). Another female DJ at Asian Fever developed a positioned role with the audience that was almost sisterly, with sociability communicated through her passionate love of making and playing music. The energy shared with the listeners sometimes crossed her personal boundaries so she had to reposition her distance from them. One occasion of musical passion construed otherwise came in a text message poem translated from Urdu which said 'I have lit up every night with candles for you, I have made a bet with the winds that are blowing [mumbles] I don't know which road you're going to emerge from, I have decorated every road with flowers'. [Whispers] it's a bit much isn't it?' (Afternoon DJ, 2009). This contrasted with the particularistic position taken by a male DJ at the station who reflected the deeply romantic ghazals in sociable tones which were vocalised as serious and masculine. His positioned male identity meant it was acceptable to be heard as 'a bit romantic person, different person…in a very caring, sharing way' (Afternoon DJ, 2009). These approaches built up a prolonged sociability across the schedule aimed at incorporating all of the community at different times of the zoned day.

The female DJ at Somali on Air communicated broadcast skill and confidence during the phone-in programme. During one programme which involved taking suggestions from listeners, her sociable tones were as a friend and peer; able to take control with the callers, interpret their intentions and direct them towards the aim of the programme. Doing so kept discussion within acceptable parameters, assisting the DJ,

as much as it provided a coherent structure for listeners. Despite being nervous about her Somali language skills, the DJ skilfully moved between Somali and English enabling members of the community to understand and facilitate communication. For the more serious programmes, the shared stories constituted the sociable tones brought about by experienced presenters with journalistic backgrounds. Despite this, it was difficult to disengage from the empathy adopted on air as listeners continued to 'call us and they talk emotionally…after the programme, after the radio is finished' (Manager, 2008).

This contrasted greatly with the Asian Network which was distanced from its listeners and where sociability was dependent wholly on the skills and character of each presenter. Most of the programmes were 'driven' and it was difficult both for the presenter and researcher to gauge sociability when interactions were highly mediated. The institutional structures of the BBC interfered with the ability to locate sociability within the listening community's structures. News and morning programmes were brisk and informative with the music playing a role in softening the tone of the broadcast. The lunchtime arts programme was, unusually, driven by the DJ and took on a more relaxed and friendly approach that enabled her to respond quickly to interaction. The talk show producer balanced an awareness of developing a meaningful relationship with their listeners with their distanced constraints. The outcome was a dislike of recorded material, despite knowing it was perceived as more professional. The impassivity generated by hearing recorded material stifled the sociable aims of the Network to be relevant and a 'continuing conversation'. This shifting focus resulted in a heightened use of 'citizen reporters' was a calculated turn in sociable tones. It enabled the producer to alter the traditionally distanced structures of the BBC to better reflect their listeners. The producer recognised 'it's important that we sound like our listeners…so if you're Harmeet in Leicester or…Rushi in Brum you'll listen to the programme and you think 'actually that sounds like something I want to contribute to' (Phone-in Producer, 2008).

The sociable tones at Buzz FM were friendly, carried through by the DJ's positioned role within the community of listeners. Shared understandings and a long history of interactions were built through the irreverent talk, remembered dedications from previous weeks and a relaxed use of language which featured local colloquialisms. This sociability was reflected in the opening DJ talk: 'check, check mic check, good evening and welcome to the sounds of Friday. Most definitely the start of the weekend show in full fettle tonight…now you've got myself, the Snowman, till the early hours, Saturday morning, daft o'clock' (DJ, 2009). During the programme, local references peppered the long periods of 'shout outs' and dedications such as

'hold tight White Rig in the Costa del Denton' (ibid). These in-jokes added to the overall sociability of the broadcast as the DJ made situated rule references of his practical and discursive knowledge of the local community and of flowing talk structures familiar to pirate radio listeners. This situated knowledge and integrated positioning of the DJ within the community was also reflected in the sociable tones at Irish Spectrum. Although the sociable tones of the presenter were polished, it was a performance the audience are very familiar with and they understood was the 'real' identity seen at the accompanying roadshows. This was emphasised in the shared knowledge in DJ chat such as 'this song, incredibly popular it is, and a good one too from TR Dallas, the latest single, ahh the memories' (Manager, 2008). Though the economic downturn had meant the show had lost some advertising revenue, conversely this enabled heightened sociability with the presenter dedicating more time to requests and announcements, particularly leading up to the Christmas period which saw higher movement of the community between Ireland and the South East.

The professional background of the DJs at Colourful filtered down into the sociable tones of the programmes, though in different ways. The breakfast show usually had three presenters, two of whom were ex-BBC London and this affected the mood of the broadcast. Often the tones were friendly, informative and sometimes laughably silly, depending on the discussion. In the presentation of news, sport and interviews however, there were vestiges of BBC seriousness and formality communicated through the poise required to carry off talk radio. This was reflected in changed vocal tones. The 10am lifestyle show was more naturalistic, its magazine format included interviews on fashion, celebrity gossip and media reviews worked in with the playlisted daytime music. This carried through to drive-time, often hosted by the Head of Radio who explained his intentioned use of the deeper registers of his voice to generate a warm, gentle and sociable tone. Drive-time marked the transition point at which the sociable tones of programmes changed. DJs projected a greater degree of intimacy and the relationship to the audience was as confidante, conspirator and friend. A DJ's skilled mix of club style soul in the early evenings encouraged a relaxed mood. He augmented this with reading out items from the National Enquirer to 'gossip, all about other people's business and anything positive in the world' (Soul DJ, 2009). DJs presenting the music focused programmes had a propensity to wiggle and dance in their chairs to the music and this was carried through their vocal tones as energy and enthusiasm.

The 'cultural competences' were subtle at the station and this was deliberate with Head of Radio stating that 'we want to make this a bigger audience and a more multi cultural audience rather than it being pigeon holed…a black root kind of thing'

(2009). Talk and playlisted music was more openly readable and the tones recognisably familiar for casual listeners tuning in during the day. The music and cultural references later in the evening were where differentiation and subtlety of meaning most existed, communicated through a DJs personal love for the music they were playing, their language and the social occasions they would be promoting to listeners. They utilised the structures of seeing and action understanding that knowledgeable listeners needed little explanation. These sociable tones were characterised by the following passage of DJ talk:

> *'yes man, we're having a ball right here, yeah man rock your feet to the sweet reggae music beat, Keith Lawrence is doin' it, damn child! Hehe, sometimes we just rock out when we hear the real vibes…Colourful Radio! That's why we are Colourful; we don't intend to conform to not'in at all! Classic Glen Washington here…Rockers and a Crackers, g'wan, bo! Sorry, sorry, sorry, I can't help it, reggae music man! Bless up yourself!'* (Reggae DJ, 2009).

7.5.6 Eventfulness

Eventfulness, as Moores defines it, is 'a temporary disturbance or punctuation of dailiness' (2005, p. 136) in the station's schedule. Eventfulness was the mediation of spatially separate happenings such as world news, an extension of the listening community that was translated through the station, to be re-experienced anew by the listener.

Similarly, public events associated with the community occurred both in the locale of the place itself and in the locale of the listener; the station's role was as mediator between both places. The stations brought about the possibility of once spatially separate events such as live club events, closed religious ceremonies and large public festivals into the listening community to be a new shared experienced happening, separate from the event itself. The effect was to create immediacy between listener and the event, collapsing distance so that the actions of others were brought into a shared space of the live broadcast.

Figure Eight: The women's half of the Bangladeshi centre at the naat khawaans

The calendar of community events played a large role in station scheduling, enhancing the 'horizons of expectation' (Scannell, 1996) through long lead ups and, sometimes, at Asian Fever, a complete schedule change such as during Eid. Asian Fever's outside events encompassed a live talent show, a ladies-only Eid market called the Chaand Raat, a religious gathering (see Figure Eight) and their DJs offering a private Fever road-show. The religious event was seen as a key moment for the station to connect with its community in a way that was comfortable and familiar by taking place in the heart of Harehills but still pushing identity boundaries.

The ethos was to communicate 'the gwaalis and the naats, they themselves are saying something, teaching you a lesson through they may put into verse' (Co-Manager, 2009). The free event at the Bangladeshi Centre was attended by approximately 700 listeners responding to an on-air advertisement and was broadcast live using a mobile phone hanging in front of a speaker. The manager felt the venue was humble and that the performer 'probably deserves a bigger, better venue but because he's in the heart of the community and community feels, maybe they feel safe being in that area' (Manager, 2009).

The event surpassed the staff expectations; the venue was over capacity with those unable to gain access listening through the open windows and doors. It featured Milaad Raza Qadri, a Glaswegian born nineteen year old who travelled the UK

leading naat khawaans; a form of Islamic lesson. These were usually spoken, however Milaad sang them in the firm belief the Koran did not forbid Muslims from using music in worship; a belief held in direct challenge to Islamic tradition. The station had requested his presence because his modern Islamic beliefs brought 'young people to the beauty of Islam' (Manager, 2011) having been taught by Dr Tahir-ul-Khadri, an established scholar who espoused an anti-terrorism, peace based reading of the Koran. Inviting and airing Milaad demonstrated to the listening community that the station took part in challenging traditional Islamic structures of seeing. The event served to connect those at home with the live experience of the event, mediated through the fluid lens of ethnicity and religion that the station stood for. The Chaand Raat was a similar success, though not aired. It was organised as a charity event and signalled the end of Ramadan with a market on the eve of Eid. It was advertised on the station and brought female listeners and DJs together to meet, often for the first time. The manager saw this as an indication of how the community was moving forward from one whose members had been insular and isolated. She recalled that they came 'up to me and say "hi I'm so and so" and somebody else goes "so you're so and so, I'm so and so" heh it's like… they've got a repertoire going on and…when they were on the air again the next day, "it was lovely to see you…it was wonderful", yes, and that is your evidence that they are opening up' (Co-Manager, 2009). Both events transferred the shared yet anonymous and spatially separate experience of station interaction and on air religious lessons into a physically shared locale which itself provided talk for some time after on air.

Asian Network was also developing a calendar of events which were broadcast on air or outside events which were attended to raise their 'British Asian' profile. Its disparate legacy as a regional set of stations meant the Network was still viewed as a newcomer to broadcasting. The staff focused their energies on two major events, the London Mela (see Figure Nine) and the series of club nights of the 'Uni Tour'. Unlike Asian Fever, which was about the mediation of live experience within their specific community, these were seen as the primary opportunity to establish the Network, particularly in London, to connect with wider listening communities.

Figure Nine: the main stage at the 2008 London Mela

The Mela brought together several structures, those of BBC Radio One, BBC London and BBC 1Xtra, the urban/black music radio station, the statutory bodies involved with the Mela organisation in Gunnersbury Park and the wider BBC structures dealing with policy and communication. The focus was on the Network which physically positioned itself as a set of cultural structures around the Mela site in the form of dance and traditional music tents, as the main stage and at information points so that visitors came across elements of the Network as an integrated entity to the Mela. The presence of these other BBC 'trusted' structures aimed to demonstrate it was a valued part of the BBC and to raise the Network's authenticity to its potential listeners.

The event was also incorporated into aired programmes, but rather than as a live continuous event such as Asian Fever's, it formed a series of programmes which were integrated into an online offering of videos, photographs, message board discussion and podcasts. The network controller's aim was 'to get a feeling and an atmosphere for the people who can't be here …you'll get a feeling of the festival, the people, the noise, the atmosphere and…we just generally reflect what the Mela's like…in the same way perhaps the BBC does with Glastonbury' (Network Manager, 2008). The Mela then became a contained legacy of smaller temporally disembodied events for the positioned listeners with the intention to convey a sociable occasion and communicate integration between the artists on stage and their active role in the eventfulness of the Network's representation at the Mela.

The Irish Radio Roadshow, though not broadcast live, was linked to content generation for the Irish Spectrum programme and formed several regular events taking place at Irish pubs and clubs in the Greater London area. These were cherished diary events for the older Irish community which brought together several generations of a family to enjoy Irish country music, to dance and reconnect with friends. Though events in themselves, they formed the dailiness between the station and its community. One listener remarked of this regular attendance that 'I was just talking to Michael and he says 'where you going this morning' and I said 'I'm just going to have a shower and then I'm going up the Welly' (Listener, 2008) for the Sunday roadshow in Fulham. Lastly in this series of outside events, Colourful Radio built on its DJ credibility to develop a co-ordinated club presence which began at a night in Shoreditch during Easter 2009. The managers knew that to capitalise on their transition to DAB and increase their listening reach, they needed to become embedded in a more mature clubbing fraternity. This group, more affluent and fluidly cosmopolitan than the audience rival black music stations aimed for, would remember many of the specialist DJs at the radio station from the pirate and sound system scene. The event has since been integrated into a monthly calendar night.

Events were not always large outside gatherings but also constituted unplanned disturbances to the scheduled programming. Both the 2008 terrorist attack in Islamabad and the 2009 Pakistan floods interrupted the daily flow of programming and demanded programming which reflected these events. The Islamabad event meant the Network sent one of their reporters to cover the aftermath and bring the 'reality' to their listeners, many of whom were spatially separated from relatives in Pakistan. The attack meant an upset to programming, extended news reports and analysis which brought this distant event to the lived experiences of British listeners. Likewise, the Pakistani floods meant an initial advert to raise relief funds on Asian Fever turned into an extended telethon with content to reflect the news and concerns of the local community.

Eventfulness was also contained within the schedules as punctuations to the dailiness that structured programme time. The arts programme aimed to develop the Network's national media profile and had covered British Fashion week. It incorporated live interviews with established fashion editors alongside 'a Bollywood fashion designer called Rocky S who exhibited for the first time in London…so we had the West and East represented. We have to say, look we have something big happening culturally in Britain…and we'll get two separate angles' (Arts Programme Producer, 2008). Colourful Radio, Buzz FM and Irish Spectrum incorporated the events of new music releases and artist interviews into the fluidity of music and talk.

Buzz FM concentrated on unsigned artists who they could champion and be seen to develop through the eventfulness of exclusive tracks and live studio interview. These were incorporated into DJ chat to provide markers of expectation in the show. The DJ announced 'I am going to play a track now, this one is from Craig, now if you didn't hear me play this one last week, it was definitely an exclusive one on my show…This for me is THE stand out track from Craig, he's got no plans, I repeat, no plans to release it as of yet' (DJ, 2009). The meaning of this announcement was twofold. In itself it was a punctuated event in the routine playing of music and talk. However it also fulfilled the expectation of positioned listeners who anticipated an air of exclusivity and taste making not found on legal radio stations. Secondly, the close relationship between artist and radio station was purposely to set the station apart as one well connected, credible and unique amongst their rivals. This meant that when a new artist had been signed and was seen to be 'mainstream', the station would move on to their next exclusive discovery.

On Colourful, the interviews which punctuated the morning breakfast and 'lifestyle' shows were expected content and did not form extraordinary eventfulness. During the evening shows interviews, like Buzz, were trailed and anticipated events creating a mood of anticipation as much as a few weeks in advance of the show. This promotion served to extend the anticipation and legacy of the event by creating additional on-air interactions between DJs. These interviews caused the DJs heightened stress since this additional speech element was not part of their usual club repertoire. The technicalities of reaching the interviewee and connecting international telephone calls to the mixing desk formed part of the event shared with listeners. Unlike the daytime studio interviews these long distance telephone calls meant the lack of physical co-presence made visual cues impossible leading to interruptions, silences and over-talking. Such interviews were an opportunity for the DJ to express their music identity and parts of their ethnicity with both the listeners and their interviewee. During one interview which took place with Jamaican artist Etana, the DJ developed a habit of finishing his sentences with 'dear' or 'truly' and lapsing into Jamaican rhythms of speaking. Similar switches and subtle alternations went on with other DJs at Colourful, at Asian Network and at Buzz. The only presenter/DJ that retained the same sense of his performance self between live broadcast and interview was the Manager of Irish Spectrum. The artist interviews took place at BBC Irish Link. He embodied a seamless performance, utilising an identity that was situated in his confidence with speech programming and the particularised nature of the Irish branding that he enacted on air, at the road-show and during research interviews. Somali on Air created their own eventfulness that, whilst scheduled, created an air of

anticipation and unpredictability. The Lucky numbers game was a diary event each week whose rules changed according to the presenter's imagination. During one evening, listeners chose any 'number from 110 to 120!...you choose one of them…heh some of them they sing a song and they got heartbreak song heh and some of them, they've got questions they have to answer, some of them, they have to do poems…Men can do, women they do as well' (Presenter, 2008). Frissons of excitement were created by this unpredictability and the possibility of breaking out of daily lived role prescriptions, such a women singing and performing poetry, not exercised in everyday life.

A unique type of eventfulness took place at Colourful Radio as it transitioned from its internet/Sky channels to full time and London-wide DAB. This was an extended event that took place on air from the first day of DAB transmission with an on-air party, punctuated by local politicians, media characters, music artists and celebrities taking part in a studio open door day. The event carried on for the following weeks in the forms of celebratory jingles, reminiscences of the DAB party and reminders to their listeners of how to listen via their digital radio. The managers savoured the event with one recalling how it was all 'very, very happy. It's like you walk around and think to yourself 'it's happened, everyone's turned up, everyone's happy, there's no complaints, it sounds great'' (News Manager, 2009).

7.5.7 Summary

This section utilised a combination of agent conduct and context analysis to examine the meaning of broadcasting through repeated broadcast rule use. This was to explore and analyse how relevant agents interact to create, reproduce and alter the structures of the programmes. The programmes at the stations were their own temporal spaces in the schedule that built up the station's recursive dailiness. The conscious and unconscious use of sincerity and sociability structures enabled, in as much as their communicative ethos deemed appropriate, the stations to connect with their communities. The programmes incorporated performances that utilised shorthand reified of aspects of their community identity that enabled access to continued, fluid dialogues. These interactions created an artificial world of engagement where specific broadcast and community norms were reproduced and changed to enable the programmes to continue.

The use of such care structures created a foundation upon which the way stations became mediators of events was determined. Whether this was presented at a distance as with the BBC or intimately and within the same space, such as Irish Spectrum, stations enabled a re-experiencing of events for listeners that also served

to extend the station across time and space. Quite often, these events were incorporated as additional cyclical structures that further defined the station within its community. The enablement of agents at the stations sometimes served to alter programme structures but this was incremental. Only the eventfulness of Colourful's change to DAB broadcasting significantly altered the overall structure of the station and a determined revising of programme structures.

7.6 Broadcasting Ethnicity and Identity

"How do relevant agents interact to create, reproduce and alter the structures of ethnicity and identity through their programmes?"

7.6.1 Introduction

This final section[5] continues examining the situated structures and general disposition internal to agents that they call upon to create programmes at the radio stations. The analysis then moves into the contextual sphere where agent practice is seen to occur during interactions with positioned listeners and their communities. These are brought together to map out the presenters personal authenticity and also how the programme authenticates daily life for the listener. The last section combines this broadcast and experienced authentication and identity perspective to identify agent utilisation of reified and fluid aspects of themselves and the role the station plays in reproducing and changing community and shared ethnic identities.

Agent identity, programme identity and the authentication of ethnicity are analysed by incorporating Stones' use of situated rule and resource use with Scannell's themes of the dailiness of programmes, authenticity and identity. The last of these is both fluid, a continuing story expressed through mediated experiences located in the dialogue of radio talk and found in the interactions with agents of the stations. These mediated experiences are also reified and serve as anchor points which capture parts of a DJ's or community's identity. To achieve this, the analysis elucidates how positioned agents interact to create, reproduce and alter the structures of ethnicity and identity through their programmes.

7.6.2 General dispositional authenticity, situated rule use and the positioned authentication of daily life

Authenticity, as Scannell (1996) envisions it, speaks of the own most inner self which can be the only claimant of an owned experience. Here it is the experience and authenticity of the DJ on air, their ability to connect with and be believed by their listeners. On a cyclical, daily basis authenticity addresses whether the programme is an authentication of daily life. That is, whether the reality presented by the DJ is one that resonates with the lived experiences of the listeners.

Buzz FM embodied the most pure expression of authenticity of both the identities of the DJs and an authentication of the musical interests of their community. The Friday DJ was motivated as much by a personal expression of his taste as the embedded

[5] This chapter came from a conference paper written for and presented to the Radio Conference 2009, Toronto

nature of community interaction during the show. The experience to broadcast was born from lived experiences with listeners who all shared a passion for pirate, illicit radio. The DJs discussed growing up listening to pirate radio, an experience that was shared with friends in inner city Manchester during the 1980's and 1990's. These friends, like the DJs, now had young families and reflected a shared authentication of daily life through the radio station. The Friday DJ came from, talked like and reflected the community he broadcast to which was a local and personal level of authenticity. Ofcom confirmed the authentication that some pirate stations embodied for their communities. Contextualising some pirate broadcasters as community orientated the manager confirmed an element of public value because 'from a social point of view, the DJs and MCs are the public heroes, they're the people that people tune into, they're the people that they create an affinity with you know, supposed representatives of their community' (Head of Spectrum Investigation, 2009). Only the manager of Irish Spectrum replicated this closeness to the listeners. He reflected on how the authentication of the listeners lives was bound up with his personal authenticity because 'it's very difficult for you to put on a [accent].....I think with Irish people and possibly a thing with everybody, it's not what's said, it's how it's said' (Manager, 2008). Both Irish Spectrum and Buzz had audiences that were highly sensitive to projecting authenticity through presentation and the programmes. This practically employed knowledge had been built up over a lifetime know interaction embedded within their communities. Both presenters were aware that 'you're not going to be credible, [if] you start diluting' (ibid) the product of themselves and the programme content.

The specialised music shows at Colourful brought back an authentication of daily life for the listener that had been missing in commercial radio. These DJs brought with them their own dedicated listeners, experience and tastes which marked them out individually. The station afforded them a space to explore their more personal musical passions which could not be expressed as their commercial offerings during live DJ appearances. For the first time, the reggae DJ had been able to express his musical heritage in a full show as he'd been better known for hip-hop and soul sets previously. Creating this sense of place from music called on the schemas shared by peers from a wide cross-section of positioned agents that had influenced him. He drew on his experience of the sound systems and his diverse musical heritage and incorporated this into his show. This authenticity was represented in the programme that whilst it concentrated on reggae, crossed musical boundaries. He noted 'I had spurts on pirates but it was like er somewhat novelty like…"yah, you be tuned to Keith" you know what I mean and they were like "wah, why playing hip

hop?"…they couldn't understand that I could be into everything' (Reggae DJ, 2009). Similarly the DJ who presented Soul 360 used it to express his love for 'all forms of soul music…you know, soul, funk, disco, house, reggae, right up to what's happening now…it gives me the opportunity to…express my knowledge, my experience of…what I think good music is' (Soul 360 DJ, 2009). By doing so he authenticated his magpie relationship with music that was also a common experience of positioned listeners. On other programmes such as Colourful Life, guest experts used the platform of radio and the situated rules of topical discussion and self-promotion to authenticate as much the listener's interests as their own knowledgeability and perceived intelligence.

The religious Molanas at Asian Fever were considered to be the authentic and knowledgeable sources for the listener's relationship with Islam. Previously they had communicated remote, reified and separate readings of Islam within their own mosques but the process of broadcasting on Fridays had brought them closer to listeners. The result was that the Molanas were perceived as more open, enabling listeners to 'walk into the mosque to continue the questioning and continue to search a bit more into the teaching they've been giving on the airwaves' (Manager, 2009). The Molanas had initially been resistant to the potential of broadcasting but were 'very impressed and they're saying now the radio is a wonderful tool' (ibid) though the sharing of perspectives *between* Molanas was still a distant reality. The station was a unique locale where the Molanas could reduce the sense of role distance. The separation of self and role in their community contracted because the structures of radio presentation demanded that their personalities come to the fore in the presentation of Islam.

This openness authenticated the lives of listeners where questioning and searching was part of their lived experience of Islam though it had been frowned upon to do so openly. The station sought to extend this openness through the exploration of issues such as engagement break-ups or rejection of arranged marriage. One DJ explained that 'why should the parents be ostracised? Why should they feel bad?...then people will throw in their comments and they'll realise the world has whole different kind of opinions and different views and it's not as bad as they might feel it is' (Afternoon DJ, 2009). This shared commenting on air, usually through text message, was in response to a DJ who was accepted as part of the community and safe to explore these issues with. The process of such interaction served to authenticate experiences within the community in a way that challenged family shame.

The younger DJs by standing in two worlds, the minutiae of life in the community and their university and college lives, authenticated the experiences of their peers. The DJs were seen to be human, making mistakes with the situated rules of broadcasting and their use of Punjabi by speaking over tracks or mispronouncing words. A female DJ recounted feeling uncomfortable using Punjabi on air and reflected this in her programme. 'I was mixing the Punjabi and Hindi all over in the sentence and it sounds really funny…it just sounded, just crap…and then everyone used to laugh at me so I stopped speaking it' (Female DJ, 2008). The listeners and station staff encouraged her to take Punjabi lessons and though she still felt self conscious, her mistakes were recognisable and felt by her audience who lived a similar narrative. The station also had volunteers who saw themselves as separate from the community. One such DJ had moved from the community and pursued an academic career in New Zealand. Whilst she had developed the experience of situated broadcast rule use, she lacked knowledge of the cultural nuances of the immediate locale. The outcome was programmes where such DJs projected aloofness and where the process of authentication, like those of the guests at Colourful Life, was personally motivated.

The community did warm to some DJs whose priorities were as much for exploring their own authenticity as being accepted as authentic. One female DJ who had recently moved into Harehills, following an abusive marriage break up, broadcast through the radio station an authentic sense of self that was allowed to be eccentric and creative. The community connected with her due to her openness and because she lived 'down the road…I don't have no qualifications so the only thing I can do in life is gain experience from any opportunity given to me…to give me a backbone and strength...I know how to do the DJ thing now, I want years of experience, this is something that I could happily do it forever' (Afternoon DJ, 2009). Both she and an experienced-but-young colleague's bhangra show called on other influences such as hip hop, R&B, rap, dance and soul. Their shows communicated the dailiness of young people who were listening in the hour before or after dinner, preparing to go out, meet friends and listen collectively. The communicated energy and integration of listener 'shout outs' formed structures of action that reinforced a shared authenticity. Through expressing their identity in dialogue through the programmes, listeners became aware that they were part of a larger collective of mostly younger, British born South Asians.

Friendship groups which were as diverse as the music younger listeners enjoyed were also reflected in the Asian Network's choice of presenter for their lunchtime arts and culture show. The presenter embodied the authenticity of occupying several

spaces of identity through her Asian and English parentage and having grown up in India. Her blonde hair and blue eyes defied reified categorisation. She represented much of what the Network was aiming at by straddling several 'worlds' with a femininity that enabled her to move through several ethnic and linguistic communities. The same was so for the phone-in host who aimed to remain impartial but also understood the importance of communicating an aspect of his identity that conveyed his authenticity as part of the community but also authenticated the beliefs and daily lives of the listener. He revealed that the 'listeners shouldn't even know my religion, they do because it's important for them to understand the kind of context of me but I think in a purely BBC editorial sense that's probably not right' (DJ, 2008). Risking defying the contextual BBC broadcasting rules allowed him agency to discuss and challenge sensitive or reified issues. Without having revealed his personal beliefs he would not have been afforded the authentication by the listener.

The news programming sought to authenticate the daily lives of the listener in a more traditional manner. The schedule was punctuated by items from the South Asian subcontinent and topical local issues which managers perceived were of interest. The aim was to present a more personalised version of events producing a shared British Asian narrative. There were two types of positioning taking place in terms of authenticity, during 'The Wrap', a lunchtime extended news show. First, it authenticated daily life at the BBC through the contextual rules employed in writing the script and the manner of formal presentation. Doing so reproduced wider institutional structures. Second, it authenticated South Asian daily life but from the perspective that the BBC was a trusted source of information. The staff understood the BBC was one of many of inter-related ethnic media structures. The Network's output formed the spine of authentication that was augmented by international satellite television sources many of the Networks listeners also consumed.

The authenticity projected by the presenters at Somali on Air was more personally seated and the extended two hour programmes afforded them an intimacy with the listener. It was one of the few Somali programmes where listeners could hear an authentic representation of themselves. The show's popularity meant the presenters rarely got a rest due to the constant phone calls. The mangers wanted to emulate the quality of more established stations and professionalise their programming which they sought to do by inviting what they termed 'VIP' guests. These were Somali members of the community working as doctors, sociologists and solicitors whom they felt could offer something valuable to the community. By incorporating such positioned members of the community they sought to produce a ripple effect of learning and change (Coad and Herbert, 2009) within the Somali community. The

managers were unable to see that the power of their programme came not from the 'VIPs' but their own authentic migrant Somali selves. Despite these guests, listeners still preferred to connect with the presenters to 'be personal with what happened to them. Some of them, they don't want to talk [on air] so they call me after the programme, after the radio is finished' (Co-Manager, 2008). Not all authenticity was personal. The choices of Somali music made by both Mogadishu based and migrant artists were combined with British and US chart offerings. These choices, like at Asian Fever, authenticated the differently rooted tastes and interests of their British Somali audience. These choices were not made without consideration. The communicative ethos of SOA was to root consciously a positive and moderate sense of identity.

7.6.3 Agent and programme identity

The strands of the personal, general dispositional identity of those involved in broadcasting at the station were highly bound up with the content of the programmes. As the analysis bears out, 'all individuals actively, although by no means always in a conscious way, selectively incorporate many elements of mediated experience into their day-to-day conduct' (Giddens, 1991, p. 188). This section builds upon the life narratives section where the DJ's general-dispositional selves were examined. These narratives were contingent upon the identity communicated within the programmes that called on the DJ's situational and general dispositional structures (Stones, 2007) formed in dialogue with their positioned community of listeners.

At Buzz FM, the visual markers at the studio, of a Jamaican flag and photos of the station manager with music personality Wycliffe, demonstrated the shared identity. This heritage carried through to the presentation whether the DJ was of Afro-Caribbean background or not. The Friday evening DJ sought to play music that communicated shared memories with the listeners and which could not be heard anywhere else on air. The music reflected the diverse local urban area with a variety of drum and bass, jungle, reggae, and a lot of soul. The DJ's exuberant style resonated with an accent and a use of slang and phrases which marked him primarily as from inner city Manchester. This identity was captured in witty on-air talk such as 'yes the amber nectar is about to land in the studio in the form of a Tetley tea bag….other tea bags are available' (DJ, 2009). This relaxed broadcasting style reflected the DJ with the only discernible difference, a higher level of enthusiasm as he spoke into the microphone. Other DJs at the radio station included the son of Tony Wilson, the Manchester music luminary. A professional music producer, Ollie's motivation was being able to 'come down here…just playing his tunes and

what he likes' (DJ, 2009). This was an antithesis to his everyday rule-rigid role that was a musically constrained positioned professional role.

This motivation was also embodied by many of the Colourful DJs whose very different identities were reflected in their talk and music choices. The Director trusted the Head of Radio to employ and lightly manage the DJs who came with a long track record of experience and communities of already dedicated listeners. This carried through to the DJs consciousness that their identity was highly bound with a commercial identity which marked the station out as 'accessible to all, hence the title Colourful in every way, chat, music, you know… yeah been needed for a long time in that respect' (Reggae DJ, 2009). The Head of Radio twice weekly co-hosted the drive-time show and used it as a platform to delve into his own musical history and have fun. His managerial style carried through to his DJ persona as 'I'm pretty basic, I'm pretty kind of brass…I always treat people like I want to be treated, I never ever, I don't ever fuck anybody over…I'm very straight, I'm very honest, I'm very truthful and I may be loud…but when it comes on a one to one thing I'm a very caring type and I'll back everybody if…I believe in them' (2009). The manager had broken the usual ruthless rules of commercial radio management that favoured financial success above personal reputation. Instead he had forged a professional identity that enabled him to retain positive relationships with a wide range of positioned associates. Interviews demonstrated this manager's approach was unusual and DJs had remained loyal throughout his thirty year career.

The sensitivity of the DJs to how their broadcast identities attended to communities of listeners was noted as 'between myself now…the next person to come on…is Stretch Taylor, his show, his music will be completely different, completely different and you know it's what brings out the identities of a station' (Soul DJ, 2009). The identity of the soul show's DJ whilst complementing the station's identity still had teething issues due to his propensity to be somewhat risqué with the gossip that peppered his DJ talk. What complemented his suggestive and light-hearted identity occasionally concerned the managers about the possibility of falling prey to libel action by those the DJ spoke about. The Ghetto Heaven show moved the narrative on from its predecessor's funky soul set with a diverse ramble through new and classic soul, R&B and hip-hop. The DJ's identity and his language style was that of an urban soul boy, conveyed in his 'lingoed' talk and his staccato North London accent that punctuated the knowingly edgy urban music he played. The Soul 360 DJ's identity continued the intimate relationships all the DJs sought with their listeners through his whispering and rhythmical way of talking to the audience. Despite the late night timing of the Northern Soul show, its DJ communicated a

mood and attitude of a performance which was full of energy and reflected in his propensity to dance and wiggle within his chair. The big beat and joyful disco style of the music matched his identity of a white soul boy passionate about his musical heritage. This approach summarised the overall identity and feel the station managers were aiming for; positive, rooted in black music, experienced and authentic.

The reggae DJ saw this as staying true to the consciousness of black music whilst being open to new genres. The commerciality of black music was seen to have whittled away much of the deeper meanings held within older reggae, soul and hip hop music. The DJs role was to communicate to new listeners of any background 'the essence of like black music…dig deep…you have to realise there's an awareness there as well still' (Reggae DJ, 2009). As mindful as the managers were to speak to their black listeners and revive awareness of the essence of black music they were also careful to pitch, particularly the morning talk, to as wide an audience as possible. The breakfast show presenters were experimenting with the most appropriate identities to portray in the move of the station away from its black talk identity towards a wider music based listenership. They were aware that other managers felt that 'as the whole black thing goes…we're still working on that... there's still times when um, there's still "my black brother" you know…if [presenter name] get's the chance to interview two different people…it'll be the African bloke from the city rather than Peter Jones…because a lot of his contacts are from that field and he doesn't know very many people from the white kind of side as it were' (Anon, 2009).

Whilst the managers at Colourful sought to move the station away from its identity as a black talk radio station the manager at Irish Spectrum was careful to project a wholly Irish identity. The manager achieved this with an on air personality that embodied him, his product and the community he broadcast to and as the analysis of authenticity demonstrated, he was conscious not to dilute this. To do so would have jeopardised both the service for his listeners and his commercial prospects which were so tied to the roadshows and the advertising. When Scannell and Brand point out the importance of the cyclical and thematically structured nature of radio, this particularly applies to Irish Spectrum. With the programme format being 'reproduced again and again' it did achieve the effect of ''things as usual', familiar, known from past occasions, anticipatable as such now and in future' (in Scannell, 1991: 202). The recursive competitions, racing tips, music exclusives and dedications were brought together by the manager's identity whose use of familiar phrases and themes marked out an Irishness that was contained, comfortable and reassuring.

As Shingler and Wieringa (1998) note, for a presenter's identity to be authentic 'it must simultaneously sound natural; live, spontaneous, unpremeditated and unmediated' (p. 43). On air he projected an identity that was fast talking, traditional and full of warmth which was rooted with long personal friendships with listeners and roadshow participants. His adherence to a strictly Irish Country identity was as much to support the music he played, as to project himself as the authentic broadcast connection for an Irish identity that straddled living in London but was still wholly connected to the Ireland they had left. Even after forty years of residence in England listeners still referred to their place of birth as 'at home in Ireland' (Roadshow Guest, 2008).

Cultural competences (Moores, 2005) required in the communication of identity played a large part in the choice of DJs and their on air contribution at Asian Fever. Part of the manager's aims for the station was to engender openness and confidence within the community, viewed as one of the poorest in Leeds, to make their own positive change. The managers at Asian Fever were aware of the sensitive role cultural competences played in the community, where a definable identity was crucial for the station style and in the recruiting of DJs. Those, mostly older, DJs who were wholly embedded within the community, presented the traditional music and poetry slots in the afternoon which were aimed at less confident English speaking listeners who were overlooked by British based media. Their softer approach to broadcasting was tied to a deep understanding of the meaning of Ghazals music, Kashmiri folk music and traditional readings. It was here formal broadcast identities forged meaningful individual relationships with listeners, so that when the presenters went on extended holidays to Pakistan, offers for a free taxi ride to the airport were plentiful.

The cultural sensitivity of both managers came from having partly rejected aspects of their identity growing up and from having lived separately from the community. One manager had never been allowed to go to see South Asian films or be part of the community because her father wanted them all to concentrate on getting a good education. This separateness afforded her a high level of agency and she recognised as an advantage being able to negotiate the community chit-chat on air and remain neutral. Her upbringing led to wide-ranging musical and film tastes that enabled her to connect as 'sister' to the majority of the community including the younger listeners. She possessed agency to move fluidly between programmes, presenting for DJs unable to attend. The manager was able to do so using her structures of seeing and feeling, such as great respect and empathy, for community elders and dedicated listeners. This agency, combined with her separateness, also brought a different, less

community enmeshed perspective to her talk. The station manager had grown up within the community but had moved in different social circles, in part a rejection of the reified aspects of identity he railed against. He recalled attending Islamic lessons as a child and being 'hit with a stick for asking the meaning of what I was reading, it's Arabic, we learn in Arabic but I do not understand Arabic and I wanted to learn exactly what I was reading' (Manager, 2008). Such experiences were channelled into his on-air identity which was loud, challenging, flagrantly joyful but also sensitively warm. Other DJs emulated this identity partly through learning by example but also because such a style afforded them a distinct professional mask offering role distance, a clear separation of front and back regions, between their broadcast and personal selves. The manager's multiple cultural reference points but community embeddedness, was a driver for the choice of DJs, many of whom had also grown up separately from daily life within the community or had led dual lives culturally and professionally. Such DJs were viewed as bringing in positive influences for the community.

Their youngest DJ had started on hospital radio aged fourteen and radio for him was an outlet for having fun and going 'crazy' (Bhangra DJ, 2008). His show was light hearted, irreverent and a testing ground for different (comedic) aspects of his identity. His British Asian identity was located in wide-ranging tastes and also from an acute awareness of other Asian and non-Asian radio stations many of which he aspired to work for. Parents of the younger DJs were spoken of as traditional, 'very like religious and…they are really with the culture and stuff' (Female DJ, 2008) with weekends spent with South Asian family friends. One particular DJ spoke of growing up in Morley, a 'white community…so I have never actually like chilled with Asian kids or anything...I have kind of met some Asian people when we was children and…they used to go to me, "you act like a white girl"' (ibid). Family social activities and her 'white' growing up blended in her construction of an on-air self making use of different ethnicity structures that were understood by similarly younger listeners. Playfulness and fun formed the on-air identity of the female DJ who had moved into the community away from her marriage. She summarised her broadcast self as 'crazy, fun…you know and I want to do good…be happy, you know…[laughs] my name is Lightning, Thunderbolt! I don't know, I don't know. I got lost and I found myself and I'm happy with that [laughs]' (Afternoon DJ, 2009).

Identity at Somali on Air was less about the individual personalities of the presenters and more about the overall identity of the station each presenter contributed to. The managers were conscious to create a mood and effect that afforded an openness and participatory feel with listeners who were often quite shy. They had the same

awareness as the manager's at Asian Fever, that the station was a key place to host mostly younger presenters with diverse, sometimes inspirational backgrounds such as university students or young presenters who had recently migrated to the UK. To have had strong personality led programmes would have made this difficult. The identity projected by the manager during the Friday programme conveyed a mild and gentle personality that invited calls during the readings. He took these off-air and they were often listeners wanting to find out where to buy what he termed 'moderate' recordings. During the week, the female presenter who facilitated the youth debate show was especially conscious that the station was about opening up a space for identity discussion rather than as host for strong identities. She positioned herself, using her role as a DJ, to facilitate learning and change within a community that felt constrained and unable to call upon external society structures. She meditated on a commonly aired issue that 'as Somali teens having migrated from a different country, come from a completely different society and background, having to adapt and conform to the main society is I think, it's a major issue so what I was asking was, um, are the teens now, are they having, do they think there's an identity crisis that we face? Um, or do they think that we've conformed 100% and we've learnt to adapt to the new ways and the new lifestyle that we live in today?' (Female DJ, 2008). The weekend was viewed as a time to relax, avoid the politics discussed on BBC Somalia and attract a younger British born generation who would interact with younger Somali born listeners. Their objective was to build bridges within the community and the identities of the two male Saturday evening presenters were complementary to this aim; singing, lilting, talkative and relaxed.

Whilst the presentation focused much more on personal identities at Asian Fever and a gentle overall station identity at SOA, there was an air of formal identity that ran through the programming at Asian Network. The news programmes were co-hosted by male and female broadcasters. Women took on a sisterly identity, friendly but at a distance, formal but familiar. Lighter hearted items were presented with asides and small comments to add some personality but remained professional. Despite the careful presentation of studio presenters there were concerns expressed by editors that the vox-pop pieces were not as polished. There was an internal fractiousness between the perception of how much the broadcaster should make use of their personal identity and awareness of institutional rules which said the presenter should act in a formal 'BBC' way.

The tensions of presentation were not present during personality led programmes which relied on the personal identity of the broadcaster establishing a style of talk. During the morning phone-in programme, the section Music with a Message wholly

relied on the presenter's knowledge and identity to connect with a variety of guests from different musical backgrounds. One morning, there was an interview with the musician Black Twang on gang culture, material interests and hip hop music. The presenter had maintained a vibrant but formal identity during the preceding phone-in section of the programme, aiming to remain neutral but provocative. This changed during the music section on meeting an interviewee who was already familiar to him. The presenter adopted a comfortable and relaxed approach that reflected his personal identity, one which was bound up with multiple music interests as part of his fluid general disposition.

7.6.4 Communicating ethnicity and identity - positioned identity and community structures

Station agents were sensitive to their use of ethnicity and identity as part of a dialogue with the community they broadcast to. On-air agents expressed both reified and fluid forms of ethnicity depending on their practical or discursive consciousness to reproduce, alter or challenge shared community identity. Their agency allowed them to move freely between identities that were a 'conservative 're'-construction of a reified essence, at one moment, and the path finding new construction of a processual agency at the next moment' (Baumann, 1999, p. 95). The programmes served as an experimental ground for practising difference or as spaces to express what they saw as their or the community's mutual consciousness.

Somali on Air aimed to repair what were seen to be broken community structures, a product of hasty and fearful migration which had scattered familial and friendship groups across the world. During requests shows calls came from across the UK, Sweden, the Netherlands, the USA and Ethiopia. The programmes were often loosely structured to allow for this interaction with the station playing a central cohesive role. The programmes were there to 'give opportunity, that's massive, to express themselves, the audience, it's not one way, we give them opportunity to tell what they think about issues tackle' (Manager, 2008). These requests were given great consideration by the managers who worked with guests that would help to open up communication, contribute to listeners' practical consciousness for learning to live in the UK and to give their listeners their first voice during collective conversations through the station. These conversations often centred on what they considered as their identity and it was clear there were different, fluid and reified opinions about this. The manager recalled how:

> *'With Somali identity, even when we are back home in Somalia, it is very confusing, I mean, if you ask people their identity on the programme, I mean where they come from originally, not a lot of people tell you the same thing, they all have different ideas from where they come from…it's even worse than before because now some people see themselves as British…Some were against that, they were saying even if they were born here they are still Somalis, but we were challenging them saying why they are different from other societies in this country, everybody's British here'* (2008).

These conversations were crucial for a disparate community who 'don't see the world moving, they are stuck in somewhere,' (ibid) disconnected from British society. The manager described how some listeners 'they don't wanna take part of this country because they say "oh no, we gonna lose our culture", what culture?...What do you have to lose to speak to these people?' (ibid). The managers and the DJ's saw their role being to challenge opinions, concerned that the growing divide between parents and children was due to parental dislocation from wider society. The manager feared that a continued stasis of identity in older members of the community would further alienate the community as a whole. The station's primary Somali broadcast language was viewed by listeners as a safer place to explore these issues.

The manager's personal experience of his migration through several countries had enabled him to be much clearer about who he was: a combination of experiences. Whilst he was able to move more fluidly between parts of his daily life he acknowledged that some listeners 'are afraid to mix with the wider community…you can see how diverse this country is and all these different people all of them they have different cultures and all these cultures there are good things' (ibid). Those at the station hoped that by engaging DJs from within the community they would build listeners' confidence with these peers so they could explore their own identity without such fear. Using the programme as a 'safe' locale for practicing identity enabled a continuing dialogue of learning and change.

The involvement of a young British born Somali woman who was also at university studying the media, was viewed by managers as crucial to bridging parts of the community. Younger listeners faced the problem that 'they are part of the wider

community, but at the same time they don't want to lose their identity' (Manager, 2008). However the identity of their family often seemed alien to them. Both children and parents talked about 'how…they don't see parents as authorities any more and kids…they've got less respect for the parents…but in the wider…community…they don't want to speak about it' (Female Presenter, 2008). She understood a shared mentality that as migrants who sometimes felt threatened by wider society, there was motivation to resolve issues privately as a community.

Managers were also concerned that the reification of an Islamic identity in the UK had dwarfed what they considered to be the progressive aspects of a Somali identity. The female presenter was a reminder to listeners of how 'Somali ladies are not like Arab ladies, they go wherever Somali men go, Somali women go too and…we see it as a normal, that's what we got used to…We know we are Muslim…but at the same…[female presenter's name is] here, working with us, people can hear it, they don't get offended for that…they would never even think about why she's…working with men…it's not like Saudi Arabia where things are different' (Manager, 2008). For all that the managers were concerned about the growing reification of a Somali and Islamic identity, they were also aware of the fluidity many of the listeners embodied. The 'cognitive dimension' (Brubaker *et al*., 2004) of seeing ethnicity meant the manager could reflexively compare and interpret the difference between his own and the listener's life paths to those of friends in Somalia. The manager said:

> *'I was worrying about the way our style is not suitable to people back home…they may see offensive because already Somalis who listen to us here…have changed, they don't have exactly identical culture and way of seeing and the way of enjoying the entertainment as people back home…Somali community go from that very conservative, they were just a few years ago, and go into like the same major changes that is happening to British community, it's something that people cannot believe it'* (2008).

Like Somali on Air the daily schedule at Asian Fever focused on communication between the communities with the DJ as facilitator. Volunteers who struggled to connect with listeners tended to be 'very learned people…but they keep on forgetting the majority of the community is not learned…they're wonderful group of people you know, and if you don't share the information with them or invite them or make

them feel welcomed, well they're not gonna participate' (Manager, 2009). These presenters had a tendency to reify characteristics of the community that was perceived by listeners as patronising or staid. This was so in the case of the journalist who had come to present a community news show for the station. She talked about her interests at the newspaper as being motivated to 'work with the local minority communities' (Reporter, 2009) forgetting that she was considered by the station as part of the community with which she sought to connect. She spoke of being out of touch with the Asian community and her aim to bring a 'wider cultural aspect to those that don't have it' (ibid). During first broadcasts she began to realise she lacked practical knowledge of the situated ethnic structures needed to communicate effectively as part of the community because her general disposition had been so fluid as to lose a connection with her roots. The journalist broadcast for a few shows and then left the station.

The community was not averse to different perspectives and some DJs actively sought to challenge reified opinion during their shows. One DJ used different ways to engage community members in change with programmes that had 'a little theme behind it gently, and subconsciously there's a message coming across every single show, family values, looking after your parents, brothers and sisters, humanity' (Friday afternoon and Sunday morning DJ, 2009). Not all communication needed to challenge consistently beliefs to enable change, however subtle. The female manager and lunchtime presenter hosted a 'golden oldies' show which had a high female listenership, many of whom she described as being home alone or cut off from friendship structures. Her gentle approach sought to tease out confidence with a style that was quietly feminist. She built on the structures of 'sisterhood' and of action to connect these listeners with women's activity groups or engaged them as potential change makers within the communities. One, in particular, started her own catering business which she attributed to the personal interactions with the presenter through many telephone calls during songs.

Most surprisingly for the managers, the Molanas were the greatest reflection of fluidity. The Station manager acknowledged that 'I've seen them laugh, they're not so serious as they were…they're more open now' (Manager, 2009). For a religious community where the questioning of tradition was alien for many until the Friday programmes aired, the changes communicated through the station were quite monumental. The Co-Manager saw this as a narrative of interactions with listeners where 'everybody's gone through difficult times and have to learn and tread a difficult path…they've come out at the other end a different person…I think that's the good thing, they're not being judgemental' (2009).

The younger DJs in particular were afforded a high degree of agency by their community to explore their identities on air. They challenged notions of fixed identity through their variety of cultural references and music tastes but often met with external reification of their ethnicity as they sought to widen their media experience. The DJ who had started in hospital radio was particularly enthused by the possibilities of radio and was aiming for a broadcasting career. Though he saw himself as fluid, able and open to new possibilities the fact that he'd 'applied at many English stations but no one takes me on…but then when I approach an Asian station I get offers straightaway' (Bhangra DJ, 2008). This demonstrated a consciousness of frustratingly low causal influence to alter the structures of commercial radio recruitment that were still less likely to employ a non-white presenter.

In his programmes he avoided traditional South Asian reference points such as caste but for some listeners it was a topic they wanted to engage with. He spoke about being part of the Chad caste only because listeners constantly queried his heritage but he stated how he was trying to alter the importance of such reified categorisation by questioning it on air. He explained this motivation was because:

> *'my parents are really strict so they want me to marry a girl that is from a Chad kind of background but I totally disagree…they want to keep the blood as in the family tree going like this is our caste, this is who we are, we are not gonna mix with anyone else…India's forgot about caste, they forgot about them years ago'* (Bhangra DJ, 2009).

This example of internal community reification was not unusual within communities whose fixed memories of past practices meant they were dislocated from the fluidity of family 'back home'. Therefore, as much as there was optimism within the station that small changes were positively occurring, they were realistic that the situated priorities of the collective community identity were tentatively held. The Co-Manager admitted that 'the younger generations, yes they've borrowed off ideas and things from the mainstream culture, societies networks or whatever…and creating them for themselves, they're still…I would say out of 100%, only 25% of those who are doing good in schools…are mingling with the other communities' (2009).

Asian Network has a stake in defining 'British Asian' culture as a 'product' focused on a fluid form of identity and sought out examples of music and culture which

reflected this perspective. One DJ described the moment he felt the credibility of South Asian music change in the UK:

> *'I think we've come out from the shadow of the black community, the black community was always regarded to be cool and the Asian community is not cool...for years…Asian producers had been ripping off American things, as soon as you heard this massive record Addictive by Truth Hurts…DJ Quick sampled it…then Timberland with Missy Elliott, those kind of things were just like wow and then Rhagav and J Sean…2004 was a watershed I think for British Asians…you would see British born Asians on Top of the Pops singing R&B Music, never seen it before'* (Phone-in DJ, 2008).

What had changed was the curiosity of a young generation who made their own original music drawing on wide musical references. The significance of music within the South Asian community had always been a constant but it was privately shared or came from the South Asian diaspora. Prior to the success of 'Truth Hurts' 'the first wave of British Asian music that got the media attention was actually Asian music for Guardian readers, it was Nitin Sawney and it was Talvin [Singh]…by and large…that didn't mean anything to me…I was a Hip Hop kid' (Phone-in DJ, 2008). Where music had the power to create a sense of place, Sawney's music was the first tentative steps for widening the rule references of that locale. The DJs spoke of British Asian music as going through a process of being explored and created outside the community, but its outside success signalled it was relevant to listeners as something to be reabsorbed and altered. Such cultural products were seen to raise the confidence of listeners and artists who saw in the music images and narratives of themselves.

For all that the station sought to be musically progressive in parts, those at the station were highly sensitive to power issues within elements of the broader community. Whereas Asian Fever took the softly, softly approach, the Network sought to highlight and challenge difference. The phone-in show was a primary stage for this and the programme manager recalled how 'we've had people come on the air and talk about the fact that the parents are kicking off because they're both Bangladeshi Muslims but the religions they came from is five miles apart therefore…they can't get married and you just think 'that's just insanity'. But it's true and we have to

reflect and report that' (2008). The same manager reflected on this reification, like Asian Fever previously, as being rooted in romanticised memories of what was still considered by older parts of the community as 'home'. He recounted how 'people come over here from Delhi…and they see British Asians living over here in the same sort of way we see people in Los Angeles drink at the Rose and Crown with a red telephone box in the corner…what they see it as being trying hang onto a life or a lifestyle that doesn't exist any more' (ibid). The producer of the lunchtime arts programme discussed the questioning that went on within the listening community. They questioned their own identities within the community, whether they were perceived as a greater 'Asian' community or combinations of 'British Hindu or am I British Punjabi or Sikh, so really it's fractured along religious and geographically as well' (2008).

The phone-in presenter reflected on this new tendency for very specific self reference. It had emerged from searching for identities that sought to break past the safe but homogenous structures of an externally defined 'Asian' culture. He said, for 'those of us in our thirties that remember when there were Asian societies at universities and now there are Sikh, Hindu and Muslim societies there are no Asian societies…they seem to be splintering and that sign of confidence is one that worries certain Asians of our generation because they think 'well, OK, now we're actually, with that confidence, we've actually become segregated within ourselves' (2008). What he had described was a splintering of culture into its separate realms of ethnicity, religion and nation that risked losing the 'dialectical beauty' (Baumann, 1999) of a fluid ethnicity. This view of the communities listening to the Network was contradicted by the views and priorities afforded to the station by the Network Manager. He perceived 'the Asian community…is pretty well integrated into British society…That's a bit like us in a way, whilst our target audience is people in the British Asian community…we're also here for anyone that just likes that…in the same way that Radio One's sub-station, 1Xtra is not for people of the Afro-Caribbean community, it's for people who like black music' (2008). This reflected the overall management strategy for the station that sought to avoid the internal fractures of the community *and* meet the BBC remit of being open to all licence fee payers. This priority was rooted in multiculturalism; to facilitate cross cultural interest and creativity whilst clearly highlighting boundaries of culture. They defined their playlists by artists which crossed cultural borders to create a 'kind of the cohesive denominator between all these disparate communities' (Music Manager, 2008). This approach created a dailiness that formed the Network's identity and that

was designed to connect with listeners who were as much English as connecting with their familial community structures.

Colourful Radio occupied a wholly commercial space and yet was actively rebuilding a sense of both a musical and local community. In its quest to raise advertising revenue to grow the station it sought out business from central and south London organisations. This fulfilled two priorities. First, it enabled the managers to explore an advertising market that the larger commercials had ceased pursuing. Second, they sought to connect with local businesses to support a strong urban and black identity. Many of the paid-for live reads were promoting smaller businesses or cultural events highlighting ethnic minority plays, events and exhibitions. The managers recognised that the black community lacked the internal support structures it once had. One recalled how they encountered an attitude of mistrust 'because the assumption is you are in a hustle, you haven't quite done your homework, can't quite be trusted, I am talking this internally, can't quite trust you…I'd rather, you know, give my money to somebody else because I am just not sure about you…I mean you have heard black people constantly complain that we don't do business with each other and we don't recycle the black pound' (News Manager, 2008). The expansion of management structures at the station the following year saw a refocus on their broadcast community to make it 'multicultural so you have a bit of everything' (Head of Radio, 2008). It aimed to draw concertedly upon a wider pool of financial investors and grow the listenership both of which were seen as concurrent processes. The resulting product was one that reproduced the widely understood yet situated structures of black music, talk, identity and community but sold to advertisers as 'passionate people presenting music and speech who believe passionately in what they're doing, that enthusiasm will attract audiences…they're part of that community' (Sales Manager, 2009).

Campaigns such as encouraging black recruits to the Army Cadets were integrated into the lifestyle show through interviews with young members of the Cadets to raise awareness. The aim was for such paid placements to sit seamlessly in the schedule of technology, fitness, style and arts talk, all of which featured black participants representing their businesses. Featuring such sponsors got them 'involved in the dream, you know, a great example was we've got this little theatre company that are producing The African Company presents Richard The Third which is a play about the first African American theatre group in 1921' (Sales Manager, 2008). The support of the arts guest on the Lifestyle show meant the theatre company was plugged instead of the black stereotyped 'Notorious' film about the hip hop star Notorious BIG which was released the same week. Doing so was concertedly about

changing the usual commercial rules, allowing the station to engage with both large sponsors and culturally meaningful groups. By targeting some of the situated ethnic aspects of the theatre product they were able to motivate the arts guest to discuss a cultural event enthusiastically because he felt it augmented his concept of ethnicity, rather than that of the film.

They were able to do this through an understanding of the listeners the station was attracting; a mostly middle-aged demographic who were rooted in a shared history of soul music but who were interested in a wider range of offerings. The DJ's were knowledgeable about their role at the station, not only to play their beloved music but to grow a sense of a 'Colourful community' because 'there is a market out there of people who will still enjoy…hearing those tunes, you know, whether it's from that sort of nostalgia point of view, "oh yeah…when I was a boy, when I was girl and I used to do this, that and the other and all of that" or just you know, the fact that it's still, it's still technically good music' (Soul 360 DJ, 2009).

The manager at Irish Spectrum shared a similar ethos to those at Colourful but had the legacy of both a large listening community and the commercial support to pay for the station. He combined both an air of business with warmth that made him a central point within the Irish community. This was reflected at one of the road-show events where he received Christmas cards, gifts and welcomes from people in attendance; he was, as one listener summarised 'well liked, he does a lot for us' (Roadshow Guest, 2008). He had achieved this by carefully focusing on the reified elements that constituted Irishness for the community and which, through the programme and road-shows kept listeners connected with their identity. The programmes consciously utilised such reification and were 'very Irish as…by their very nature they've got to be' (Manager, 2008) because their future depended on the integration of the roadshows, advertisers and listeners.

The programme's reified Irishness spoke to a community who still felt that 'we're just different' (Manager, 2008) and who, even after sixty years of living in London were 'a very closely knit community' (Listener, 2008). The manager referred to the terrorism in Northern Ireland which had served to strengthen the London community's ties. As time progressed and the 'troubles' slowly receded there developed a 'whole psyche thing of Irish people have moved on and…I think the same... the natural advancement that occurs with any immigrant race into any country, they advance forward…become part of the community' (ibid). The manager knew that the programme would remain relevant, successfully financed and a hub of

interaction for as long as the community needed a diary event to tune into their Irish identity.

7.6.5 Summary

This section has analysed the use of the situated and general dispositional internal structures of the agent called upon in the use of authenticity and identity in the construction of programmes. To achieve this, the discussion moved out into the contextual sphere where the outcome of such structures manifested itself in interactions within the agent's positioned community. Doing so showed the reciprocal significance of the authentication of daily life the programmes have, as a stage, for the processes of negotiating the duality of fluid and reified expressions of identity and ethnicity.

The authenticity of the presenters was shown to be crucial to enable open and credible dialogue between the station and its listeners. All the station's presenters came from their communities and employed the same 'cultural competences' as their listeners. It manifested itself in the use of music and forms of talk that provided recognisable narratives which in turn authenticated the daily lives of the listener. This was shown in the depth of the narratives born from the reproduction of structures of feeling, seeing and action held in their negotiations of community language, life experiences and the quality of continuing on-air relationships with listeners. Authenticity also came from more formal broadcasting rules such as particularised news production and guests which sought to reflect not only the station's listeners but served to reproduce institutionalised radio structures.

Identity was shown to be dialogically constructed as a fluid process not only for the presenters but collectively as a continuing narrative shown most symbolically through music. Music represented the past, present and future identities of both the DJs and the station's listeners. It was used cyclically to provide a sense of place and as a backdrop for exploratory community talk. Such talk was an integral part of the programmes, whether used as a process of exploring the presenter's own identity, within sequences that reproduced more reified and easily grasped representations of the community or as episodic periods of talk that brought about incremental changes within communities. Presenters engaged in reproducing, examining, challenging and changing ethnic structures of seeing, feeling and action. For some agents this meant concertedly opening up dialogues of learning and change within communities they felt did not have a voice or were veering towards reification. For others, the use of such competences with the relative freedom that ethnic minority radio brought was

the opportunity to engage in identities that, already part of complex wider cultural dialogues, could be rebuilt and re-explored through their broadcasts.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSIONS

8 Conclusions

8.1 Drawing the analysis together

The preceding findings and discussion has explored the meaning of ethnic minority radio and the role the stations play in the reproduction of ethnicity and identity within their broadcast communities. Structured to address the objectives of the study each section examined the individual questions raised where knowledge in this area was found to be particularly scant. This section returns to these objectives in light of the discussion.

8.1.1 To provide a descriptive and explanatory account of ethnic minority radio stations and their digital and analogue operating environment

The study provided the first narrative and analytical account of a cross-section of ethnic minority radio stations within the context of their immediate broadcast communities. In particular the study examined what constitutes ethnic minority radio through an analysis of the elements that made the stations unique and discussed the positioned others and structures involved in their daily existence. The stations, whilst occupying different licensing scenarios, were shown to share characteristics and processes which constituted each station. The use of home grown and traditional music served to immediately define the station as a 'sense of place' for the articulation of identity. Like the Jewish radio programmes of Cohen's 2008 Australian study the stations were the stage for exploring identity and community communication within Britain's multi-ethnic backdrop but also built their identity from external structures of seeing, feeling and action that were located as much in Britain as back 'home'. The stations as a community notice board were another shared and defining role that set them apart from other broadcasters. The heightened senses of 'who' their community was and the reason for the station to exist meant the situated rules of broadcasting were linked not only to broadcast rules but the structures of their communities.

Smaller stations in particular were shown to occupy similarly close relationships with their listening communities in contrast to the larger stations who defined themselves in much broader terms, hoping to capture ethnically more diverse or homogenised audiences. The most important identity markers for the radio stations were the use of minority languages and highly particularised regional accents. These spoke

immediately to listeners with the station allowing 'for the possibilities of myself…the socially projected 'me': me-in-my-particularity, me with my particular beliefs, tastes and opinions' (Scannell, 1996, p. 13) whilst also forming an important mode of expression for the DJs. Likewise, the sometimes subtle, other times overt use of religion formed not only a shared identity dialogue between presenters and audiences but served to mark the calendar time as events in the daily operation of the stations. Highly important to the constitution of the station was its connection with other usually grassroots organisations, viewed here as inter-related structures. For some stations, such connections were a remit of their licence, for others like Somali on Air these organisations provided a feeling of legitimacy where they felt their advisory skills failed. For Irish Spectrum, Asian Network, Buzz and Colourful the structures of the station were highly enmeshed with related structures such as advertising, live events, local music production and retailers that funded the station, provided content and helped to extend the station out into its communities. The use of the theoretical framework was particularly helpful in analysing the structures of the station to grasp how intense audience interactions were related to a relative flat organisation. Small stations comprised mainly unpaid staff and a usually consciously collegiate environment. Only Colourful and Asian Network sought an institutionalised and highly role driven structure which spoke more of the shared structures of past organisational practice that offered potentially greater resources available to them.

In particular, the analysis brought out shared consciousness agents held of their listening communities that for the most part, local and larger commercial radio stations had started to lose. These were definably underserved communities of locale and interest that served as key places for emerging and under profiled talent and trusted spaces for musical and linguistic expression. The stations all had both spatially close and distant audiences who recognised the uniqueness of the broadcaster offerings. Participation came from across the world in some cases, and this was partly because these audiences were recently fractured communities and the programmes brought them together. For others, it reflected a feeling of growing alienation within their community so they sought a particularised sociability.

The analysis moved from the general discussion of what ethnic minority radio is to the internal structures of individual agents. Part of understanding what constitutes ethnic minority radio demanded an analysis of the personal narratives and experiences of those involved in shaping the radio stations. Such a narrative, exploring a cross-section of radio stations, is unique to this study. To achieve this meant exploring the general-disposition of the agent. It incorporated their reflections

on their use of the external and situated structures of language, music and broadcasting and their life paths which had led to them being involved at the station. What came from quite personal interviews were accounts of recent social history that agents had not reflected on before. This discursive process revealed the unconscious practical knowledge agents acquired as legacies of past practice, such as the sound systems, and its situated use within their role at the radio station. The aim was to explore the relationship between these internal and external structures, their motivations and personal identities that the DJs gave voice to on air.

The analysis explored the awareness managers had in encouraging presenters to the stations who were able to reflect the several distinct identities within the community. To achieve this many of the station agents negotiated several languages born from their wide range of cultural competences. This in particular applied to some of the younger presenters who were acutely aware of occupying several different social and ethnic positions within the station and their community.

All those involved talked of the importance of music as a narrative of the self and of shared memories. Many spoke of a past rejection of the structures of ethnicity, but coming back to them in later life; a process that was usually bound up with their relationship with music and broadcasting. For younger participants the station was a place to make first time connections with aspects of who they and their families were. Older participants across all the stations who had taken a keen interest in music talked in particular of black music as a binding genre. In many cases it had sparked their imagination and enabled them to seek out new friendship groups and creative possibilities. This more often than not manifested itself as a background in pirate broadcasting that all the station participants, aside from Somali on Air, shared. Those who had broadcast from the early seventies demonstrated how conscious they were of their audiences so piracy constituted much more than a 'vanity project' (Barnard, 1989). Their roles at the radio station, whatever age, encompassed more than the delivery of a show; the station was a space for their continuing personal narrative and somewhere to try aspects of their creativity with likeminded listeners.

8.1.2 To analyse and establish how these institutions are sustained through the interactions of relevant agents

The analysis moved from the general-disposition of individual agents to connect their conjecturally-specific knowledge, that is, the situated knowledge agents called on in moments of everyday practice. Doing so connected individual motivations and practices with the positioned others at the radio station and their use of allocative and authoritative resources available to them. Such command over these resources and

the usage of legacies of past practice enabled the discussion to establish how the radio stations were sustained through the interactions of relevant agents. The outcome was shown to be the causal influence individual and collective agents held at the station and the resulting power enabling or constraining their practices and the structure of the radio station. Such an analysis is unique to this study and for the first time unpicks the mutually sustaining structures of the radio station and broadcasting practice with the interactions of relevant agents. The specially constructed theoretical framework, illustrated as Figure Three in section 4.9, brings together the various processes explored in the literature that are fully realised in this analysis.

The analysis showed how rules were not hierarchically driven; instead they were often born from the nuanced, situated rules used by staff in their daily interactions with their communities. At other times, these rules were part of external organisational structures such as funding, spectrum allocation, audience and volunteer measurement or broadcasting regulation. It was in negotiating these that the majority of agents, across all stations, showed low causal influence and power to alter their and the station's situation. The examination of rules, allocative and authoritative resources and how the station agents made use of them linked how causal influence was exercised and generated power. Analysis of these interactions elucidated the complex sector that is ethnic minority radio in the UK. The exploration of different modes of broadcasting and the significance of the small details such as the processes of having a programme 'driven' for presenters was shown to severely constrain them and lower their overall causal influence. Higher causal influence was noted in DJs at the pirate and smaller stations that did not experience the same weight of complex reproduced rule structures, or past practices, as the larger stations. However, at their command were poorer allocative resources that in turn constrained their actions. That is not to say that the greater range of allocative resources equated to better enablement and power. Contingent on the station's structural reproduction was incorporating 'capacity built' agents who brought awareness of the importance of recursive practices for maintaining the station. The analysis showed how this capacity *can* be inherent in every interaction in every structure; but it was shown to be successful through the balance of resources. Though some agents did not hold high causal influence within the station, they were still able to subvert common rules to their advantage and it was in situations such as these that the 'dialectic of control' (Giddens, 1984) was most apparent.

In a clear move away from traditionally accepted critical readings of the media, resources were mostly common to all of the stations and rather than being hierarchical or deterministic, power was a *neutral* entity and part of the complex

interactions surrounding the enablement and constraint of agent interaction. These common categories of resources mean stations faced similar challenges which were analysed as existing on the same time-space continuum. A commonality across all the stations was the importance of a balance of both resources and rule structures that enabled freedom of activity as long as it did not jeopardise the station's existence. A station's endurance was shown to be based not necessarily on might and domination but through agents' harnessing of resources and ability to contain power as a legacy across time and space.

Staying within the realm of active agency and the use of situated and shared rules and resources the analysis incorporated the community practices to understand how stations interacted with their audiences. The position-practice that was observed during such interactions made use of the situated and contextual structures of seeing, feeling and action, the processes of which were language, shared memories, individual motives and the performance of collective identities. Where previous analysis of ethnic minority media have focused on audience reception, the study placed as central the position-practice of station agents *and* their listeners in the mutual reproduction of these structures. These processes demonstrated how important such interactions and practices were for both the continuance of the station and the reproduction of collective community structures. Such episodes of interaction served to highlight the individual causal influence of agents which both constrained and enabled the reproduction of the station structures.

The analysis highlighted the importance for daily interaction with listeners for the all the smaller stations. Occupying spaces at their heart of their community the station's primary role was to act as mediator for the community. In most cases, these were communities who had no other primary ethnic and linguistic space to express themselves and where they did, the close relationship they had built with the DJs showed in their faithfulness to the station. As such, for most of the programmes, their structures were built to incorporate these interactions and whatever allocative resources the DJs had available was used to facilitate this. Interactions were shown to be more than messages and phone calls; programmes were constructed to enable a greater scope for listener expression and creativity such as the talent and talk shows. The innocence expressed during the lucky numbers game, poetry and singing games was understood to be a guise for a special kind of freedom. Listeners were afforded, through the radio station, a space of anonymity, fun and a shrugging off of community norms in the experimentation of identity. As much as these interactions were frivolous, the stations also demonstrated their importance for exploring highly personal and difficult topics on-air with listeners. Something listeners would not have

considered without a legacy of trust and shared cultural competences. The incorporation of the Irish roadshows was unique to the programme and was the most complete demonstration of the duality of listener interaction and station existence. It was during these interactions, for all the longer running programmes and stations, that the important integration of the station into the lives of the listeners was most clearly felt.

The more stations were caught up in institutional or commercial rules such as BBC Asian Network and Colourful Radio, the less listener interaction featured. In part this was intended; these stations saw their roles as taste makers, educators and in the case of Colourful Radio, a potentially profitable organisation. As such, these stations were less interested in time consuming interactions such as real time repartee with listeners. This distancing from their listening communities, and the rule structures of the station, made individual causal influence to alter modes of broadcasting and communication more difficult.

8.1.3 To provide a theoretical understanding of the uses of 'radio broadcasting' by the agents which employ it

The analysis of how programmes were constructed served to provide a theoretical understanding of the meaning of radio broadcasting for the agents involved. The study, for the first time, empirically applied Scannell's (1996) theoretical categories of intentionality, sincerity, sociability, dailiness and eventfulness through situated rule use, contextualised by positioned others, served to elucidate how agents interacted to create, reproduce and alter the structure of their programmes. The analysis was located firmly in the position-practices of those involved at the radio station during moments of active agency, that is, the daily interactions which directly comprised the programmes.

The cyclical nature of the schedules for stations reflected the temporal arrangements of the day, expressed through changing themes of discussion to music. Dailiness was the setting for a duality, the mutual reliance of the programmes and the station to enable a continued existence. The station was bound up with the presentation of the shows. The DJs recognised the opportunities afforded to them and the roles they played in the 'longue durée' (Giddens, 1984) of the station. The analysis highlighted the importance of jingles and backing music as structures for marking out the recursive dailiness of programmes and to order the station's schedule from morning to night time. The thematic use of these created 'horizons of expectation' (Scannell, 1996) which guided listeners and for more rigidly structured stations provided important additional structures. As much as stations understood the importance of

cyclical and structured schedules they also acknowledged the changing of dailiness for listeners. Aside from older listeners, no longer were stations considered to be constant background companions throughout the day and stations concentrated more on episodic and specialised shows as individual events. This was a commonality across all of the stations and which the wider radio sector is only starting to emulate. The specialist shows, popular on mainstream radio in the 1970's, were a mainstay of the ethnic minority ones. Presenters incorporated shared cultural competences into their shows that often represented a reified identity, enabling quick engagement with the listener, but also to challenge such fixedness. DJs did so because it 'spoke' to listeners as 'being' for them, and quite often, by them. Care structures existed in programmes that sought to be different or to challenge wider consensus. The staff understood that such structures opened up participation in their programmes and enabled the station to be a space for community.

The use of music to mark out the intentions of the programmes and to be a platform for the sociable aspects of the DJs was crucial to all the radio stations. Thematic and particularistic styles defined programmes where the DJ was both passionate about their music and brought with them listeners to the radio station. The use of sincerity and elements of performance were used by many of the DJs, partly to provide a professional mask which they applied at the start of their programmes, partly as an enablement for interaction. For many of the older DJs, such sincerity was inbuilt so that a considered 'false' sincerity was an alien concept. Only the younger DJs were aware of the need and attractiveness of being someone 'different' on air. Marked differences were found in the distancing of DJ and listener through the use of sincere performance by the larger stations. DJs sometimes spoke of being aware of this distance and were constrained by the processes within broadcast structures that maintained such distance. Others challenged this, remembering the close contact they had experienced prior to their current institutional roles.

Calendar events featured across the stations and served to mediate spatially separate experiences of those in attendance and those listening. These events became new events for listeners, to be talked about and replayed over the ensuing weeks during on-air interaction and relived through recorded material. They were important for connecting both the station to its community and for binding the community together. Pilkington stated that such imagined communities of ethnicity comprise members who 'will never know most of their fellow members, meet them or even hear of them' (Pilkington, 2003, p. 19). Yet, events run by the stations brought listeners together in co-presence, often for the first time, and demonstrated a lived experience, not just imagined.

It was eventfulness played out during programmes that provided the punctuations to the dailiness that structured programme time. Live telephone interviews, music exclusives and on-air participatory events drew on past practices that ensured the reproduction of programmes. It was the warmth displayed in the sociable tones of DJs, built of shared narratives and episodes of interaction that marked each station as unique. Such sociability depended 'substantially on predictable and caring routines' (Giddens, 1984, p. 50) found in the structures of feeling sometimes openly expressed by the DJs as emotions, observed behaviours and vocalised thoughts. The repeated and continuing nature of the programmes provided the context for the 'bringing off' of sociable moments and presenters understood this in their role of engaging and reflecting the views of the listener. This was achieved through the performances DJs engaged in as a hook for broadcasting recognisable narratives such as breaking a voice into a thick Jamaican lilt, the conspirator tones of sharing some gossip or the party exuberance of breaking in the weekend through agenda setting enthusiasm. The value of empirically applying Scannell's themes was their ability to reveal the intimacy of the relationships played out between DJ and listener, interactions that were repeated daily or weekly, showed the depth of meaning radio held not only for those at the station but also for listeners.

8.1.4 To determine the role the selected stations and the media messages they produce play in the development and communication of ethnicity and identity

The literature review demonstrated both the importance of a reified *and* fluid identity. Previous research had tended to treat identity as a dualism; that agents could only occupy a fixed or fluid ethnicity. The use of structuration theory and the concentration on a processual analysis of interactions showed how agents occupied both reified *and* fluid identities. The analysis demonstrated how agents create, reproduce and alter the structures of feeling, seeing and action related to ethnicity through their programmes therefore elucidating the importance of a duality of identity. Such an approach and the development of the supporting framework breaks new ground in the fields of ethnicity, identity and the media. To achieve this, the analysis brought together the four stages of Stones' (2005) quadripartite nature of structuration to explore the general-dispositional and situated authenticity employed by the presenters and the DJ's positioned identities enacted within the programmes. Finally, the situated and contextual rules of the community were analysed as processes at play within the programmes.

The analysis combined the involvement of knowledgeable and capable agents at the station, and within the community, to show how community structures, ethnicity and

identity were collectively reproduced, negotiated and renegotiated during broadcasts. The communicated sociability, so contingent to the identity of the programmes would have fallen flat without the authenticity of the DJs and the ethos of the station, broadcast through their experiences, by interaction with listeners or through music. Authentication for the listeners came from the embedded lives of the DJs, members of the community who shared collective memories and lived histories. For many DJs, this authentication of the self and of the listeners had been missing from radio for some years and the stations provided a new space for this where pirate radio had ceased to be an option.

Identity was never shouted out but woven subtly into the narrative of ordinariness in the programmes; it was recursive, nudged ahead day after day. The importance of religion as a space for the exploration of identity and ethnicity took centre stage at some of the radio stations where wider fixed notions were repeated, challenged and pushed in different directions. It was clear the important role identity played for the station but for the DJs itwas a blurred concept. They moved through linguistic and ethnic structures fluidly and where trips of the tongue gave rise to noticing by listeners, they usually responded with warmth and encouragement of this broadcast authenticity. Language became a beacon for younger DJs who came to the station as much to explore their own identity as to play a role in demonstrating their own fixed and fluid elements during programmes. Reification of identity meant a discernable, graspable ethnicity, one which brought the community together to authenticate aspects of their lives; the DJs *were them*, sounded like them, they had the same experiences. It manifested in genres of music, nationalistic flags on walls, turns of phrases, modes of address and structured interactions. It was wrapped up in their musical heritage, their presentational role as broadcasters, their interactions with others and the subtle shared experiences inherent in the programme content. These cultural competences represented an uncloaking of identity, made overt in the use of language, the meaning of the music played and the nuanced conversations which took place on air. The programmes were the stages for the questioning of personal and collective community identity and DJs also served to challenge such reification. It was only through their cultural competences, and their knowledge of their communities, built on a lifetime of past practices, that they were able to do so. Some members of staff felt parts of their communities displayed an easiness of reification, having grown used to particularities, ways of doing things, 'mobilised by many actors in sustaining a sense of familiarity' (Karner, 2007, p. 29). For newer stations and programmes, there was an urgency to give their communities a voice on air and explore the meaning of their ethnicity before they feared their communities would be

fractured further. Stations served to be conduits for these discussions and when they were not in English, were particularly safe hosts for such questioning. Station agents understood such actions would lead to gentle learning and change in their communities.

Moments of fixed identity, or reification were swallowed up in the shifting narratives expressed through mediated interaction. At some stations, there was a move away from a reified identity that was seen to hamper their potential success. Doing so did not dilute their ethnicity; it was inherently understood in the DJs who broadcast and the listeners who followed their programmes. Ethnicity did not need to be impenetrable to remain authentic. Some stations projected a fixed identity, broadcasting to a seemingly aging community but the reality was audiences of new listeners, children of migrants, who the managers knew came back to explore their ethnicity and culture. These stations were as much reified entities, separate from society, as facilitators of a changing community.

In many ways, breaking down the themes identified in communicating ethnicity and identity through the programmes and DJs was an artificial separation. As has been shown, identity was situated in the continuous, uninterrupted and never ending flow of routine interactions. The narratives of self which were discussed by the DJs were broadcast in the daily, recursive nature of the 'material constructed by a constant process of iteration between all actors' (Hendy, 2000) or as Giddens would say, a duality. However, the individual examination of these themes helped to detail the sociable nature of radio, to unpick the mutually recursive relationship between the DJs, listeners and the station identity. Inevitably, authenticity of the DJ, the sociable tones they employed, the performances enacted and the narratives of identity which were shared, bled into each other in the analysis; and so they should. To examine one alone disembodies its meaning when separated from the greater context and makes it an unnatural extraction. Identity and ethnicity is something communicated in process; repeated, developed, and fluid.

8.2 Using structuration theory in media research

8.2.1 To contribute knowledge on the application of structuration and radio theory in the analysis of radio stations and their agents

The final objective, to draw together the disparate fields of radio and ethnicity demanded that a processual approach was used. To escape the particularism/universalism dualism inherent in many ethnic media and migration studies (Georgiou, 2005) meant developing a theoretical framework which would support both radio theory and the importance of fluid and reified identity. Sreberny's

(2005) concern was that future research would repeat the dualisms associated with minority media being uncritically celebrated 'as cultures supposedly sealed off from one another forever by ethnic lines, with all the attendant essentialist assumptions about totality, identity and exclusion' (Sreberny, 2005, p. 457). It was this concern which drove the development of a theoretical framework which captures culture and ethnicity as process yet did not diminish the importance of a graspable, reified identity.

The research demonstrates that through the use of such a framework, such essentialist dualisms do not have to be inevitable. Instead, the theoretical framework cut across the different stations and identities enabling an analysis which placed the structures in common use under equal examination with the cyclical processes of broadcasting and identity as a core focus.

To achieve this, the thesis illustrates that structuration theory ascribes equal importance to both individual interactions and the external structures which formed the stations and their communities. It enabled a binding together of the structures of the radio stations and their communities with the individual narratives and actions of those involved. Tudor (1995) posited the possible application of structuration theory in the field of media research yet there have previously been no fruitful results. Only Husband (2005) has tentatively and retrospectively applied aspects of structuration theory for the study of professionals within ethnic minority media organisations. The thesis built on this analysis by examining not only the individuals within the radio stations but the meaning of their interactions for station reproduction and for identity structures.

That is not to say structuration theory is without its flaws. The literature revealed several areas where Giddens' version was unable to translate from abstract meta-theory, bogged down in institutional rules, to a workable ontology in situ. Here, the use of Stones' (2007) interpretation alongside Coad and Herbert's (2009) successful practical application helped to translate structuration from the theoretical to the methodological. For many, structuration will seem like a hammer to crack a nut; unwieldy, unattractive and unnecessary hard work. The careful treatment it received in this thesis was due to its value in maintaining a balance between reification and fluidity. Its use started to make sense of the particularism/universalism dualism as a duality in process and therefore to unpick the complex interactions that comprise individual agents, the stations, ethnicity and identity.

The chapters on ethnicity, identity and radio showed structuration has its sympathisers; those who see its potential to move these individual fields forward. Together, they mutually strengthened structuration's case for revealing the interactions that go on within ethnic minority radio stations and their communities. In doing so they also contributed to a methodology that enabled an application of structuration theory to help meet the study's aims and objectives.

8.2.2 The usefulness of the methodology

Giddens (1984), and for the most part Stones (2007) offered little in the way of a practical framework for applying the principles of structuration theory to empirical research. The study, through the building of a theoretical, methodological and analytical framework has sought to remedy this. In constructing a methodology that brought structuration down from meta-theory to something more practical, its recent application in information and organisation research was invaluable. In particular, the article written by Langley (1999) provided the first comparison of several sense-making strategies. The article helped to provide the bridge between a theoretical use of bracketing within structuration theory and its actual use in the empirical and analytical stages of the research by showing how it could be combined with a traditional narrative approach. Once this link was made it was possible to translate structuration from abstract theory to a practical methodology.

The resulting framework and model assisted in defining the research field and enabled the setting of empirical parameters for the study through the development of a processual strategy that used a fine-grained approach. This captured the interactions, reproduced structures and changes over a year-long period at the radio stations and within their communities. The development of an analytical framework that brought together the strengths of both Giddens and Stones' versions of structuration and in particular conduct and context analysis, highlighted the nuanced and detailed interactions which constitute the agent, their stations and their use of ethnicity and identity. The analysis demonstrates the usefulness of structuration as a theoretical, methodological and analytical framework whose application, it is suggested, is useful for further studies.

8.2.3 Reflections on the empirical process

The research took place in episodes of intense empirical data gathering to capture changes at the radio station through detailed observation, interviews and programme analysis during each visit. What began as an iterative process of theory building and empirical process resulted in a cross-cutting theoretical framework and methodology. Taking such a fine-grained approach from the start meant that, for a researcher with

little prior radio station experience, it was possible to grasp daily life at the station, within its community, very quickly. However, it was not until the subsequent visits or additional attendance at events that a confidence in the data began to build as facts were validated and more detail gathered.

These repeat visits confirmed developing ideas but also built upon the trust of those at the radio stations that meant a deeper detail of information was revealed. It was therefore not until the second visits that the value of such intimate one-to-one interviews was realised and so formed the greater body of the research. Revealing personal life narratives of the agents at the station not only demonstrated the usefulness of the theoretical framework but also brought together cross-cultural stories that had not been told before. At this point, the possibility of carrying out a parallel audience part of the research was dropped in recognition of the importance of the data gathered already.

8.2.4 Applicability of the research to the field

A review of the field shows a continuance of research studies that look at individual radio stations, ethnicities and locales. For example, Georgiou's (2004) study concentrated on the Greek communities in London and Bauman's (1996) was a study of multi-ethnic Southall. More broadly, research has shown ethnic minority media (never radio alone) as a diasporic phenomena rather than a homegrown, vibrant sector occupying all the licensing scenarios. That is not to say the radio stations in this research are separate and sealed off from their counterparts in other countries. Indeed, the study revealed quite the opposite; by showing an awareness of Scannell's (1996) focus on national broadcasting and the nation state, the discussion was particularly sensitive to the borderless nature of some ethnic minority broadcasters. This study followed the reflections of Bauman (1999), Sreberny (2005) and Georgiou (2005) that future research should cut across locales and identities in order to demonstrate the duality of constantly shifting and reified notions of both. What Cohen (2008) was able to capture in his comparison of two radio programmes, this study aimed to capture across several radio stations within the UK.

The development and use of the theoretical framework showed how this could be achieved with the resulting discussion having application for both narrative accounts of the history and continuance of ethnic minority radio but also how future studies in this field can systematically conduct and analyse the use of fluid and reified identities within the media. The result is a thesis which provides the first coherent account of the rise of ethnic minority stations in the UK and the interactions that enable them to continue. No other study has incorporated a spread of stations from across the

different licensing scenarios. This approach provided a rich storied narrative of shared characteristics, differences and elements which makes up a diverse and growing sector. The theoretical framework which was developed is unique to this study but has applicability for future research, especially if ethnic minority media research will continue to refocus on a dualities rather than dualisms. It enabled the breaking of new ground in locating the importance of *both* the reification and fluidity of identity in the everyday interactions between the agents at the stations and the communities to whom they broadcast.

8.3 Suggestions for future research

8.3.1 A paired audience study

This study examined how stations exist and make use of the concepts of ethnicity and identity. Very little is known about the audience use of these stations. Early stages of the research design intended to examine the audience's perspectives of ethnic minority radio, ethnicity and identity. The richness of the DJ's life narratives and the detail found in initial analysis of station interactions meant a comparative audience study was unwieldy. The theoretical, diagrammatical, methodological and analytical framework lends itself to examining the interactions which occur within households and the community in immediate locale of the case study stations. A paired audience study would utilise one-to-one interviews and audience focus groups to enable individual and group reflection of the community structures observed as so important to the station's existence.

8.3.2 An application of the theoretical framework for other radio sectors

The UK's radio sector is going through a period of heightened convergence and consolidation. Changing methods of consuming radio and merging media interests mean stations across the community, commercial and public service are facing unprecedented pressure on their daily operation and on maintaining their identities. During the research this pressure meant the BBC stations 6Music and the Asian Network were considered for closure (Guardian, 2nd March, 2010). Commercial stations across the country have been amalgamated so those traditional concepts of localness have been eroded. Structuration theory has been successfully applied in the field of organisation studies to track periods of change, in information systems studies to understand technological change and its specific use in this research has demonstrated its suitability for studying media institutions. A future research project could utilise this framework to analyse the changes and future for the UK's community and, particularly under-researched, commercial radio stations.

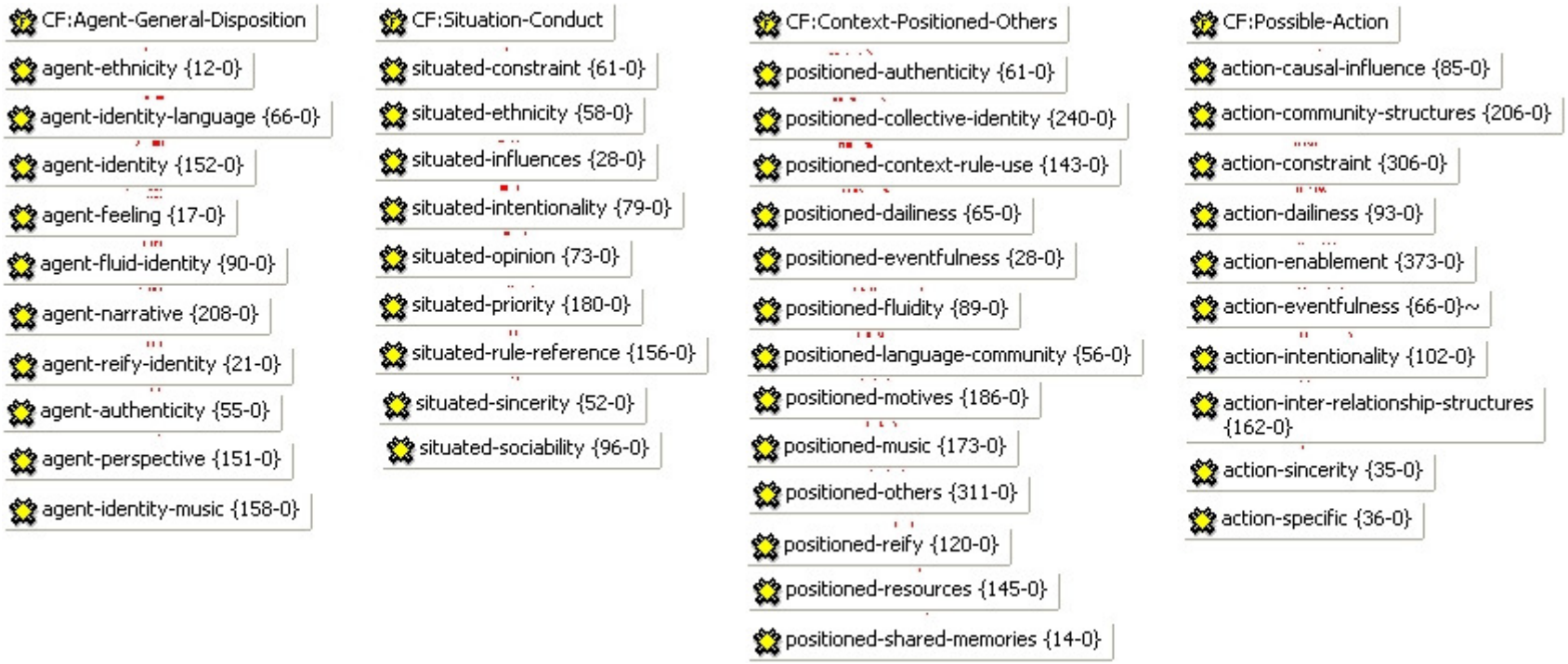
8.3.3 Other analyses of identity and ethnicity

The literature review and examination of recent relevant research showed that concerns of repeated dualisms of ethnicity being both celebrated yet socially separated (Sreberny, 2005, Georgiou, 2005) within ethnicity and migration studies are still a risk. This study has shown how, through the examination of the duality of structure and agency, ethnicity and identity can be captured as both fluid and reified. The stations were at one moment introvert, bound up within the minutiae of their community, and extrovert, open to the potential for radio to present a fluid and open identity. The literature also demonstrated concerns around the repeated use of hyphenated and dualistic identities. The risk is for the same reification and the same drawing of boundaries that seals cultures off from one another. The only value for such a hyphenated identity is challenging these boundaries (Pilkington, 2003). The research findings and analysis showed how agents move through different aspects of identity with little consideration of their externally perceived self. When identity was discussed during interviews the need to 'choose' an identity, even hyphenated, caused bafflement amongst interviewees. There continues to be a shortage of studies which examine the reproduction of identity and ethnicity through interaction and everyday life. Possible future studies should utilise the methodological and analytical framework developed here to examine the use of ethnicity and identity in other areas of organisational and institutional daily life.

9 Appendices

Appendix one - The coding framework

This diagram shows the code families and their nodes created in Atlas.ti for the analysis. The families move from the general disposition and the situated conduct internal to the agent out to the context of positioned others and finally to possible agent action. The final ones draws from both conduct and context analysis.



Appendix two - Objectives, their relevant questions and codes

The following list shows each objective of the study, the corresponding questions which sought to answer the objective and the codes created for the framework that were drawn together during the findings and analysis.

1. To provide a descriptive and explanatory account of ethnic minority radio stations and their digital and analogue operating environment
    a. What constitutes ethnic minority radio and their digital and analogue operating environment? (positioned contextual rule use, inter-relationship structures, community structures, situated rule-reference, eventfulness, dailiness)
    b. What are the personal experiences of those involved in shaping the radio stations and the environment they operate in? (personal perspectives, self-narrative, language, music,)
2. To analyse and establish how these institutions are sustained through the interactions of relevant agents
    a. In what way do rules, resources and power play a role between positioned agents in the constitution of the station? (situated and contextual rules, resources, constraints, enablement, causal influence, inter-relationship structures)
    b. How do ethnic minority radio stations reach and interact with their audiences? (enablement, constraint, situated and contextual rule use, language, shared memories, influences, situated motives, resources, collective identity, community structures)
3. To provide a theoretical understanding of the uses of 'radio broadcasting' by the agents which employ it
    a. How do relevant agents interact to create, reproduce and alter the structures of the programmes? (intentionality, sincerity, sociability, dailiness, eventfulness)
4. To determine the role the selected stations and the media messages they produce play in the development and communication of ethnicity and identity
    a. How do relevant agents interact to create, reproduce and alter the structures of ethnicity and identity through their programmes? (general and positioned fluidity, reification, authenticity, identity contextual rule use, situated rule use)
5. To contribute knowledge on the application of structuration and radio theory in the analysis of radio stations and their agents

Appendix three - Quoted participants

This table shows the interviewees, dates of interviews and their roles. Only those quoted in the thesis are listed below though other interviews took place and informed the analysis.

Station & Interview	Date	Role
Ofcom		
Head of Spectrum Investigation	02/12/2008	Managed investigations into pirate radio
Commercial Radio Manager	02/12/2008	Handled commercial radio licensing and DAB research
Head of Community Radio	08/04/2009	Managed community radio
Spectrum Radio		
Director	02/12/2008	Head of Spectrum Radio which allocates programme slots to ethnic minority groups in London
Somali on Air		
Manager	02/12/2008 20/06/2009	Manager and lifelong friend of the Co-Manager
Saturday DJ	02/12/2008	Young male presenter recently migrated from Somalia
Co-manager	02/12/2008	Co-Manager, handled training, lifelong friend of the Manager
Manager and Female Presenter	22/01/2009	
Female presenter	26/05/2009	Presented the phone-in programme
Buzz FM		
DJ	29/05/2009	DJ at the station and manager of its online presence
Irish Spectrum		
Manager	02/12/2008	Manager of the station, presenter of BBC Irish Link and roadshow manager
Listener	03/02/2009	Attended the roadshow
Roadshow Guest	02/06/2009	Friend of the manager and attendee of the roadshows
Manager	12/03/2009	Additional interview
Colourful Radio		
News Manager and Director	05/07/2008	The News Manager co-founded Colourful with the Director
Lifestyle Presenter	12/03/2009	Trained in community broadcasting and presented the morning magazine show
Soul 360 DJ	12/03/2009	Experienced DJ, member of Soul II Soul
Head of Radio and Sales Manager	12/03/2009	
Sales Manager	12/03/2009	Recently moved from Jazz FM to manager the new sales team
Music Manager	12/03/2009	Choice FM DJ who was temporarily at Colourful

Station & Interview	Date	Role
Head of Radio	13/03/2009	Manager and founder of Kiss FM who helped change Colourful from talk to music format
Pirate Radio Listener	20/04/2009	
Reggae DJ	26/04/2009	Experienced ex-pirate broadcaster and club DJ
Soul DJ	09/06/2009	Experienced ex-pirate broadcaster and club DJ
Director	09/06/2009	Founder of Colourful radio
News Manager and Head of Radio	27/07/2009	
BBC Asian Network		
Senior Broadcast Journalist	02/12/2008	Worked in the news department in Leicester
Music Manager	02/12/2008	Managed overall music strategy from Birmingham
Phone-in DJ	02/12/2008	Music and talk DJ, also worked across the BBC
News Manager	02/12/2008	Managed news content from Leicester
Network Manager	02/12/2008 12/02/2009	Managed the Network and the Mela where the first interview took place
Phone-in Producer	02/12/2008	Produced the morning talk slot
Arts Producer	08/12/2008	Produced the lunchtime arts programme
Promoter	03/02/2009	Music and club promoter met at the Ministry of Sound Uni Tour
Researcher	12/02/2009	Breakfast news researcher in Birmingham
Radio Asian Fever FM		
Manager	02/12/2008	Manager of the radio station, ex-Apni Awaz pirate
Manager and Co-Manager	02/12/2008	
Co-Manager	02/12/2008	Co-manager, presenter, administration and funding manager
Female DJ	02/12/2008	Young female DJ who presenter the Bhagra show, later went to take part in Dance India
Bhangra DJ	02/12/2008 18/03/2009	Young male DJ who volunteered alongside doing his degree
Friday Afternoon and Sunday Evening DJ	17/03/2009	Experienced presenter, ex-Apni Awaz
Co-Manager	20/03/2009	
Phone-in Presenter	20/03/2009	Co-presented the Wednesday phone-in programme
Co-Manager	20/03/2009	
Ghazals DJ	08/06/2009	Presented the afternoon traditional poetry show
Afternoon Presenter	08/06/2009	Presented a Kashmiri folk show
Afternoon DJ	05/06/2009	Presented a bhangra/Bollywood show alongside her own work

Appendix four - Accepted conference abstracts

IAMCR 2007 Conference, Paris

The Exploration of New Technologies by Ethnic Minority Radio Stations

This paper examines ethnic minority radio in the context of digitalisation and the adoption of DAB (Digital Audio Broadcasting) by the UK Government, as the preferred technology for the future development of radio. As part of a continuing doctoral research project on ethnic minority radio in the UK, the paper presents the first stage of the empirical investigation which examines the perspectives of both community and commercial broadcasters. The adoption of the Community Radio Order 2004 by the UK communications regulator Ofcom paved the way for community radio stations to become full-time and 'legitimate' in serving their local areas. These stations are part of a growing and profitable ethnic minority radio market which serves the multiethnic communities of the UK. This growth has taken place in the context of significant technical change which has seen the adoption of digital broadcasting encompassing DAB, the internet and satellite services.

The research has taken a qualitative approach in interviewing the broadcasters and industry leaders of ethnic radio stations; points are illustrated by pilot qualitative and quantitative audience survey. This paper argues that ethnic minority stations are now some of the most progressive and innovative users of new broadcasting technologies which are used to reach trans-national and dispersed audiences. The thematic analysis of the interviews is contextualised by an audience survey demonstrating the role ethnic stations play in the listener's lives.

The research's theoretical underpinnings are informed by the notion of 'interpretive flexibility', a concept taken from the Social Construction of Technology. Social constructionists such as Bijker (2001) argue that relevant social groups (RSG's) hold different interpretations of a technology and in certain circumstances, technologies which were thought to be 'closed' can be reopened. This theoretical framework explores the relevant social groups (broadcasters, audience, regulators, Government and associated bodies) shaping the technological, regulatory, commercial and social factors. The paper's core argument is that the combination of relevant social groups and technological factors have caused minority broadcasters to move away from mainstream broadcasting practices and to adopt alternative methods of reaching their audience. These include internet streaming, pod-casting, satellite channels and other media in the field of radio broadcasting and listening.

The paper illustrates the roles that relevant social groups have played in producing the stalemate which characterises the present state of DAB in the UK. This impasse has motivated minority radio stations to experiment with new broadcasting technologies. It argues that by doing so, these relevant social groups have reopened the technological debate which hitherto DAB was considered to have 'closed'. Service providers and listeners alike are embracing new technologies and thus increasing 'interpretive flexibility'. The future of DAB and Government regulation is shown to be open to searching questions.

ECREA 2008 Conference, Barcelona

Ethnic minority radio and audience identity within the UK

This paper examines ethnic minority radio in the context of the move towards digitalisation, though not necessarily by the UK Government preferred technology of DAB.

Adoption of the Community Radio Order 2004 by the UK communications regulator Ofcom paved the way for community radio stations to become full-time and 'legitimate' in serving their local areas. These stations are part of a growing and profitable ethnic minority radio market which serves the multiethnic communities of the UK. This growth has taken place in the context of significant technical change which has seen the adoption of digital broadcasting encompassing DAB, the internet and satellite services.

As part of a continuing doctoral research project on ethnic minority radio in the UK, the paper presents the initial analysed station-based case studies of selected ethnic minority stations and their audiences. The paper takes a qualitative approach utilising interview, observation, listening diaries and focus groups. Giddens' theory of Structuration (1984) is employed to address the two main aspects of the research:

1. An examination of the stations, relevant media institutions and their digital and analogue operating environment

2. An investigation of the relevant agents which interact to reproduce and sustain these structures

Three primary concepts are used from Structuration theory, those of agency, structure and time-space. They help to frame and analyse the subtle interplay between the structures (broadcasters, regulators, Government and associated bodies), the audiences and individuals involved with ethnic minority radio (agents) who constitute the reproduction of these structures across time and geography.

The paper demonstrates the 'duality of structure', the dialogue between individual agents which reproduces the structure; this allows an examination of the environment which the stations are operating in and the challenges for ethnic minority radio. The concept of time-space provides a tool for analysis in identifying the structures, those that persist across time through their ongoing reproduction by the agent such as language. Time-space carries through to an enquiry of programme styles and

production; how the stretching of time and distance in recorded programmes, as opposed to those broadcast live, carries through to the listener.

The use of Structuration theory, Giddens' later theories surrounding issues of modernity and the self are combined to approach station and audience research in a wider context. This paper posits a move away from traditional reception studies; instead, it brings radio research into the broader sphere of modernity and into the heart of everyday mediated interaction.

Radio Conference 2009, Toronto

Communicating Ethnicity and Identity

As part of a continuing doctoral research project on ethnic minority radio and audience identity in the UK, this paper presents an analysis of the programmes broadcast by the stations and their role in communicating ethnicity and identity. The paper takes a qualitative approach utilising interview, observation and programme analysis. Giddens' theory of Structuration (1984) is employed alongside Paddy Scannell's work on dailiness and identity (Scannell, 1996) to address the two main aspects of the paper:

1. An examination of the programmes broadcast, their sociable tones, intentions and how this ties into the daily lives of the listener.

2. How these programmes are bound up with the communication of ethnicity and identity.

The programme analysis utilises themes identified by Scannell for studying radio in everyday life. These themes seek to connect 'the meaningfulness of programmes…the intentions of the programme makers and the institutions in which they work, and the interpretations of any viewer or listener' (Scannell, 1996, p. 3). This approach is supported by aspects of Giddens' Structuration theory. Station staff and listeners (agents) use their tacit knowledge to inform actions which are negotiated through a mutual dialogue. These daily interactions form the intentions, identity and authenticity that these programmes communicate to the audience.

The paper builds on this work by treating identity and ethnicity as situated in daily interactions calling on structural rules and resources. It explores how ethnic minority radio programmes have relevance to station staff and listeners in reflecting, reifying or contributing to their multi-faceted identity.

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