Discourses of Community Radio;

Social Gain Policies in Practice

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December 2018

A Dissertation presented in Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Media and Cultural Studies

Abstract

This research explores how three community radio stations in Birmingham (the UK's second largest city) conceptualise and articulate social gain policy objectives in practice, in the context of their own communities. Social gain is a key aspect of the community radio licencing framework in the UK and as a central tenet, each criterion was designed to ensure stations focus their activity and output around representing and serving the identified community. Much of the previous work into community radio has focussed on its potential for serving underrepresented communities where there are gaps in provision. In the UK, public service is the domain of the BBC and community radio is often discussed as an alternative rather than an extension of public service provision. As such, community radio receives limited financial support and funding streams are restricted.

This research draws from interviews and observations in community radio environments to understand how those working in each station articulate social gain in practice. The research found that articulations of social gain have changed since each station was licenced as a result of wider changes to the political economy of radio. Therefore, each station has relied on a Station Manager to understand the discourse of policy outlined in the station's key commitments and articulate it as a discourse of purpose to volunteers to ensure they produce culturally and contextually appropriate programming. However, as wider radio landscapes have changed, so too have the practices of community radio. Where a strong infrastructure has been created with key figures in place, the research outlines how each station has adapted their activity to keep the station on air in these new climates. However, where key elements are missing from the structure articulating social gain has been impeded.

This thesis outlines the specific factors that facilitate and impede the articulation of social gain through contemporary community radio. The growing tensions between articulating social gain objectives as policy and delivering these in practice is in danger of overshadowing the principles at the very core of community radio. Therefore, a re-consideration of social gain to continue to develop communities is called for.

Contents

Abstract

Acknowledgements

There are a number of people I would like to thank. To colleagues from the Birmingham School of Media, thank you all for the support, endless encouragement and cups of coffee when needed. Faye Davies, without your ear to bend I would never have finished, you always know the right thing to say and when to say it. You are a great teacher, mentor and friend. Annette Naudin thank you for being my research mentor, your enthusiasm always reminds me what a privilege it is to work with like-minded people. Thanks to Yemisi Akinbola for helping me set targets, they proved invaluable. Rachel-Ann Charles our long conversations about community media and how it could change the world encouraged me to stay focussed and for that I will always be grateful, thank you. Matt Grimes, Iain Taylor, Paul Bradshaw and Ross Hawkes, thanks for the giggles, the quizzes, the punk, name that tune, keeping it real like Ian Beale, the beers and making the office such a great place to be in between teaching and research. I would also like to thank Dr. Nick Webber for your supervision and encouraging me to be the expert on my own work and Dr. Simon Barber (aka Dr Jazz). Thank you for reminding how much I love community radio and why my work is important; You truly are a gem and I could not have finished without you. To Professors Tim Wall, John Mercer and Nick Gebhardt, thank you all for your supervision in the early days and for encouraging me to keep going. I would also like to thank all the community radio staff and volunteers who took part in this research and allowed me into their world. You are amazing people who do great work and for that and for restoring my faith in communities, I cannot thank you enough.

Last but never ever least, I would like to thank my family; Rich for always being on my side, making me laugh and reminding me not to sweat the small stuff.

Tiarna and Shea, life is as easy or as hard as you make it and the only person that can limit you is you, so aim high and see where it takes you; It's worth it for the adventure.

Finally, Georgina and Owen I hope I made you proud.

Introduction

Why community radio and why social gain?

This thesis explores how the key commitments laid out in three different community radio licenses were constructed and articulated in practice through station policies, programming and other initiatives to demonstrate social gain in community radio environments. The idea of translating a policy into a set of communicative actions to benefit a specific community is complex, but this research set out to capture the different ways in which communities approach this task. It highlights there are a number of factors which inform articulation and can facilitate or impede how successfully it is achieved in practice. The thesis discusses how characteristics of each community such as location, markers of ethnicity, including language and class, along with lived experience inform these articulations in three diverse communities in Birmingham. The social gain policy comprises four key criteria, which each station must demonstrate and report on annually as part of their licensing agreement.

These are outlined in paragraph two of the Community Radio Order of 2004 as:

- The provision of sound broadcasting services to individuals who are otherwise underserved by such services.
- The facilitation of discussion and the expression of opinion.
- The provision (whether by means of programmes included in the service or otherwise) of education or training to individuals not employed by the person providing the service.
- The better understanding of the particular community and the strengthening of links within it.

(Community Radio Order, 2004)

In May 2018, Ofcom awarded 8 new community radio licences taking the total to over 250 stations broadcasting over the air community radio in the UK (Ofcom, 2018). Each of these stations serves a different community but as they are all expected to adhere to social gain objectives laid out above, each criterion will be subject to different interpretations. Therefore, the research sought to understand how three licensed community radio stations in the UK's second largest city conceptualise and articulate these criteria in practice in their context of their own communities.

Community Radio is often articulated by key cultural organisations, governments and researchers, as the only credible alternative to public service and commercial models of radio (AMARC, 2018, Unesco, 2016, IPPR, 2016, Atton, 2001, Rodriguez, 2004, Meadows et al, 2007, Stoller, 2010, Lewis, 2010, 2016). It is perceived by those outlined above as offering an opportunity for communities to participate in producing content which truly reflects their diversity and needs. In support of these ideas when the sector was ratified in the UK in 2004, the government wrote social gain into the licensing framework to ensure each station would deliver culturally and contextually representative programming and other tangible benefits such as education and training in their respective communities. Using the social gain policy as a starting point, the research also set out to answer the following four questions:

1. **How do community radio principles and practices differ to those of other radio sectors?**
2. **How do organisational structures impact the delivery of social gain?**
3. **How do different community characteristics impact the articulation of social gain?**
4. **How have changing political, economic, social and technological factors impacted community radio production and the articulation of social gain since the sector's inception?**

To understand the answers to these research questions, they must be considered in relation to secondary research, which contextualises the development and growth of the contemporary community radio sector. Through exploring key points in public service and commercial radio histories along with changing audiences and their agency, the thesis contextualises community radio's principles and changing practices over the past 14 years since the sector was officially launched. This work is also concerned with investigating how those involved in community radio negotiate the demands of keeping a radio station on air, with fulfilling the needs of their respective communities and effectively articulating the social gain policy in practice against a backdrop of changing political, social, economic and technological landscapes.

My interest in researching community radio stems from my personal experience as a beneficiary of community radio training, which gave me the skills and confidence needed to pursue a career in radio. Although I have developed transferable skills, which have enabled me to move across media and also work in television and film production, I have always come back to radio, working for a number of BBC local, national and community stations over a period of twenty-two years. I began working as a Lecturer researching radio over ten years ago whilst still working for the BBC. During this time, I have witnessed changes in the political economy of radio, production practices and values, some of which are discussed in this thesis. Despite this new environment, radio is still one of the few media forms accessible and available to those with restricted access to the digital world (Lewis, 2006). My passion for radio has grown as I have moved through each phase of my working life and come to understand its potential as a medium for communication, but also as a vehicle for building skills, confidence and aspiration whilst offering opportunities for people to represent themselves in their own terms.

A second motivation for this research is an interest in communities and the pride I take from living in the youngest (Birmingham City Council, 2016), majority ethnic (Barrow Cadbury Trust, 2008) city in Europe. Having grown up with Irish parents in Birmingham during the 1970s and 80s, at a time when the Irish were not the most popular community in Birmingham, I felt what it is like to be considered an immigrant in your own city and demonised because of it. The experience was challenging and stayed with me affecting my confidence through my teenage years and into my early twenties, but it taught me the value of respecting other people, the benefits of keeping an open mind and also the assumptions that people make when you don't have an English name. It was not until I went to an African and Caribbean community radio station in Birmingham, that I was encouraged to celebrate my heritage and discuss my experience by producing and presenting an Irish programme as part of a 28-day restricted service licence (RSL). The training I undertook in order to do this consisted of an eight-month course that culminated in the RSL and for which I gained a Higher National Certificate (HNC) in radio broadcasting, accredited by the Open College Network. This course

gave me confidence, transferable skills and aspirations to pursue non-compulsory education and ultimately set me on a path, which led me to PhD research.

I have witnessed first-hand the benefits of community radio training, but also during my career have come to understand the complexities of producing radio within editorial guidelines whilst delivering values embedded in policy frameworks. Whilst working for the BBC, I was responsible for producing radio, but also generating the required supporting paperwork, gaining appropriate permissions, logging music and ensuring all of these elements complied with the BBC Editorial guidelines (BBC, 2018). However, I very rarely reflected on why these things were understood or implemented in the way they were. As a Lecturer, I teach radio research and production, which has led me to reflect on my own practice and question the production practices I use, whilst trying to understand that people interpret production values and overall objectives in different ways. This became a third motivating factor in this research.

As Birmingham is such a diverse city with so many communities, I was interested to find out how those who have applied for community licences feel they address the needs of their community, through radio and demonstrate social gain. I wanted to explore how they balance the demands of keeping the station on air, with delivering social gain in the community. I was also curious to know whether volunteers understand social gain and how they contribute to its articulation in practice. This thesis compares results across three stations, but also the operational challenges each station faces whilst trying to deliver social gain through radio and highlights specific factors, which facilitate and impede these articulations. I selected stations located in different areas of the city, which identify specific ethnic or socially deprived communities as their audience, as these characteristics had framed my own thinking when I was initially trained and produced a show for an Irish community. As discussed in more detail later in the work, this helped to define the aims of the research, which investigates how factors such as perceptions of community, socio-economic status and ethnicity impact each station's key commitments and how they attempt to deliver them.

As a city, Birmingham has previously been the site of much research into communities and markers of ethnicity that distinguish one community from another (Rex & Tomlinson, 1979, Taylor, 1993, Abbas, 2006, Barrow Cadbury Trust, 2008, Myers & Grosvenor, 2011). For a number of years, the city has also been labelled a multicultural city with majority ethnic status, meaning no one ethnic group comprises more than 50% (Barrow Cadbury Trust, 2008). In 2015, the city was listed as the youngest in Europe according to the city council and to date, figures outline 40% of the population as being under 25, with school children from 87 ethnic backgrounds who speak 108 languages (see Birmingham Toolkit, 2018).

Another key piece of research, the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD, 2010 and 2015) also documents Birmingham as hosting some of the most deprived communities in England. All of these statistics suggest that notions of community and what will benefit the residents of those communities, will be very different based on socio-economic status and environment, but also heritage, markers of ethnicity and each person's own sense of identity and position within the city. The data uncovers correlations across the stations researched, between the production values considered necessary for broadcast and a growing debate around amateurs versus professionals in the context of community radio, which will be considered in more detail throughout the work. The research not only highlights how individuals working in community radio stations spread across the city understand their own communities, but also why they choose to contribute to addressing issues within these communities through radio. During previous research into the value of radio as an educational tool for addressing skills gaps and for representing marginalised groups, I argued that in the context of a prison community, radio provided a means for skills acquisition, building aspiration and promoting inclusion (Grimes & Stevenson, 2012: 88-96). Following this, I was keen to compare how communities do this within the parameters of licenced community stations and whether this was actually a form of social gain. When applying for a community licence, potential licensees must identify a community, which can be either geographical or a community of interest, and suggest programming and initiatives which will reflect their needs and interests. In order to obtain a licence, the identified community must be currently under represented through other radio sectors (Ofcom, 2018).

0.1. Observing and analysing community radio

Through a number of interviews with those working in community radio I set out to explore how they understand the social gain criteria and articulate it with their community in mind, negotiating the complexities of acting professionally in a community radio production environment. To further support these interviews, I conducted a number of participant observations of community radio practice in each of the stations to consider structural and performative discourses of professionalism in community radio. These practices can be considered in relation to the themes laid out in the Community Radio Toolkit (2015), which was commissioned by Ofcom and DCMS in 2005 and updated in 2015 to include guidelines for social media policies, in light of social and technological changes. These discourses can be recognised in each context through scheduling, managing programming content and volunteers and their performance. This data is discussed and considered in relation to wider debates around discourses of professionalism in community radio and whether community radio producers and presenters are considered to be amateurs in comparison to those working in other radio sectors.

During this process my research uncovered a window on the complexities and challenges faced by those working and volunteering in community radio in the 21st century, which can be considered in terms of three broad headings outlined below:

- Political, social, economic and technological changes
- Organisational structures
- Community characteristics

Against the backdrop of an increasingly digital radio landscape, the work explores why those involved in the original licence applications believe a community radio station can still address issues in the community, more effectively than any other means. It outlines how changing radio production practices in commercial and BBC radio, along with changing cultures of consumption have impacted community radio production environments and the articulation of social gain. It also discusses the changing listening habits of community radio audiences and

the benefits of reconceptualising discourses of social gain as two strands, which serve both the geographical community (listening over the air) and the extended community listening online.

The thesis also explores the importance of clear organisational structures, key figures within those structures and the relationship between strong infrastructure, supportive station cultures and effective articulations of social gain. It discusses the challenges each station has faced whilst attempting to demonstrate social gain in the form it was originally envisaged and written into each of their licences. As discussed in detail, since the publication of the Community Radio Order in 2004 political, economic, social and technological landscapes in the UK have changed considerably. The research outlines how these factors have impacted the sustainability of each station and how they have attempted to adapt to challenging new environments. The research looks specifically at the organisational and management structures in each station, outlining which key skills and structures each group have developed and which ones they consider vital for successfully articulating discourses of social gain in the current climate.

Finally, the thesis considers how the original communities identified at the time of licensing have changed and how key commitments, processes and the articulation of social gain in each station has adapted (or not), to facilitate serving the needs of changing community aesthetics. It also highlights the value of social actors in keeping volunteers committed to the community, whilst the objectives and workflow of the station are reconsidered, along with re-conceptualising and re-articulating social gain for a changing community with changing needs. Each station researched can be considered as a vehicle for negotiating and articulating complex ethnic, religious and class identities, in what is labelled a multi-cultural city (Birmingham) with deprived areas. However, as the work will argue in the context of a radio production environment, the challenge to articulate one collective community identity externally whilst internally understanding the diversity of volunteers and the audience is challenging. The key to interpreting and serving their needs whilst demonstrating the social gain criteria requires a consideration of all of the factors outlined above.

The research suggests four key elements, which are essential to the effective, sustainable delivery of social gain in consistently changing landscapes. These include at least one person in the station who can articulate a dual discourse of community radio policy to the committee and managers and community radio purpose to volunteers. This assists in the station's ability to externally articulate one community, but base social gain provision on the understanding that this community actually consists of a number of diverse members, with diverse needs. The second key element outlined is a need for training to be delivered or overseen by volunteers who have been through the training process and are competent in community radio production, who have an understanding of the community and the process of learning. This training should not only include radio production skills, but basic digital literacy skills to empower volunteers and community members to look beyond the geographical community.

The research concludes that moving forward into the 21st century, social gain delivered through community radio has the potential to empower local, national and international communities and can be considered to facilitate what Howley (2010:343) terms 'globalisation from below'. However, if this potential is to be realised, social gain needs to be reconceptualised as two strands. The first strand should recognise social gain as tangible with the ability to serve local communities through local information, culturally and contextually relevant content and structured training programmes delivered or overseen by other volunteers from the station community. The second strand should recognise social gain as virtual, with the potential to serve virtual communities through representative community content, which is re-packaged (if necessary) to reduce the amount of local information and supported by online training packages filmed and edited by those volunteers delivering it in the station. This will benefit national and transnational communities by providing them with relevant content and online learning facilities. It will also assist with facilitating new strategic partnerships for the station through online advertising and provide alternative funding streams, through a hybrid model where the station earns money through selling content but profits are used to sustain the station and their work in developing the geographic community. This will recast social gain in a neo-liberal context, keeping the principles of not for profit

community radio at the heart of station. If social gain can be recalibrated in this way it offers the potential for each station to remain stable supported by a gimbal (or compass) style structure whilst political, social and technological factors continue to shift and change around it.

0.2. Outline and structure

The thesis is organised over seven chapters, which begin by outlining debates in the field. There is a discussion of the methods used for gathering data, an analysis of the data gathered and finally conclusions and suggestions for further research are drawn together in the final chapter.

Chapter one outlines the emergence of the contemporary community radio sector by contextualising it in relation to public service approaches to the development of the wider radio landscape in Britain. The chapter outlines that despite demand for alternatives to BBC and subsequent commercial services since the 1930s, the sector struggled to gain support politically and economically, because of a focus on maintaining the BBC's monopoly on public service broadcasting and supporting the growth of the commercial radio sector. The chapter argues a key factor in the sectors establishment was the changing diversity and agency of audiences, but the legacy of priorities outlined above led to the creation of a licensing framework, which was not designed to withstand changing political and economic landscapes. As a result of this community radio has been overlooked as opposed to prioritised and the sector's potential has been limited impacting the articulation of social gain in communities and ultimately their development.

Chapter two explores the principles and practices of community radio along with the potential benefits including skills acquisition and as a platform for exercising individual human rights (UN, AMARC, 2016). The chapter continues with a discussion of how programming a community radio station differs to a BBC or commercial radio station. In doing so, the chapter interrogates secondary research commissioned and published by Ofcom and the Department for Media, Culture & Sport in 2005 called the Community Radio Toolkit. The toolkit was updated in 2015 to include advice on social media policies and practice for community radio

stations. The research details considerations for community radio management, production and output whilst considering published examples of best practice. These suggestions are considered in relation to wider debates regarding production values and strategies in radio studies scholarship and the wider radio industry. The chapter concludes as community radio stations begin to increasingly adopt commercial radio practices as their economic model becomes unsustainable and listener figures become more important when trying to attract funding, there is a danger the principles of the sector and benefits of social gain could be overlooked in a bid to keep stations on air in a neo-liberal world which overlooks social impact in favour of economic impact.

Chapter three is a discussion of the methods used for gathering data. After initially outlining the process for selection of case study stations, the chapter reflects on the steps undertaken to gain access recruiting research participants, interviewing them and observing studio sessions in each station. Having initially been trained in a community radio environment and subsequently having worked in BBC radio production, I was aware of the key elements required when producing and presenting radio programmes. However, revisiting community radio environments twenty years later enabled me to observe and question what volunteers prioritise in community radio environments from a critical perspective through an ethnographic study. My previous experience working on a BBC national oral history project in partnership with the British Library led me to use this approach when conducting interviews to enable participants to shape the research. As the principles of community radio are underpinned by giving ‘a voice to the voiceless’ (AMARC, 2016), I wanted to give interviewees the opportunity to discuss aspects of community radio they felt were important and outline why they participate, rather than leading the discussion. I interviewed committee members, managers and volunteers in each station to get a clear understanding of how social gain is understood at each level in the process of implementing the policy in practice through the station. The chapter also explains how frame analysis and articulation theory were used to analyse each participant’s actions and how these articulations fed into established discourses in each station. To gain a deeper understanding each articulation was then considered in relation to five key points outlined in the circuit of culture model (Du Gay et al, 2013) whose central

tenets correlate with key aspects of community radio culture and output. The chapter also considers ethical issues arising from the research.

Chapter four explores how each of the case study stations constructed and articulated discourses of social gain through a set of key commitments for their respective stations which were built in to their licences. Each of the interviewees involved at this early stage in the station's history framed a set of key issues for which they believed a community radio station was the solution to addressing these issues in their own communities. The chapter argues that although each station based their licence application on articulating one aspect which they felt united the community, serving this agenda has become more problematic as political, social, economic and technological environments have changed. With traditional funding streams being withdrawn two out of the three stations only have one paid member of staff. In this new environment the chapter explores some of the practicalities of articulating social gain objectives when relying on volunteers. It also explores the challenges of recruiting volunteers to so called 'back room' positions when the majority believe being a DJ is more glamorous and will ultimately lead them to better employment opportunities.

Chapter five discusses organisational structures and the role these play in motivating volunteers. It also explores the role and value of social actors who have an in-depth knowledge of radio production in community radio environments. It discusses the benefits of clear processes and clearly defined roles in a community radio environment and the impact of this clarity (or lack of) on community participation in the station. The chapter concludes whether as a formal leader (Station Manager) or informal leader (established volunteer), without social actors in place, the station structures begin to break down and the collective mentality is jeopardised as volunteers begin to lose their motivation and respect for the collective, ultimately impacting the station's ability to articulate and deliver social gain.

Chapter six focuses on volunteers, exploring personal qualities that motivate them to volunteer their time in an attempt to represent the community, even when the environment and demands become increasingly challenging. It explores the associated benefits for

individual volunteers in developing radio production skills in a community radio environment. The chapter concludes that learning skills, testing them in a community setting and gaining positive feedback from others, builds confidence and motivates volunteers to continue to improve content for the community. This chapter also discusses the complexities of negotiating and articulating a collective community identity through the station when volunteers have multiple national, ethnic, religious and class identities that they draw on dependent on context. The chapter explores how these challenges manifest through politics within the station, the relationships between volunteers and the overall station content.

Chapter seven draws together conclusions from the research, outlining how each station articulates social gain in practice and which factors facilitate and impede these articulations. It also speculates on the significance of these findings in relation to the original research questions. It discusses the tensions between articulating structural, internal and external discourses of social gain in practice, observed in each station and suggested during interviews. The chapter ends by making suggestions for re-conceptualising social gain to ensure its sustainability in a neo-liberal context, so the much-revered principles of community radio remain a central tenet of the sector's offering and makes suggestions for further research to explore the feasibility of these suggestions.

Chapter 1

Contextualising Contemporary Community Radio and Audiences

This chapter explores community radio in relation to the growth and development of the wider radio industry and approaches to commercialism in Britain, to understand the community radio sector and the policy framework within which each station currently operates. The chapter argues that the legacy of government desire to restrict and control the speed and growth of radio limited conceptualisations of public service and the public, whose growing agency led to demand for more representative content.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Britain observed the development of radio in the USA and considered their commercial model crude (Lewis & Booth, 1989:12-13, Hendy 2000, Stoller 2010, Linfoot 2011). As a result, successive British Government's sought to control the speed and growth of the radio industry to ensure public service was at its core. In doing so, new radio sectors were only introduced in Britain when strategies for distinguishing and controlling the inclusion (and exclusion) of participants had been established. Despite calls for alternatives to the BBC's public service broadcasting content and the later commercial offerings from Independent Local Radio (ILR), it was only when community radio offered solutions to a number of social and commercial agendas and the potential to silence demand for alternatives, that the sector gained support in the 1990s. At this juncture, the proposed third sector offered a means to serve audiences the BBC and commercial stations could not, without undermining the nature and direction of their content or regulated service. Community radio also offered a chance to placate community groups, activists and amateurs demanding alternatives to BBC and commercial services, provide a community platform to articulate emerging approaches to wider cultural policy and demanded very little of the public purse.

The foundational aspects discussed in this and the next chapter locate the *Access Radio* pilot scheme and community radio legislation in a developmental context, which also saw new approaches to cultural policy emerging. It is also important to consider economic context in this discussion, as the development of distinct funding streams that had a primary focus on

regenerating communities often worked in partnership with stations working in the third sector of radio (that of the 'community'). These developments were politically motivated as the government viewed these partnerships as inevitable in the context of community work. Therefore, this led to the inclusion of community organisations in the delivery of the social gain policy as delegating responsibility for monitoring outputs in exchange for funding, was viewed as a viable funding strategy. The detail of this chapter will outline that since the recession of 2008, these funds have diminished and the economic model for facilitating community radio has broken down, leaving its long-term sustainability in jeopardy.

This thesis argues that community radio stations articulate discourses of social gain in ways, which are context dependent. Furthermore, I argue such articulations are dependent on cultural and economic issues faced at specific points in time by the communities who form the producers and target audience for such stations. This chapter will outline a legacy of tensions between radio's objectives to serve the British public, whilst evolving as a form of entertainment, from which profit could be made. I believe the impact of this is still being felt by contemporary community radio stations which instead of being viewed as an extension to Britain's public service provision (and financially supported as such), are instead limited in their methods to support and deliver social gain and overlooked in terms of financial support to do so. Therefore, this chapter provides vital context. The subsequent chapters outline that there are specific impediments that impact the ease with which stations can meet the social and cultural needs of such communities through social gain. It is further suggested that the wider political economy of radio is changing forcing cultural factors to shift in an attempt to adapt to these changing landscapes and thus community radio stations are struggling to remain on air and deliver social gain in light of such changes. The wider implications of this are threatening the sustainability of delivering contextually appropriate, meaningful articulations of social gain through community radio.

The discussion below provides important context for the construction of a community radio sector and articulations of social gain, as changing conditions have had a significant impact on the provision and development of content and initiatives (or lack thereof) for benefitting diverse communities.

1.1. Britain's Public Service Approach to Radio

To understand the distinct cultural, social, and political demands on community radio to represent and serve specific communities through social gain, it is vital to understand Britain's approach to adopting community radio and attempts to use it as an unofficial extension to existing public service provision. Historic debates argue this approach was patriarchal and responsible for cultivating a myth that broadcasting spectrum was scarce and therefore, radio was only available through the BBC (Hilmes, 2003). It is suggested the creation of the BBC was both a political decision designed to appease those interested in developing radio as a new technology and medium for communication but also a 'rejection of politics', as there were concerns about the government using radio as a tool for propaganda (Curran & Seaton, 2003:111-127). The later transition of the BBC to a corporation governed by a charter review enabled the government through the BBC monopoly to publicly appear to have no direct control over the BBC, whilst maintaining a level of control (through it) over the speed and direction in which radio developed. As discussed later in this chapter, since its establishment in the 1920s, the BBC's monopoly has been regularly challenged as a threat to freedom of speech and diversity (Street, 2002).

The British government perceived radio as a public utility rather than a commercial entity (Crisell 2002:16-17), which formed the context for its on-going development into the 21st century. This is a key factor for consideration of subsequent sectors including what would eventually become known as the community radio sector. As the number of stakeholders grew to include commercial companies, the shipping industry and radio enthusiasts (Lewis & Booth 1989:52-54), the Post Office (at the time a government department) became concerned they would lose control of the airwaves (Curran & Seaton 2003:103-110). Therefore, they argued that reflecting the American commercial model, would lead to economic and cultural chaos (Lewis & Booth, 1989:51-53). As a shortage of spectrum in Britain had already been posited, the decision to bring together a number of commercial companies to share the available spectrum appeared the fairest solution to this problem (Curran & Seaton, 2003:104). This coupled with a desire to distinguish British radio from its American counterpart led to strict regulation (Street, 2002:24 -35), which limited activity and

created a legacy of tension between maintaining a public service and controlling commercialism through regulation. It is this legacy, which I believe underpins current community radio policy. Several radio historians discuss the development of the British public service model under the BBC (Lewis & Booth, 1989:1-4, Curran & Seaton, 2003, Barnard 2000:9-12, Street, 2002, Hilmes, 2003:13-27), suggesting the principles on which programming was based in Britain, were a creation of BBC staff assumptions of a shared middle-class taste, rather than the representation of diverse communities.

The technological context of radio's development through the BBC also impacted the speed at which other radio services developed (Linfoot, 2011) and sectors were regulated (Street, 2002:28). The BBC's initial services could only broadcast locally up to a twenty-five-mile radius (ibid). Therefore, the resulting discourses of public service suggested that decentralised, open access community styles of radio were the long-term goal of the British government (Hilmes, 2003:14-15). However, this was not the intention of the BBC, whose focus lay on developing an overarching national service (Linfoot, 2011). The patriarchal nature of the BBC was said to be a result of Reith's Presbyterian characteristics (Silvey, 1974:13) and led him to believe the institution (under his direction) knew what was best for the British public along with those producing content, who believed themselves superior and therefore able to speak for and represent the audience (Curran & Seaton 2003:108).

Therefore, British notions of public service as a set of cultural rather than commercial values (Hilmes, 2003:17) were distinguished as not for profit, available to the whole population, positioned the public as one great audience, whilst also offering a means of unified control (Briggs, 1961) and these qualities were credited as shaping broadcasting policy in Britain (Lewis & Booth, 1989:51-56). Despite monopolies being commercial in nature, the BBC rearticulated the term through a lens of Christian morality, giving radio a social role (Curran & Seaton, 2010:104-107) delivered through a fair trustworthy system. This was re-enforced by the Sykes and Crawford Committees set up in 1923 and 1926 respectively to scrutinise its provision.

In considering the literature so far, it suggests that approaches to broadcasting in Britain were shaped by a desire to limit commercial activity and control access to the airwaves through

restricting the amount of organisations involved in radio's development. The British Government viewed the profit driven approach taken by the USA, as vulgar. Therefore, the desire to distinguish the British radio landscape as a utility founded on public service values and administered through one organisation meant regulatory frameworks were constructed and interpreted through a paternalistic lens (Stoller, 2010). As this research will demonstrate in detail in chapter four, the licensing process for community radio (despite being constructed over seventy years later) continues to restrict the activities of those who enter the broadcasting arena and enables the UK regulator (Ofcom) to control stations and their output through annual reporting mechanisms (Ofcom, 2018). The BBC and its role in the wider British radio landscape has clearly changed since its historical foundations outlined above, but the focus on public service is important for quantifying the role of the BBC in relation to community radio. There are, however, further developmental contexts to be considered in order to fully understand how early approaches to radio informed the establishment of community radio, regulation, and practice.

Once the BBC became a corporation in 1927, broadcasting was left in the hands of the organisatio**n** as a number of prominent politicians, manufacturers and even the Prime Minister were said to be impressed with Reith's leadership and shaping of the organisation which became known as a 'central component of British Culture' (Curran & Seaton, 2010:106-109). According to Wall & Webber (2014: 1-18) to understand the role of new technologies we must consider how they are 'deployed in specific historical moments' (2014: 4). When trying to understand this in the context of the BBC, Crisell's *Introductory History of British broadcasting* (2002) outlines the scaling down of services during World War II in detail and Linfoot's *History of BBC Local Radio in England* (2011) details the BBC's objectives following the war. Both of these authors argue the BBC prioritised technology in a bid to maintain their monopoly, but overlooked social changes which happened during World War II. These included changing communities and fragmenting audiences, which the BBC attempted to address by focussing on a pyramid of programming, assuming audiences would continue to be satisfied by moving around this pyramid. Street (2002:87) argues the BBC began to develop culturally post-war, but prioritising improving technology and expanding their reach into television, slowed their response to changing audiences who as they had in the 1930s

(Skues, 1994: 1-7) began to again seek services elsewhere to satisfy their tastes (Street, 2002:106-108).

Linfoot (2011) along with Wall and Webber (2014) detail specific social and cultural changes, including large swathes of audiences moving to music radio, whilst the BBC focussed on developing local provision (Linfoot, 2011:7). Although there are suggestions that this was another BBC attempt to 'defuse calls for competition' and counteract any criticism of their monopoly (Lewis & Booth, 1989:23), they failed to comprehend the popularity of pirate radio in the 1960s which left the institution in a precarious position (Street, 2002:107). Chapman's (2002) history of pirate radio discusses the ease with which pirate stations gained younger audiences by focussing on playing more popular (recorded) music. The popularity of pirate stations highlighted that young people were not being served through the BBC model of public service or its pyramid of listening. As the pirate stations were neither regulated nor outlawed, they became the biggest threat to the BBC's monopoly and thus their main competition, indirectly putting pressure on the British government to introduce a pluralistic radio model (Skues, 1994).

The *Marine Offences Act (1967)* made pirate radio in Britain illegal and the timing of the legislation suggests it was designed to re-establish the BBC's monopoly by including music programming in the public service menu, through the introduction of Radio 1, Radio 2, Radio 3 and Radio 4. Consulting histories of pirate radio (Skues, 1994, Chapman, 2002, Crisell, 2002) they suggest the government began working on plans to introduce controlled commercialism into the British radio landscape in the 1960s, but were keen to ensure British commercial stations would be local and have public service principles at their core (Stoller, 2010). Although the 1960s restructure of the BBC demonstrated a recognition that the public consisted of multiple audiences (as opposed to one), their obligation to serve them under the banner of public service broadcasting became increasingly challenging as these audiences continued to diversify further in terms of race and cultural practices (Taylor, 1993). With increasing immigration and improving technologies (Street, 2002:105-107) more people had the opportunity to broadcast (albeit illegally) in Britain, but also the ability to access alternative content domestically and overseas.

In 1973 when the first Independent Local Radio (ILR) station went on air, the British government believed it had found a solution to introducing controlled commercialism which would silence critics demanding representative content and move audiences away from pirate radio (Lewis & Booth, 1989). However, the public service requirements which ILR stations had to demonstrate saw them turning to the government for more funding to support them, as expectations were unsustainable (Stoller, 2010: 131-137). Starkey argues at this time the BBC were serving large chunks of the national audience with distinct content (Starkey, 2015:42-43) which would have eaten up most of the profits being made by commercial radio. As I will discuss in more detail in chapter four, these are now issues impacting community radio stations. When the community radio pilot ran 28 years later in 2001 (which we will discuss in more detail later in the chapter), fifteen stations were given the opportunity to extend temporary licences operating in their community, to measure and evaluate the impact. Of the fifteen stations, all of them were training volunteers and producing culturally and contextually representative content for their communities, neither of which was being undertaken (in their view) by the BBC or commercial radio (Everitt, 2003). As the two existing radio sectors could not stem the calls for alternative services or meet the demands of continually fragmenting audiences, it is important that we consider the audience in more depth. To understand what is at stake if the community radio sector becomes unsustainable in the long term, it is important to understand the role of the audience and how this changed as they adopted radio listening as a cultural practice.

1.2. The role of the audience

The discussion above outlines the role of the British Government, cultural factors, and the development of British radio as a public service model. This approach highlights the importance of understanding such contexts as foundational to the development of contemporary radio sectors, and in particular for understanding how British radio audiences evolved and fragmented. Such developments are central to the emergence of what is identified as the ‘community’ sector. It is important to understand the approaches taken by both the government and the BBC, to specifically understand how a community radio policy

emerged and how the legacy of regulatory developments which sought to control the growth and development of radio as a medium, impacted conceptions of the 'British public' and how to serve them.

As discussed previously, it is claimed that ensuring the British system was underpinned by public service values avoided the commercialism of its US counterpart. However, this meant that the developmental focus remained on articulating paternalistic notions of public service that became out-dated as audiences began to adopt radio listening into what Wall & Webber term 'existing social practices' (2014:6) and it became naturalised (Tacchi, 2002:290). As this thesis will go on to discuss in chapter three, perceptions of public service differ greatly and are informed by a number of socio-cultural factors which are specific to the individual. To understand the demand for and development of the community radio sector and its principles, it is also important to consider the role and agency of the audience and how this began to shift and fragment during the development of radio, so it is to this area the focus of this chapter will now turn.

The multiple histories written about institutional and technological aspects of radio have been useful in considering these aspects in relation to contemporary community radio policy and practice (e.g. Briggs 1961, Lewis & Booth 1989, Street 2002, Crissell 2002, Curran & Seaton 2003, Linfoot 2011). However, to consider the role of audiences and the social factors that impacted the growth and development of radio, Wall & Webber's (2014) history of the transistor radio is useful, as it highlights that the agency of individuals must be considered along with shifts in cultural phenomena such as who is listening and when. This perspective underpins my methodological approach to this study and justifies a multi-focused approach to policy, practice, and content in my results.

As this chapter has already discussed the BBC was originally formed in 1922 as a commercial entity, but just three years later in 1925, Radio Normandie was broadcasting on the continent and could be heard by British listeners with the equipment to pick up the station (Skues, 1994:4). Normandie was a legal commercial station whose output was entertainment based representing the BBC's first real competition, but not the only alternative. Stoller's work (2010) is useful for considering what was happening with radio amateurs in the UK as the

BBC became more established during the 1920s and 1930s. Street (2002:34) suggests that before the BBC, radio output had been experimental and light hearted in tone. He describes it as a period of innovation in which radio amateurs and those interested in the new medium could build a crystal set and begin to broadcast. Stoller (2010) outlines these amateurs as early pirates and suggests their popularity began in the 1930s as a result of perceived gaps in BBC output, which encouraged audiences to listen elsewhere. This suggests that audiences had a clear sense of what they wanted from broadcasting (ibid). Skues (1994:1-7) pinpoints examples of early forms of pirate radio, which began to appear in the UK in 1934, when a lone broadcaster was tracked down to Norwich and quickly closed down by the Post Office for operating without a licence. However, nine months later, another signal was located in the London area, broadcasting recorded music, and again the Post Office were quick to react and closed the station down. Skues research documents pirate radio stations regularly being set up by amateurs and enthusiasts between the 1930s and the 1990s, outlining it was often listeners dissatisfied by the rigidity of British radio and lack of choice who found the means to set up and produce their own programmes. Skues credits the persistence of these individuals who refused to have their calls for alternative services ignored with changing the face of British radio (Skues 1994)

Overseas models of radio such as Radio Normandie and Radio Luxembourg had been driven by commercial principles favouring increasing liberalisation and advertising. These stations had considered listeners as consumers from much earlier in their development and therefore delivered content to entertain them whilst also delivering listeners to advertisers. Skues (1994) argues that the commercial principles that led to the playing of popular music were the main reasons for Radio Normandie and Radio Luxembourg's continuing popularity from the 1930s onwards. However, Britain's more paternalistic approach was fearful of liberalisation and assumed audiences were in need of education and viewed radio as the means by which to educate them (Goodman 2016: 436-465). During these early days, Street believes that the BBC viewed the audience as a passive mass with little idea of what they wanted (Street 2006:37). Stoller's (2010:14-16) research adds to this suggesting that the BBC were slow to consider audiences in any sense, only setting up audience research groups in 1938 following concerns that they had no sense of what the audience wanted (Silvey, 1974:4). Conversely,

European commercial services, broadcasting in English, had built a system for measuring and liaising with their audiences to establish when they listened and what they wanted (Curran & Seaton, 2003: 146-147). This allowed them to provide listening figures to British set manufacturers interested in advertising, profit from their output and give the audience more of what they wanted in terms of light-hearted programming which was the menu of French radio (approved by regulators) at the time.

Radio broadcasting output was further impacted by a post-war wave of immigration, which increased the diversity of audiences further (Evans 1971:42-47). *The British Nationality Act of 1948* encouraged 'all imperial subjects' from the former British Empire to come to Britain to help with the re-construction of the country following World War II (Taylor, 1993:185). Other social histories of Britain during this period suggest residents viewed the influx of immigrants from Commonwealth countries (despite also being British citizens), as the biggest threat to jobs, resources and their newfound affluence (Taylor 1993; Hansen 1999). Consequently, for the governments of the 1960s and 1970s, (and as witnessed with subsequent governments) dealing with the issue of immigration became 'a vote winner' (Evans 1971:40). Numerous sociologists focus on histories of migrants, including their voices in the research through ethnography (Taylor, 1993) when discussing the increasing diversity of post-war communities during the 1950s (Tomlinson, 2008). Myers & Grosvenor (2011) focus on the rich cultural traditions' migrants brought with them to the UK, arguing migrant communities contributed to a change in attitudes and the way people spent their increasing leisure time. Linfoot (2011:14-15) concludes this leisure time was increased with a rise in economic fortunes during a post war boom, which led to greater home ownership and a focus on lifestyle, resulting in more people buying labour saving devices, increasing their consumption of popular music, and enhancing their sense of agency as audiences through the encouragement of consumer and listener choice.

Gurney (2005:956-957) discusses the rise of the consumer in post-war Britain, arguing that the breakdown of co-operatives and the rise of disposable income, led businesses in post-war economies to recognise the power of the purchaser and realise their own success would increasingly lie in catering for what customers wanted; thus, facilitating capitalism and growth.

These ideas were adopted by businesses during the 1940s and 1950s in Britain (Harker, 2009:347) but were overlooked in terms of radio audiences as consumers and catering for them through output. Despite TV in Britain adopting a commercial as well as a public service model, radio output was still solely the domain of the BBC. Returning to Wall & Webber's research (2014:4-6) on the transistor radio, they argue that technological contexts impacted the consumption of radio during this period as it had become cheaper to produce mobile radio sets, thereby enabling mobile music listening in the UK. Considering the transistor as a technological form and changing social and cultural practices in the 1950s, they argue the transistor worked better with the long and medium wave frequencies, which at the time were occupied by international commercial radio stations (including Radios Luxembourg & Normandie) who prioritised music radio and thus consumer choice. Wall & Webber's research is useful when considering the changing audience, emerging fragmentation of cultural identity, and facilitating consumer choice through emerging technologies. Whilst suggesting the transistor offered young people a vehicle for separating themselves from earlier forms of 'domesticated listening', they discuss a key moment in time when the agency and interest of young listeners changed.

Therefore, in terms of radio broadcasting, the principles on which the UK's broadcasting services were based began to change to facilitate the new set of challenges presented as audiences became more diverse and gained more agency through their listening choices (turning to alternative stations on the continent). The local radio experiments in the 1950s (Linfoot 2011:20-22) by the BBC had split audiences by location (without considering age or ethnicity), but Starkey argues the 1960s brought 'conservatism with a small c' as the political climate saw the government looking more favourably on commercialism and neo-liberal markets provided by commercial radio (Starkey, 2015:19-21) and recognising younger multi-cultural audiences who had begun to demonstrate their growing agency, by switching to pirate and commercial stations to hear popular recorded music, which the BBC only played for a limited time each day (Skues 1994:62) due to contractual obligations with the Musicians Union.

The *Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962* introduced by the Conservative Government of the time was designed to slow immigration (after the earlier 1948 act), as the British commitment to Commonwealth countries had led to population spikes (Taylor 1993: 14). In a bid to gain control of immigration, a second act of parliament was introduced in 1968, which outlined new Commonwealth migrants could only remain in Britain if they had a connection through birth or ancestry (Taylor 1993:18). This led to the deportation of some of those who had come to Britain after World War II and marked the first step in moving away from previous commitments to Commonwealth citizens (Hansen 1999:809). Although the legislation outlined above was designed to control expanding minority communities, those who had settled in Britain from overseas territories, now included more than one generation born in Britain, and this in radio broadcasting terms presented another challenge for the BBC's monopoly as they attempted to serve further fragmenting audiences with diverse tastes.

Commercial contexts also formed part of the on-going consideration of the development of radio sectors. According to Stoller (2010:18-19), the amount of money being made through selling advertising space on pirate radio stations in the early 1960s gave those with commercial interests lobbying the government for an alternative service a stronger case; as it supported the idea of audience demand, but also offered the potential to boost the wider economy through advertising. As alternative music and entertainment-based services had thrived on the continent (Street, 2002:95) and were accessible to British audiences, the need to re-conceptualise the audience began to be acknowledged as the BBC's competition highlighted, they were clearly not serving the whole of the public who were choosing to use their listening power elsewhere. The choices offered by these services, along with a number of social and political aspects (previously mentioned) such as post-war wealth and attitudes (Curran & Seaton, 2003:164), amendments to competition law (Gurney, 2005), immigration (Taylor, 1993) and exposure to new music from overseas (Wall & Webber, 2014), had changed preferences and assisted in fragmenting audiences even further (Street, 2002).

It was for this reason that in 1970, when the Conservative Government once again took office, they immediately reviewed broadcasting provision (Crissell, 1994:196). They adopted a dual television and radio licence and outlined plans to establish a commercial form of radio (Street 2009: xxiii) via *The Sound Broadcasting Act of 1972*. The implementation of an

Independent Local Radio (ILR) sector as it was originally known, was overseen by the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) (Lewis & Booth, 1989:27), which had originally been set up to regulate commercial television. The IBA's strict guidelines ensured commercial radio would be regulated in a similar manner. Following the 1972 act, the first two commercial stations London Broadcasting Company (LBC) and Capital went on air in 1973 (Crissell, 1994:196), firmly establishing the idea of choice for audiences and (legal) pluralism in radio broadcasting amongst regulators.

According to Stoller (2010), 'the original ILR stations had a sense of community of place, but not of politics' and were designed to provide a solution to gaps in local services (specifically hard to reach areas). This suggests radio audiences were still being considered in geographic terms, but not necessarily as communities of interest or cultural communities. The following year responsibility for broadcasting was transferred to the Home Office and the office of the Postmaster General was replaced with a Chief Executive (HMSO, 1977:14), signalling a shift in language and thinking to a more commercial approach. As the number of ILR stations grew, the next major independent committee review of the new broadcasting landscape was commissioned in the form of the Annan Committee in 1974, which produced its report 3 years later and whose suggestions were taken forward by a newly elected Labour Government (Lewis & Booth, 1989:96).

Across local radio multiple audiences began to be identified by age and location and through the 1970s, gender, class, ethnicity and original nationality became factors for consideration when building audiences (Silvey, 1974:211-215); although Lewis & Booth argue this was limited in the early part of the decade to age, due to continuing narrow views of the public and public service (Lewis & Booth, 1989:99-100). As ILR stations struggled during the first two decades to fulfil their public service commitments, they realised the potential to profit if such commitments were loosened and began arguing for deregulation (Crisell, 1994:197) from the mid 1970s. As profit was not the main objective of the BBC, they continued to prioritise their TV output, attempting to represent their existing identified audiences and including a limited amount of minority voices through their local radio provision, which justified their position as the UK's public service broadcaster.

The Annan Report of 1977 raised a number of concerns that the existing duopoly (overseen by the BBC and IBA) was running a 'straight jacket operation' (HMSO, 1977:29). By 1973, the government, audiences and activists alike were critical of national and local radio, arguing that it was being created either under the same conditions and practices as all BBC services, or (in the case of the IBA) using the same approach as commercial television (Lewis, 1978). The Annan Committee argued that any new forms of broadcasting designed under these existing providers would be 'retarded and restricted' (HMSO, 1977:29) and not serve audiences. Lewis's critique of the Annan report (1978) suggests that although discussions and recommendations informing the report had been held in public, they were within 'closed professional circles' (1978:66), which had limited the audience voice and thus the debate itself. One of the main issues raised by the Annan Committee was the broadcasters' lack of response to public concerns about broadcasting. Therefore, a key recommendation was for broadcasting to reflect societal changes and cater for audiences with more than two tiers of radio (Lewis 1978:66). Although this suggestion was not a new one (as we have discussed), Annan was key to the debate around audiences as it was the first independent report to state that restrictive legislation and the BBC's monopoly, were limiting output and not reflecting changing British audiences needs. The report concluded these conditions could not carry on into the new decade. This demonstrates how important acknowledging the diversity of audiences and lack of representation became and again underpins the value of the community radio sector in serving them, and what is at stake if the sector becomes unsustainable.

Lewis suggests those involved in responding to *The Annan Report* could not agree on the practicalities of how to reflect societal changes effectively, arguing a lack of focus was the main hurdle. Lewis's consideration of the complexities of focussing this response can be directly drawn upon to consider current tensions with policy at the beginning of this chapter, as the practicalities of how to support the community radio sector, are still proving problematic for organisations lobbying for support (such as the Community Media Association). The legacy of focussing on technological, social and political factors separately instead of viewing

all three in unison (Lewis, 2010:1) and not constructing policies which are flexible enough to withstand shifts in those landscapes, still impacts communities and their audiences today. The BBC had prioritised technology despite early calls (by the Beveridge and subsequent reports) for more consideration of the audience and diversity of programming (Partridge 1982:10) to serve their needs. As they were the only legal broadcaster, factors such as youth culture and increasing multi-cultural audiences, had taken their time to feed into legislation, as they weren't considered a priority (Lewis & Booth, 1989:96-100). As the BBC had largely ignored these factors, The Annan Report in its recommendations demanded further representation of local communities and ethnic minorities through programming, suggesting this could only be successfully delivered through the previously suggested third sector of broadcasting at a community level. (Lewis 2010). Essentially the developmental context mapped in this chapter had led to this key foundational point. Though overseas commercial models had recognised the power of listeners as consumers, realised they could profit form this and directly liaised with them to establish their listening needs, in Britain participation in discussions had only been open to those producing rather than consuming radio (Crissell, 1994:202-203). The Annan Report, despite its critics, was a key moment in recognising the changing role and agency of the audience and recognising that the BBC and ILR alone, would not be enough to keep audiences listening to British stations when they could access content elsewhere. It is at this point that the demands for a third sector of community style radio began to gain momentum, just six years after the introduction of ILR.

1.3. Local radio and the emergence of community

In 1977, when the Annan Committee finally acknowledged recommendations for a third tier of radio, it had become apparent that commercial companies were not happy with having to operate within public service guidelines and BBC local radio was still not serving large chunks of local audiences (Lewis & Booth 1989:94-96).

The Annan Committee provided the first official positive endorsement for community radio. However, those opposing it called for another review of broadcasting, as they believed a community radio sector would be overrun with radical groups who would not adhere to regulation and ILR would become more commercial, which would promote unfair competition.

Lewis (2010:828-834), credits *The Annan Report* with providing the opportunity for community radio supporters, to finally be taken seriously when proposing a local broadcasting authority to run local radio. He explains The Community Communications Group (COMCOM) was set up to push a community media agenda (Partridge, 1982:13) and encourage community members to participate in their own broadcasting services (Lewis, 2010:828-834). COMCOM's written response to *The Annan Report* laid out in detail previously mooted suggestions for funding such a venture, through re-distributing 5% of the BBC's licence fee (originally suggested back in the 1940s), claiming 'non-commercial broadcasting should cease to be the exclusive right of the BBC.' (Lewis 2010: 3). However, by mobilising and using their collective voice to propose a local authority to oversee the sector, along with support from commercial stations who were calling for deregulation, the Government were offered opportunities to consider how profiting from commercial radio could boost the wider economy (Stoller, 2010: 155-156).

Partridge (1982) outlines that although the Labour Government of the 1970s failed to implement Annan's suggestions, they did sanction experiments encouraging non-profit trusts to take on franchises to deliver not for profit radio, in which local authorities might be given a role (Stoller, 2010). Partridge argues during these experiments, COMCOM were worried that the 'essential principles of community radio were being diluted' and therefore established a Community Radio Charter in 1979 to distinguish community services from local BBC and commercial radio services (Partridge 1982:14). Scifo's (2011:13) work outlines it was this charter, which eventually formed the basis of 'a code of practice for the Community Radio Association', which will be discussed in more detail later.

Stoller's outline of the 1980s suggests the community radio sector was shelved as the government's focus lay on the expansion of for profit local radio (ILR) and the introduction of cable and satellite television. During the 1980s, ILR was committed to strengthening its provision, but tied through their licence conditions to engaging in a social action agenda and highlighting local issues and events (Crissell, 1994:196-197). As suggested earlier, those who had become involved in the early ILR stations became determined to shed these

commitments and pursue more commercial formats when facing renewed competition from land-based pirate radio. In 1984, these stakeholders organised a conference during which they demanded lighter touch regulation, so they could compete for commercial revenue as a means of funding (Crissell, 1994). They proposed easing restrictions to allow more music programming so local commercial radio stations could also profit from advertising (Stoller 2010:115-125). In January 1985, the then Home Secretary Leon Brittan, announced the Home Office's intention to develop community radio and announced a two-year pilot, which would licence 21 stations (Lewis & Booth, 1989:107). The government department received 245 applications for licences, but the initiative was postponed when the Home Secretary was replaced in 1986 (Stoller, 2010:159).

Radio researchers believe that the community radio sector was never really supported by the IBA because it posed such a threat to early independent and BBC local radio (Lewis, 2002, Gordon, 2009 Hallett & Wilson 2010). Indeed Scifo (2011:12-13) notes in the outline of the evidence presented to the Parliamentary Select Committee for Nationalised Industries (SCNI) by COMCOM, 'there was a call for more access to existing IBA stations' but this was dismissed, as the idea of the community participating in broadcasting was not considered seriously enough. The demarcation of spectrum for a third sector under a local broadcasting authority was also initially dismissed, and it transpired that a number of early community stations had to bid against commercial rivals for a license and even when successful, were still vulnerable to being taken over by those commercial companies (Price-Davies & Tacchi, 2001). However, the establishment of COMCOM finally brought interested parties together as a collective voice and began to establish the principles of community radio, which ultimately differentiates it from other sectors (Lewis & Booth, 1989:106). The coming together of these groups and re-calibrating of ILR as a commercial entity at the Heathrow conference indirectly supported the case for community radio, by suggesting ILR could no longer fulfil specific public service objectives and cater for minority audiences through content (Crisell, 1994:196-197). This meant once more there would be an obvious gap in services for specific minority voices which would again mean the under representation of youth, rural, mixed heritage and ethnic diasporas (Partridge 1982:35).

The 1990 Broadcasting Act, as well as suggesting an overhaul of the broadcasting system in the UK, outlined conditions to separate radio and TV regulators and responsibility for regulating radio was transferred to the Radio Authority (Street, 2002:130). The introduction of cable and satellite during the 1980s had highlighted that technology was improving for licenced broadcasters, which would facilitate the expansion of better-quality services (Linfoot, 2011). The 1990 Act also recommended Digital Audio Broadcasting (DAB) trials, with a view to upgrading services as the technology developed (HMSO, 2017). Stoller (2010) argues, that in the early 1990s ideas about a community radio sector were 'all but lost' as there was no money available to subsidise the sector because all funds were needed to improve and maintain existing services. However, the Radio Authority were given more freedom than their predecessors, and allowed to issue licences as they saw fit. It was from these bleak circumstances Restricted Service Licences (RSLs) were created as a compromise, but with the benefit of demanding very little from the public purse (Stoller, 2010). These RSLs were an extension of event licences, which could be not for profit or commercial, and run on a temporary basis for 28 days (Ofcom, 2018), serving local geographic communities (as earlier BBC local stations had attempted) or communities of interest.

As applications for these services increased, the introduction of extended RSLs, which ran over a longer period of time, but with a smaller, more focussed broadcast areas, re-ignited the demand for community radio (Stoller 2010:315). The *1996 Broadcasting Act*, outlined recommendations to run a pilot scheme, allowing a number of continuing RSLs to broadcast in specific areas to gauge the actual level of demand. Then in 1997 when a new Labour government took office, their rethinking of cultural policies in relation to wider prosperity, saw a rebranding of cultural industries as creative (Hesmondhalgh & Lee, 2015). Hesmondhalgh and Lee's work (2015:5-10) is useful in considering this shift as it discusses how 'New Labour' sought to create a number of organisations to assist in the construction of creative industries policies that could be delivered at a local level, facilitating a bottom up approach to cultural industries and urban regeneration. They list a number of activities, which they argue happened in the name of cultural policy including (among others) support for cultural

production and distributing cultural artefacts in such a way to facilitate access. Hesmondhalgh and Lee's work argues New Labour's cultural policies were seen as a vehicle for improving wider social conditions, through the creation of new government departments including the Department for Culture Media & Sport (DCMS), and raising the profile of a number of think tanks who up to this point had been operating on the margins.

The Institute for Public Policy Research, a left leaning think tank published a report two years after Labour took office on the future of radio as the sector moved to digital platforms. The report positioned community radio as a 'valid alternative to the BBC for representation of minorities' (IPPR 1998:23). In the years leading up to this, the regular challenges every decade since the 1920s in the form of pirate radio (Skues, 1994) and then persistence of groups such as COMCOM and CMA have been credited with shaping community radio into a distinguishable third sector of radio in the minds of the public and the policy makers (e.g. Partridge 1982, IPPR 1998, Stoller 2010, Lewis 1989, 2012,). Scifo (2011:146-147) suggests that by 1999 'things were beginning to change', as the Radio Authority, Ministers and individuals from the DCMS (formed two years previously) were concerned about decreasing levels of local content and ownership and community radio began to be seriously viewed as a possible solution to these issues. Following an interview with a founding member of the CMA, Scifo explains the shift in attitudes in favour of community radio was compounded in 2000, due to the appointment of a new Chair of the Radio Authority, who took on board the fears about the loss of localness and a public service remit, from the commercial sector altogether (ibid) and as a result an Access Radio pilot scheme was launched in 2001.

The Broadcasting Standards Commission Report on changing values in the late nineties (BSC, 1997) and the IPPR's 1998 report on *The Future of Radio*, both suggested community radio as a viable solution for catering for minority groups and addressing issues they face, further suggesting the BBC and commercial media models' output had been overlooking the broadcast of such material since the 1970s. (IPPR, 1998:23). The later *Broadcasting Standards Commission Report* in 2001, which focussed on reflecting community values through regulation, was quickly followed by a guidebook for multicultural broadcasting

acknowledging the growing number of diverse audiences and (as discussed in the previous section) their growing agency. The 2001 pilot scheme proved so popular with community groups, that the Radio Authority were lobbied to extend the period of the licenses (Ofcom, 2018), whilst they commissioned a full analysis of the work and impact of the stations. The Radio Authority sought advice when attempting to launch and evaluate the impact of these stations from a foundation, which had successfully measured the impact of arts and culture on wider social wellbeing (see Gulbenkian Foundation). An academic called Professor Anthony Everitt was commissioned and argued in his 2003 evaluation report, *New Voices: An Evaluation of 15 Access Radio Projects,* that Access Radio should be awarded licenses in geographic communities, where they can demonstrate the community would benefit from partnerships between the station and community groups.

As part of the wider discourse of cultural policy, he argued the stations should be supported by the BBC and financed from a central fund, as they provided access to cultural production and consumption and facilitated a key objective of cultural policy (Hesmondhalgh & Lee, 2015). The conditions for this funding lay in these stations only being approved in areas where they didn't overlap with small scale commercial stations in terms of content, or compromise their advertising revenue. Everitt proposed the new regulator Ofcom should support the sector (2003:9). Hallett and Wilson argue, that Everitt's report, along with the *Communications Act of 2003* and recommendations from the Community Media Association, contributed to the construction of a Community Radio Order in 2004 and finally enabled the sector (Hallett & Wilson 2010:12-13). However, it is clear that the re-thinking of cultural policy as key to the wider prosperity of Britain and considering community radio as cultural production and part of a creative industry also had a role to play.

The order, which was published under the new regulator Ofcom, who had taken over from the Radio Authority in December 2003, laid out the framework for community radio to operate. Although this legislation outlines a number of criteria for gaining and sustaining a community licence (as outlined in the introduction). There is some debate about whether the nature of the original order was as enabling as suggested, or actually purposely restrictive, in order to

dissuade interested militant groups and dissatisfied ethnic communities who might view it as a platform to broadcast propaganda (Stoller 2010:154-161). Scifo argues the policy was problematic, as community radio principles in the UK had been largely constructed without government intervention. Therefore, community radio as a tool for delivering local, national and international social and cultural policy objectives became an awkward fit (Scifo, 2011:112). Overall, however, this was broadly perceived as a victory and a long-awaited recognition of the sector (Lewis, 2010).

As well as representing local and minority audiences, the benefits of community radio laid out in Everitt's (2003) evaluation report, suggested this sector could serve communities through engaging and involving the community in the production of local content and information for broadcast through the station. Whilst some argue this model of radio is a necessity for representing diverse cultural audiences (Meadows et al, 2008) and would view the community radio experiments as an attempt for the government to do this, I believe this overlooks the fact that in a UK context this was not the main priority of the government (Scifo, 2011). I believe community radio only gained combined support when the concerns and agendas of stakeholders including the government, the BBC, the commercial radio sector and those involved in managing and profiting from these were satisfied. These agendas include using the demarcated third tier of radio (Coyer, 2006) as a tool to limit available spectrum (as there was limited space), the proposed stations posed no threat to the BBC or commercial radio as they had limited reach (Hallett and Wilson, 2010), and restrictions were placed on financial support (Community Radio Order, 2004) which limited potential income from advertising. There was also no threat to other sectors positions on proposed DAB networks, as initially community radio would only operate on FM and licensing the community radio sector fitted in to a wider discourse around cultural policy and the creative industries (Scifo, 2011, Hesmondhalgh & Lee, 2015); A key aspect of New Labour's strategy which supported access to cultural production in the pursuit of wider prosperity and wellbeing. The overarching objectives of community radio were categorised in the social gain criteria and subsequently written into community radio licenses (Gordon, 2009).

Since being officially established community radio legislation in Britain has been criticised when compared to its international counterparts. Coyer's international overview of Community Radio regulation, argues that the main concern is that the sector is dominated by policy which is not cohesive (2006:131), much like Lewis's earlier comments. It is worth noting that the amendments made in the Community Radio Order in 2010, were as a result of proposed digital migration, which was planned for 2015 in the UK, but was delayed due to a lack of take up from audiences (See Digital Britain Report 2009). However, as argued throughout this chapter, previous regulation in Britain has prioritised political, economic (profit) and technological factors before considering social factors.

The Digital Britain plans included a proposal to migrate BBC and larger commercial services from the FM spectrum to digital networks, leaving smaller commercial stations (of up to 50,000 listeners) and community stations on FM (DCMS, 2009). Those organisations moving to digital platforms (DAB) were expected to invest the funds to re-draw the DAB network maps (DCMS, 2009:101). *The Digital Britain Report* published in 2009, and the subsequent changes passed without amendments to the relevant radio sections under the *Digital Economy Act* (*2010)*, outlined community radio (or the third tier) would be rebranded as 'ultra-local radio' and included in the digital radio landscape as part of a growing hyperlocal media landscape. Related literature suggests that the changes proposed in 2010 were most likely again to support prioritising technology through a saturation of services and profit through the expansion of the commercial sector (Linfoot, 2011) as opposed to the community sector's inclusion being the main objective.

Despite offering the opportunity for community radio (albeit called by a different name) to be owned and managed by local communities, the economic downturn of 2008 saw the revenue streams available to community stations dry up as the testimonies in this research will outline. The expansion of DAB has seen an increase in the number of BBC and commercial stations migrating to these platforms since 2008, and there have been small-scale DAB trials for community stations (Ofcom, 2016). However, the cost of being hosted on DAB is approximately £9000 for each station (Ofcom, 2018), which as the Community Media

Association has reported (CMA, 2018) left some unable to participate in these trials and meant once again their voices are underrepresented in a wider context. Some view the amended Community Radio Order of 2010 and the DAB community radio trials as the culmination of over forty years of patient lobbying by various groups interested in the establishment of Community Radio (Hallett & Wilson 2010, Lewis 2010). However, as the contextualisation presented here has demonstrated, the demand for an alternative to the BBC's version of public service can actually be traced back almost 70 years.

Social gain was designed to ensure community radio would be a valuable tool for each community, enabling residents to deal with issues affecting their local environment, in the most effective way through facilitating discussion (criterion 1), or providing education and training (criterion 3) (See fig 1). Coyer (2006:132) argues that UK legislation regarding community radio has an expansive view and whilst serving geographically local communities and communities of interest, she believes some of these stations would be valuable nationally in terms of representing and serving diverse, minority groups in society, but she argues, they remain in a local context as they are not commercially profitable (Coyer 2006:132). Whilst I agree with some of Coyer's ideas, as this research will show, this perspective overlooks the principles of community radio. An example of which would be the potential with economic investment to address the lack of digital literacy skills in communities leading to communities finding alternative means to make themselves financially profitable to plough the profits back into their community. However, whilst other radio sectors successfully operate in a post-digital world, some community stations still operate in an analogue space. This I believe, along with restrictive legislation designed to limit the amount of profit stations can make, rather than stipulating what the station can do with the profit is preventing community radio expanding beyond the geographic community in a meaningful sense.

The World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC) in evaluating the impact of community radio globally concluded the lack of proper enabling legislation was:

> The single most important barrier to increased effectiveness of community radio social impact. (Solervicens, 2007:1).

Following this statement, in 2012 at a meeting of AMARC-Europe, a number of community media organisations from around Europe contributed to a declaration outlining a number of demands of the European Union, including:

> 1. To take account of the community radio sector in all relevant European policies including those relating to media pluralism, information and communication technologies, the digital dividend, and cultural, social and economic affairs.
> 2. To provide specific legal and regulatory conditions that foster the development of the community radio sector in analogue and digital environments.
> 3. To ensure the equitable allocation of broadcasting spectrum between public service, commercial and community broadcasting services on analogue and digital platforms.
> 4. To establish measures to provide public financial support to the sector including; to assist community radio services that seek to adapt to digital platforms.
> 5. To ensure that digital broadcasting technologies and laws allow community radios the right to both own and operate their own transmission systems.
> 6. To ensure that the representative organizations of the community broadcasting sector at the European level and in each Member State are systematically consulted on all relevant matters of European and Member State policy.
>
> (Community Media Association, 2018)

This proposed community media organisations across Europe consolidate in a bid to be officially recognised and supported at a European level in the development of policies to represent communities, when each national service migrates to digital. As British community radio legislation at the time was considered in line with European legislation (Lewis 2010, Scifo, 2011) this fed into the UK's approach. However, since Britain has now voted to leave the European Union commitments to include the UK in any European declarations are in jeopardy. Therefore, commitments by British stakeholders and support from European colleagues to continue to re-consider community radio policies that enable the sector to continue its work are vital.

This chapter has argued that community radio regulation in the UK has been stifled by a number of factors including over 90 years of prioritising and maintaining government control through the BBC's monopoly on public service broadcasting, despite these institutions having different priorities. Another aspect prioritised in this chapter as central to the development of a community-focused broadcasting sector in Britain was improving technologies, which enabled broadcasting to all parts of the UK and were a primary focus on the BBC. Despite changes in competition laws, which enabled an increase in commercial practices through deregulation, the expansion of the

(profit driven) commercial sector took decades, as the British government were fearful of replicating the commercialism of the US system. The distaste for the USA's commercially driven approach to radio saw Britain adopt a protectionist approach to set manufacturing, but appear to adopt an anti-protectionist at home amongst British commercial stakeholders interested in radio broadcasting to ensure they each received fair opportunities. However, by choosing to use a monopoly to facilitate this (usually associated with commercial companies), created the first of many tensions, the impact of which I believe can still be seen today in contemporary community radio.

This chapter has also argued that government and the BBC overlooked the changing role and agency of audiences as listeners and consumers, as audiences were viewed as a passive mass with shared tastes and interests for whom the BBC knew what was best. The creation of the BBC's monopoly and the approach to understanding and considering audiences is central to other foundational tensions at the heart of Britain's approach to radio and this historical context is still impacting policies today. This domestic approach led to a broadcasting system based on patriarchal public service principles, managed through a monopoly for almost fifty years, which restricted access to develop other sectors. Though there have clearly been attempts since the early 1930s to provide alternatives to the BBC's hegemonic vision of public service radio content, these have been shut down or lost in a narrative that broadcasting was only available in Britain through the BBC, which discounted domestic pirates and the ability to listen to those broadcasting on the continent. However, post-World War II, the power of the audience began to be recognised as they accumulated wealth and leisure time and demanded more from radio, for some this was entertainment, for others representation and local information. However, when the BBC did not provide audiences with what they wanted, they again sought alternatives elsewhere. Whilst regulators felt safe leaving broadcasting to the BBC, they failed to notice the public service broadcaster prioritising technology and hardware over programming content. Whilst there are those who believe this has improved, I believe the fragmented nature of economic and social policies as suggested by Lewis (1978:27) is still 40 years on, holding the sector back.

The literature reviewed during this research suggests that the battle for community radio is not just fought around the principle of serving communities, but has historically been central to wider

debates about freedom of choice, freedom of speech and representing and serving the whole of the UK and its diverse citizens, which are intrinsic to discourses of democracy and British identity. While I will look at these issues in more detail in the next chapter, it is clear that the histories of regulation reviewed here (Lewis, 1978, Partridge, 1982, Lewis & Booth, 1989, Skues, 1994, Stoller, 2010) have regularly highlighted opposition to dominant legislation, and as a result, regulatory frameworks have broadened suggesting some degree of progress. However, the progress has been slow and the gaps in service have grown wider as audience agency has developed and their demand for representative content has increased. This has presented another set of issues to be resolved in terms of striking a balance between economic and social interests whilst serving diverse audiences and ensuring community radio moves into a digital age as other sectors have.

In the next chapter, I will look in more detail at the principles and practices of community radio and its associated benefits. Although this chapter has discussed the potential of community radio to be profitable, it remains based on not for profit principles offering opportunities for communities to represent themselves in their own terms. I will argue that legislation and a lack of support from other sectors, is still stifling community radio and its capacity to benefit communities because the priority to remain not for profit without posing a threat to other sectors and continuing to make little demand on the public purse is limiting the sector's reach. Social gain was designed to address issues in the context of each community and as such it was suggested the sector would be supported. As British legislation has been slow to respond to social, economic and technological changes since the sector's inception, community radio has been overlooked preventing it from advancing and developing the agenda at the centre of the policy in a digital environment. This chapter has discussed the development of the community radio sector and the changing role and agency of audiences, which is vital to understanding how notions of social gain were conceptualised. I will now move on to discuss the principles and practices of the sector, to further understand how these contribute to constructing and articulating social gain in practice through community radio.

Chapter 2

Principles and Practices of Community Radio

In the last chapter I argued that the legacy of successive British Governments and their desire to restrict and control the speed and growth of commercialism in radio had limited conceptualisations of public service. I believe the impact of this is still being felt by community radio stations today, which instead of being considered as providing a public service and financially supported as such, are limited in their methods to support and deliver social gain through community radio. Through outlining the establishment of the contemporary community radio sector and discussing the continuing tensions of Britain's public service approach to developing radio and distaste for commercialism, I discussed regulatory control through the BBC, despite the BBC's own objectives to maintain their monopoly through a saturation of services to unreachable areas. I also discussed the role of the radio audience and how their evolving agency and increasing diversity impacted the development and establishment of the community radio sector, albeit more slowly than some would have liked. The notion that radio should maintain public service values at its core and be 'essentially divorced from the taint of trade' (Hilmes, 2003:17) has meant Community Radio policy has been constructed to ensure the sector delivers radio with a social role (Curran and Seaton, 2010:104-107) for diverse community audiences, whilst restricting and limiting commercial activity and access to specific funding streams. Despite the establishment of the sector as a means for supporting and delivering social gain through representative cultural content and initiatives, the sustainability of community radio is questionable as the wider political economy

of radio is changing and audiences continue to fragment but have easier access to content. The impact of these wider changes can be witnessed through the practices of community radio staff and volunteers in Birmingham, as I will demonstrate in chapters four, five and six.

To understand how social gain and the wider principles of community radio are interpreted and articulated in context by those working in community stations, it is important to explore the potential benefits these principles offer communities. It is also vital to consider how these wider intended benefits can be achieved through community radio practices, to understand why social gain remains a key objective of community radio in the UK. To do this I will first discuss the principles of community radio outlining definitions and how key characteristics have been considered to benefit diverse and marginalised communities and individuals. The second part of the chapter will then turn to look at the practices of community radio to understand how these differ from other sectors and their objectives. Although the production practices used to make radio output are largely similar, the objectives of the process of production, output and the impact they are expected to have differ. It is only through considering these aspects that we can begin to understand the wider complexities of delivering social gain through community radio, but also what is at stake when articulations of social gain are impeded.

Community radio has begun to be acknowledged around the world (AMARC, 2016) as a vehicle for democracy, skills acquisition and a platform for exercising individual human rights (UN, 2016). Conversely this praise comes at a time when the political economy of radio is changing and the UK's review of public service broadcasting questioned the objectives of the BBC as we move further into a digital age (Ofcom, 2017). At the same time commercial radio continues to become more focused on profit maximization as they claim to be the fastest growing medium (Radio Centre, 2018). Whilst considering the principles of community radio which aim to empower and develop communities (AMARC, 2018), we must also consider the practicalities of delivering these whilst trying to operate on a reduced budget with dwindling financial support and volunteer engagement and trying to remain relevant to the community through culturally and contextually relevant content and initiatives. As the research will later

demonstrate some of the practices used in the community radio stations at the centre of this research are beginning to align with those in other sectors as part of a wider discourse of professionalism, which potentially could overshadow the very principles it wishes to promote and encourage. As the regulation for community radio has been described as restrictive rather than enabling (as discussed in the previous chapter), it is important to consider how these communities negotiate the responsibility of delivering some of the principles of community radio outlined in this chapter (through social gain) with keeping the station on air. At a glance, community radio production practices along with some of its programming, often resembles commercial and public service sectors. However, community radio practices are designed for the purpose of educating and training communities to reflect and represent themselves in their own terms, whilst challenging and addressing issues within their own community. As the chapter will outline, these objectives are articulated in a variety of forms, including broadcasting community news, local voices, specific music genres, religious discussion and representing cultural practices, all of which are underrepresented and sometimes completely overlooked in mainstream radio content as discussed in the previous chapter.

As key international agencies such as UNESCO and AMARC position community radio as a means for promoting cultural diversity, academic research attempts to broaden the discussion of the potential benefits of community radio for addressing issues in what are termed developed countries, so I will consider these debates in a British context. The following discussion of community radio principles considers the potential to represent marginalized voices, facilitate a public sphere through the democratization of radio, encourage citizenship and participation in culture, through the social gain policy. All of these principles have been outlined as distinct benefits offered by community radio and are revered by those who promote and research them. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, social gain needed particular stakeholders' interests to align to gain support in Britain. Since its inception however, political, economic, social and technological landscapes have shifted and some of the economic structures which supported the sector have broken down making it more challenging to deliver social gain in the UK and keep the station on air. Therefore, I will also

consider community radio programming practices in relation to practices used across other radio sectors to establish key differences, which facilitate the articulation of social gain through community radio. As the chapter will discuss, commercial radio practices, which prioritize maximizing profits are usually frowned upon in the community sector. However, building on previous ideas (Lewis 2002) of re-casting social agendas in the wider context of increasingly commercial radio practice in the UK, I will argue by ensuring each station has volunteers with digital literacy skills, some of these strategies could provide solutions to sustaining community radio stations enabling them to continue to deliver social gain in their communities and beyond its geographic footprint.

2.1. Defining the principles of community radio

There are many different definitions of community and many different community radio models. International organisations, such as the United Nations Education Science and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO, 2017), the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC, 2017) and academics (Meadows et al 2007, 2008 and 2009, Stoller 2010, Lewis, 2012) have all defined community radio as an alternative to commercial and public service models. Meadows et al add texture to this argument positing community media is also often referred to as 'citizens media, alternative media and radical media' (Meadows et al, 2007:10). In order to understand exactly where community radio is positioned in relation to these definitions, it is necessary to further consider each one before defining it in the context of this research.

Rodriguez for example defines 'citizens media' as media in which citizens can participate in the production process and suggests we should think of 'the fluid and complex nature of alternative media' as citizens media (2004:17). Rodriguez research focussed on Ecuadorian immigrants in Spain who used citizen media to enhance their own experience and inform others considering a move, about issues they faced in their new host country (ibid). Atton defines alternative media as offering 'the means for democratic communication to people who are normally excluded from media production' (2002:4). Radical media is described by Downing as media which 'express an alternative vision to hegemonic policies, priorities and

perspectives' (Downing 2001: v). Community media contains characteristics of all of those categorized above, as it offers citizens opportunities to represent themselves in their own terms, focussing on issues important to the community in their content, rather than focussing on profit. Furthermore, it enables discussion on issues of rights and provides a credible alternative to both public service and commercial content.

Article 19 of the Declaration of Human Rights outlines:

> Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.
>
> (United Nations, 2017)

Therefore, if we apply this statement to the context of citizen, radical, alternative and community media models, it suggests that community members who engage with community media are exercising their human rights by seeking, receiving or producing information, which are the primary objectives of community radio. Many scholars including those outlined above acknowledge internationally there are several models, which could be defined as community radio. Downing (2001) argues the term community is 'fuzzy' but insists as it is often interspersed in discussions of alternative media and democracy, we must define and critique it to understand its use in particular contexts. He posits the term when used in relation to community radio stations should consider them as 'institutions responsive to demands and priorities from below' but also warns against the assumptions that because they are local, they suggest a healthy social cohesion locally (Downing, 2001:38). In some parts of the world licensed community radio stations have been known to promote Government agendas and have for some time been discussed as at risk of being monopolised by a few, reinforcing hegemony by creating a myth of democracy and ownership (licensing community owned and produced media), but actually within very strict limits (Tamminga, 1997:36-37). However, the majority of stations are discussed as operating for purposes other than commercial gain or explicit Government agenda (AMARC, 2018) and as being not for profit.

In the British radio landscape as discussed in the last chapter, the community radio sector emerged out of a desire to control the speed and growth of radio in the country and retain public service values (albeit often narrow versions) at its core. However, just as audiences had begun to fragment turning to alternative services in a pre-digital age, they continued to use their agency in a digital context in Britain to produce and access new content (Coyer et al, 2007:15). Rodriguez referring to how the study of alternative media has traditionally been framed, argued at the turn of the 21st century, it was hoped alternative media would 'bring about democratic communication by counterbalancing the power of large media corporations' (Rodriguez, 2001: xii). Coyer's alternative radio history points out that early radio production was representative because it was democratic in that it was produced by people outside the system (Coyer et al, 2007:16). The body of literature used to frame alternative media almost twenty years after Rodriguez consideration has seen a shift in focus and a re-categorising of these media forms as hyperlocal media, with much of their focus on journalistic news and content (Turner, 2018:5). Despite a wealth of literature categorising and considering hyperlocal, alternative, radical and citizen media and whilst I can appreciate why Downing's (2001:39-40) views the term community as 'fuzzy', I believe this trivialises the role of community media and fails to recognise its flexibility and potential to promote inclusion. Furthermore, with this flexibility in mind community media can be re-categorised as alternative, radical, produced by citizens and with a hyperlocal focus and as such community radio and its principles need to be considered in context. Gordon supports this view arguing trying to use simple characteristics or describing a station as not for profit or run primarily by volunteers 'does little justice to the extraordinary range of stations which broadcast under the banner community radio' as they are so varied in their output and objectives, as are the political, social and economic environments in which they exist (Gordon 2009:60).

UNESCO when defining the principles of community radio, outline that a station should 'engage in a social agenda, amplifying views and concerns about context specific issues and facilitating public platforms for debate and discussion' (UNESCO 2013). The material they have produced to support communities in the wider world wanting to set up community radio stations, further expresses these values outlining 'the primordial condition for a community to

start its own radio station is a sense of internal cohesion and community consciousness' (UNESCO 2001). They suggest the first step is to organize and mobilize the community around a shared goal. However, as this research will demonstrate in later chapters, in this case outlining the key conditions and commitments first can lead to a mobilisation of the community around a shared goal. Tamminga (1997:34-35) discusses the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters' (AMARC) whose lack of concrete definition of community radio enabled the inclusion of all of those producing contextually appropriate content to join their organisation adopting the status of a community broadcaster. In considering the principles of community radio, I will refer to AMARC who outline a community radio station should respond to community needs and contribute to community development, through the democratisation of media, participation and social change (AMARC, 2017). Although there have been developments in researching and defining community radio since Tamminga's work (1997) AMARC continue to articulate a flexible approach, encouraging their members to do the same and use the term inclusively defining community radio in the context of their own community (See amarceurope.eu). In terms of station environments at the centre of this research, the term community was used by participants in inclusive and exclusive ways, to refer to the audience and output they created for people who they identify as part of their geographic, religious or ethnic community.

2.2. Responding to community needs and facilitating a public sphere

There is a body of work (Seneviratne 1993, Hamelink 1994:10, Herman and McChesney 1997:197, Downing 2001:164), which posits community radio as responding to community needs by giving 'a voice to the voiceless' (Van Vuuren 2001:3). In support of this, Barlow and Johnson's research into the role of community radio in Wales, found community practitioners and audiences alike acknowledged the sector as playing a vital role in responding to community needs, by informing and serving communities at a local level (2008:75-87). Günnel argues that for all organisations addressing socially disadvantaged groups at national and local level, including community radio stations 'media competence and cultural empowerment are important issues' for consideration when attempting to respond to the needs of the community (2008:87). In previous research I explored these ideas further by

evaluating the impact of community radio in representing and responding to the needs of marginalised groups by providing a platform for those usually excluded from mainstream media (Grimes and Stevenson, 2012:179-194). Focussing on gypsy and traveller and a prison community our research concluded that radio training for marginalised groups empowers and enables them to 'challenge and address cultural misrepresentations' constructed by the mainstream media. This builds on Lewis and Jones' ideas, who argue community radio can assist in building confidence and make people believe that their lives and the world around them can change for the better (2006). Bresnahan (2007: 212-233) considers the social benefits of community radio focussing on Chile, during the aftermath of the downfall of the Pinochet regime and the emergence of a new democratic landscape in 1990. She describes how community radio provided a space to articulate the needs and issues of local communities during this period and concluded, for democracies to thrive, they need diversity in the types of media available to them in which they can participate.

In this sense although mainstream radio has been argued to offer a public sphere through talk back and phone-in shows (Dori-Hacohen, 2012) which seek to give publics an opportunity to disseminate and debate information, its traditional hierarchies and regulation ensure only a fraction of the community are allowed to voice their opinions on air. Furthermore, as the political economy of mainstream radio focuses on justifying the organisation's position as a public service broadcaster that serves multiple audiences (in the case of the BBC) or is profit driven and focussed on serving a specific commercial demographic, these factors dictate the limits of the public sphere including the debate, its focus and how long contributors are allowed to speak for. The non-traditional hierarchies in community radio are suggested to facilitate a public sphere through highlighting issues important to the community and broadcasting local news and information in response to their needs. As outlined by Bresnahan (2007:212-213), it can provide opportunities to articulate the needs and issues of ordinary citizens in countries aiming to build a democracy.

However, as I will argue in chapter four, the ability of British community radio to offer this type of public sphere is limited as a result of the regulatory frameworks within which each station

must operate, the infrastructure and organisational culture of the station. These aspects can facilitate or restrict community engagement and the impact of the station and its programming and initiatives, ultimately limiting the potential of the sector's impact in communities. This is not in itself a new finding as Carpentier (2011:67-68) argued previously the structure, cultures and ideological nature of the media environment are vital factors in constructing a public sphere. As discussed in the last chapter, previous legislation and narrow conceptualisations of public service by individuals who believed they knew what the public needed, limited the development of sectors and output on a macro level, which impacted the licensing of community radio on a micro level (Bordieu, 2010). Although this has improved due to a number of social, technological and cultural factors, in existing democracies (such as the UK) I would argue community radio can also reinforce a type of elitist public sphere in a local and cultural context, where the dominant voices in the community, such as those with higher levels of education, local businesses or even the loudest, push themselves forward as representative of the whole community (when actually pursuing individual agendas). In which case, community radio may offer opportunities for a public sphere and attempt to provide a platform for marginalised individuals and groups through debate, but in practice the limits of that public sphere are dictated through station structures, cultures and the ideological nature of dominant voices in the community or the station. This ultimately impacts the quality of processes in the station (using the easiest option rather than addressing key issues), the quality of output (limiting discussion) and the potential impact of the debate in the community (doesn't impact their lives or respond to their needs). We will discuss these elements in more detail later in this chapter, as they are key characteristics for consideration of community radio practice, which distinguish it from other sectors (See community radio toolkit).

To consider the potential public sphere offered through community radio and how this has evolved, it is important to understand what is meant by the term and its origins. Habermas (1989:3) in the late nineteen eighties discussed the public sphere as a 'specific part of civil society', available to free citizens. Habermas (1989:3) argued the public sphere was a realm in which individuals came together (as a public) to participate in discussion (lexis)' and 'common action (praxis)' to address issues effecting citizens. In this arena, the debate itself

outweighed each citizen's status. In describing the public sphere, Habermas distinguished between public and private life, carving out the boundaries of each. He described public life (polis), as taking place in markets and other realms open to free citizens. Private life (oikos), he describes as something which happened in an individual's own realm (1989:3-4). Thompson situates the public sphere in the 21st century arguing that the rise of new forms of communication has blurred these boundaries and:

> Both the public and the private have been reconstituted as spheres of information and symbolic content that are largely detached from physical locales and increasingly interwoven with evolving technologies of communication, creating a very fluid situation in which the boundaries between public and private are blurred, porous, contestable and subject to constant negotiation and struggle.
>
> (Thompson, 2011:49)

Contemporary community radio can be argued to offer multiple public spheres through accompanying online platforms such as Facebook and Twitter and as chapters four, five and six will implicitly suggest, the boundaries of communities have indeed become blurred as a result of evolving technologies. However, my focus is on articulations of social gain for the geographical community in which case any discussion of the public sphere would relate to over the air content. Although a Habermasian (1989) public sphere could be viewed as offering a type of democratization, it points to an elite group of individuals (a type of aristocracy), as being at the centre of civil society and other free citizens as being allowed to participate, but not dictate whether an issue was worthy enough of debate. As technologies and social practices have changed, new spaces have emerged where people can access debate, but considering the public sphere in terms of contemporary community radio, there are limits to the freedom afforded to programme makers wishing to include topics for debate in their programming. As previously discussed, regulation in the UK dictates community radio output is monitored by Ofcom and as I will discuss in chapter five, the limits of the public sphere and issues for debate are dictated by those in charge of the station and their understanding of what is appropriate for broadcast. With this in mind, if a member of the community complains about output, the station is reprimanded and fined if they are found to be in breach of the broadcast code, but most stations don't have a clear idea of who is listening. Whilst community radio (as discussed earlier) can be considered as alternative,

radical and a citizen form of media, the conditions of the legal framework for over the air community radio in the UK dictate it is not afforded the same freedoms as other forms of these media as it is linked to and operates within the realms of a regulated third sector of radio as opposed to operating only online. As such these stations find themselves competing for listeners as part of a discourse of professionalism.

Calhoun (1992) interrogating Habermas' work on the public sphere, criticised his composition as only discussing 'narrow segments of the European population, mainly educated, propertied, men who conducted a discourse not only exclusive of others, but prejudicial to the interests of those excluded.' (1992:3). Habermas' outlining how the public sphere was transformed (or evolved) described the original form as an elitist sphere, whose function was to protect society from the influence of public institutions, until it became subject to political and economic changes. He argued these changes lead to a shift in society and the rise of the bourgeoisie, who took on a prominent position in the public sphere and expanded the boundaries (1989: 27-28). Relating these ideas to contemporary community radio, due to political and social changes which established the community radio sector, some stations enable citizens (who were previously overlooked) opportunities to represent themselves through programming and in this sense can be recognised as symbolic of a transformation of the public sphere (Habermas, 1989). However, as I will discuss in chapter six, some community radio stations limit the potential of the public sphere as they do little to 'optimise democratic participation' (Gaynor and O'Brien, 2017:29-47) which we will return to in the next section. In others words, as the focus lies on the potential of a public sphere there is little consideration of those excluded (as discussed by Calhoun, 1992) or on the alternative public spheres created through technological changes, which facilitated the creation of stand-alone net services and extensions to over the air community radio output, through streaming and time-shifting mechanisms (Tacchi, 2002:289-298).

Despite the potential offered for alternative public spheres through community radio, as its political economy has changed since its inception, so too have their practices (Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea, 2010), which in some cases now reflect those of commercial radio. Therefore,

this limits the time and space given by those running the station to focussing on facilitating a public sphere through programming. This is demonstrated through the reliance on the community committee to construct their own key commitments for the station in the licence proposal, thus forcing them to consider issues which they think are important (and not necessarily those the wider community do) and then relying on the community audience to respond, taking a reactive rather than proactive approach. As I will discuss in more detail in chapter five, in some contexts, if left unchallenged, community radio actually facilitates a type of elitist public sphere, by creating hierarchies (although non-traditional) in which dominant voices select topics for debate and broadcast to a community which they define.

Returning to the idea of community radio and its potential as a vehicle for community development, Plašak and Volčič argue community radio could enable the re-construction of communities and a new national identity by 'providing space for discussion' (2010:79) which has been further supported by research conducted in an Australian context by Meadows et al (2007). However, in a British context, whilst I agree articulating distinct (and multiple) cultural, religious and geographical identities could potentially lead to a more nuanced sense of British identity where people feel they can be included, if the surrounding framework is uni-directional and encourages this just within the community it can result in ghettoization (Rex and Moore 1967). However, if Day's (2009) ideas of multi-flows of communication are applied and communities share ideas and engage in discussion around cultural diversity and British identity in a bi-directional manner where everyone is given the opportunity to participate in a public space, it is possible to have more cohesive communities where people can feel included in a British identity Rodriguez-Garcia (2010:251). However, both of the arguments above fail to recognise those who don't identify as British at all and don't want to, which I will discuss in chapter six in detail. Instead there are a set of complex issues discussed elsewhere, which also impact how British people feel, and need to be considered in more detail through the lens of multiculturalism and discrimination (Heath and Demireva, 2014). Despite community radio stations providing a space for discussion of ideas and a means for the community to participate in a public sphere, manage and control their engagement, and

enable transitions from listener to active community member (Arnaldo, 2001), this is not the case in every context.

In her research into Irish community radio stations, Day (2009) concluded that community radio stations facilitate (what she terms) multiflows of communication. She describes how these stations promote the flow of communication in three directions, as opposed to the standard station to audience (one directional) flow, as described below in commercial stations. Day suggests the second flow of communication comes from the (two directional) interaction when the audience responds to programming and participates in the station, and the third direction is when the skills and opinions gathered by groups participating in the station (and broadcast through the station) are exchanged and cascaded to the wider community off air. This, Day describes is sufficient for relaying information, education and entertainment, but community radio also provides opportunities for the growth of networks and is an emancipatory medium, because it enables community members to 'actively participate in the broadcasting process, operating at the levels of programming, management and ownership.' (Day 2009:81).

Whilst considering democratisation, participation and social change and associated issues, internationally, there is evidence of community radio being used as a tool to address such social issues at local level and in some cases to project ownership of the community and their surroundings, back to those who live within it (e.g. Tacchi 2002, Günnell 2008) and thus developing the community. This is one of the main characteristics, which AMARC (2017) claim distinguishes community radio from other sectors like public service and commercial broadcasting. A recurring theme throughout literature on community radio is an overwhelming agreement that despite the model, community radio is frequently considered in opposition to commercial radio as the focus is on benefitting the community and giving them a voice rather than economic benefits in the form of profit.

2.3. Democratisation of radio and radio as democracy

As discussed, when attempting to define the principles of community radio earlier in the chapter, Downing (2001:38) argued the terms community and alternative media are often interspersed with democracy. Therefore, it is important to consider democracy and the democratisation of radio in relation to contemporary community radio to understand how it can be facilitated through social gain. When considering democratisation Carroll and Hackett, (2006:89) argue first and foremost, a distinction should be made between democratisation *of* the media and *through* the media. They discuss the role of activists and their value in terms of democratising content, practices and structures of dominant media. Carroll and Hackett's work at the time outlined a distinct gap in theorising the 'grounds for the resistance', which fuelled democratisation (2006: 83). Since they conducted this research a wealth of literature has been published focussing on the role of activists in alternative forms of media (as discussed earlier in the chapter encompassing many definitions of alternative). Furthermore, it has addressed some of the gaps focussing directly on the grounds for resistance (de Jong, Shaw and Stammers, 2005, Reber and Kim, 2006, Holmes, 2008, Lieverouw, 2011, Sützl, 2016). However, in a contemporary UK context, discourses of community radio are articulated less as a form of resistance and more as a form of self-representation and this is ensured through tight regulatory frameworks, a key theme which underpins this thesis. Carroll and Hackett's work outlines four action points for democratising communication and considering the role and value of community radio as oppositional to other radio sectors:

1. influencing content and practices of mainstream media – e.g. finding openings for oppositional voices, media monitoring, campaigns to change specific aspects of representation.

2. advocating reform of government policy/regulation of media in order to change the structure and policies of media themselves – e.g. media reform coalitions.

3. building independent, democratic and participatory media. We can also distinguish between the production of alternative media outlets as such, and capacity-building to aid such media (e.g. skills training, distribution services). In either case, this form of action focuses on giving voice to the marginalized through communication channels independent of state and corporate control.

4. changing the relationship between audiences and media, chiefly by empowering audiences to be more critical of hegemonic media – e.g. media education and culture jamming.

(Carroll and Hackett, 2006:89)

In my view, UK community radio stations have the potential to facilitate the democratisation of media through all of the action points laid out above. However, due to a lack of support from other sectors, inefficient economic structures and an inflexible licensing framework, although there is evidence of some of this activity happening, it is inconsistent and only happening in some stations. By contrast, when applying these action points to international community media examples, it is possible to see examples of the wider concept of democracy in action. For example, community radio in Afghanistan is reported as being used to engage young Afghans in rebuilding the country and building a democracy as outlined in point one (Hocking and Alikhil 2012). There are also examples in rural areas of India, community radio has been integral in attempts to change media policy and content as suggested in point two (Parvala and Malik 2007).

Dahlgren argues that the concept of democracy can be viewed as a 'ritual of collective belonging, joining people from virtually all sectors in a common cause' (1995:2). He along with Carroll and Hackett (2006) discuss different models of democracy acknowledging that definitions change as political and societal conditions do. Held (2006) traces the origins of democracy to ancient Greece and discusses the early possession and control of land through traditional hierarchies within clans, which were often unstable and subject to shifting power struggles much like communities. He writes as the population expanded, those in power, in a bid to retain it, awarded landowners and farmers (with small and medium holdings) greater privileges, which elevated their status and gave them greater economic power. Held's work on democracy outlines that as slavery expanded, individual landowners stood out as 'free citizens.' Furthermore, it was this change that began the blueprint for a model of early democracy, which centuries later came to recognise individual rights and privileges (Held 2006:11-13). In conceptualising 20th Century democracy, Dahlgren conceded it was 'intimately linked to the practices of communication' and during this time, society communicated within the realms of mass media (Dahlgren 1995:2). Whilst building on this work over a decade, Dahlgren outlined a model of civic culture as a circuit of interlocking processes including:

1. Knowledge
2. Values
3. Trust

4. Spaces
5. Practices
6. Identities

(Dahlgren 2006:154-155)

As I will discuss in more detail in the next section, Dahlgren concluded that democracy is' for and about citizens and therefore requires some minimal level of civic input to function' (Dahlgren 2009:14). I will return to this model of civic culture later as it is a useful parallel when considering community radio as a circuit of culture (Du Gay et al, 2013), as most of these principles are articulated (albeit to differing degrees of success) through the social gain agenda. Held (2006) considering the wider context of democracy makes a distinction between authoritarian regimes, which are governed through a restriction of liberties, and liberal democracies, in which electoral systems appoint politicians and appear to give the citizen power. Held suggested that the UK has often been described as depoliticized, which impacts on civic input (Held 2006:13) leading to citizens becoming disillusioned with Dahlgren's (2006) model. This could explain why there is a lack of engagement from some sections of the community. When considering democratisation in this context, the suggestion is that democracy is based on the contribution of citizens.

Returning to the wider principles of community radio, one of AMARC's objectives for the sector is that it acts as a vehicle for engaging citizens by providing access to produce and consume their own content. By doing so, this provides opportunities to mobilize communities contributing to wider democracy and community development. However, although community radio has the potential to mobilize communities, this does not mean it always does particularly in a depoliticised environment, as Held suggested. It is evident that citizens play an important role in democracies, so it is important to define exactly what is meant by the term.

2.4. Citizenship

As I will go on to discuss in chapter six, community radio does indeed offer the opportunity for those who consider themselves engaged citizens (and part of a community) to articulate their own version of citizenship through community radio programming, also defined as citizen media (Rodriguez 2004:17). However, as landscapes have changed since the licensing of

community radio and the introduction of the social gain policy, so have definitions of citizenship. Dwyer (2010:1) in attempting to define citizenship concluded that the term is contextual and therefore a universal meaning is not possible. However, towards the end of the 20th Century, Faulks (1998) argued that there were three types of definition, a legal one, which defined citizen's rights and obligations 'in relation to the nation state', a philosophical definition, which he argued was usually 'concerned with normative questions, such as which model of citizenship could best deliver a just society' and socio-political definitions, which 'emphasise citizenship as a status denoting membership of a society that involves a set of social practices.' (1998:2-4). Returning to Dwyer (2010) he believes there are two main schools of thought, which have had an impact on models of citizenship and how people consider it; civic republicanism and liberalism. He describes civic republican citizenship as demanding 'loyalty and engagement from citizens who are expected to live according to shared values and rules.' (2010:18). Liberalism he describes as belonging to a much more individualistic tradition, born out of the development of capitalism, and with a focus on the pursuit of individual rights.

It is worth noting that in the 1970s and 1980s leading up to the construction of a community radio framework (which facilitated the community radio experiments), the political landscape in the UK had been dominated by successive Labour and Conservative Governments. Reviewing critiques of political approaches taken to social policies by both parties in the 1970s to late 1990s (Hesmondhalgh, 2005:98-99, Scifo, 2011, 94-100) there is a suggestion that they were built largely on principles of communitarianism and liberalism. Communitarianism is defined as focussing on the role of the community in shaping the individual, whilst liberalism is defined as focussing on the freedom of the individual within communities, which are viewed as locations for social arrangements that satisfy individual need and agency. Although these are simplistic descriptions and as pointed out by Dwyer (2010:17) there are variations within both traditions it is useful for understanding how each government might conceptualise community radio and prioritise principles within their conceptualisation. In discussing differences between earlier and more contemporary models of citizenship, Dwyer (2010:17-25) outlines communitarianism as individuals in a collective,

where the common good of the collective is prioritised over the individual. In relating this to community radio, it is this objective which underpins the social gain policy. However, as I will discuss in chapter five, trying to encourage communitarian values in an increasingly converging media landscape with fragmenting audiences requires specific conditions and relies on the agency of the individual as much as the approach.

Crossley argues 'citizenship is dependent on meaningful criteria that give the content its vitality in the horizons of ordinary people.' (2001:45). Expanding on Crossley's view, Stevenson argues notions of citizenship 'more sharply focus our attention on questions of rights, democratic participation and notions of duty.' (2001:4). As I will discuss in chapters four, five and six although most of the volunteers interviewed discussed their values as liberalist when initially engaging with community radio, they adopted a communitarian perspective after volunteering at the station on a regular basis. Howley (2010:341-346) considers citizenship in the wider context of globalisation, outlining how grass roots movements such as community radio, have begun to connect with international communities recognising similarities in the issues they face as a result of globalisation. Howley terms this 'globalisation from below' and outlines it as offering 'a vision of global civil society which empowers people at the local, national and international level' (Howley 2010:343). As I will discuss later in this chapter and throughout chapter six, although it is assumed that all community radio stations are using digital literacy skills to reach wider audiences, for some this is not the case, as there is no structured training and they have not engaged volunteers with these skills. Therefore, despite globalisation offering the potential for empowerment on multiple levels, it is only possible where there is a solid infrastructure in place and support from those with relevant skills.

Lewis et al argue:

> 'citizens are actively engaged in the shaping of society and the making of history; consumers simply choose between the products on display.'
>
> (2005:6-7).

When considering this in terms of traditional media audiences, it would suggest commercial audiences are consumers, who can (merely) choose what is on offer, BBC audiences can do the same, but have a right and means to respond and comment, whilst community audiences

are citizens who have the right to choose, comment and respond by producing alternative radio programming they want to consume. Whilst Carroll and Hackett's (2006) ideas suggest community radio as a product of the growing agency of citizens and Howley's (2010) vision of empowered, connected citizens and communities through the adoption of new media tools and platforms, there are other factors for consideration. Despite the suggestion of fulfilling multiple roles in a community radio context as engaged citizens, producers and consumers and the transformative potential of this, not all stations have the necessary digital literacy skills to engage citizens on multiple levels or the ability to train community members to do so. Therefore, opportunities to participate in the community and wider civil society are limited, unless specific social conditions are in place enabling a deeper level of participation in a wider community context. I will now turn to the concept of participation and culture in more detail.

2.5. Participation

It is clear that the ability to engage with community radio does not in itself facilitate participation. Carpentier (2011:67-68) argues participation should be considered in a similar way to democratisation, participation *through* and *in* the media. He outlines participation *through* the media as referring to citizens using media as a platform (as discussed earlier), to participate in public debate and for self-representation in a number of social spheres. Participation *in* the media is outlined as citizens exercising their right to communicate by participating in either the production of media content, or the decision-making processes of media organisations (ibid). Furthermore, he continues that the structure, cultures and ideological nature of the media environment concerned is a vital factor for consideration in levels of participation. In the context of UK communities, in 2010 on their website, the Government listed three main objectives for re-constructing communities, which included empowering them to improve their locale, reforming local public services and encouraging social action (Cabinet Office 2010). Although these priorities have been re-branded in the current economic climate, and somewhat overshadowed in light of Britain's upcoming exit from the European Union in 2019 (Brexit), these priorities reflect the characteristics of community radio (Hendy 2000, Girard 2001, Günnell 2008). Research commissioned in 2008

by the Department of Communities and Local Government suggested that most minority communities in the UK want consultation between communities and local government to be 'proactive and ongoing rather than reactive and exceptional' (Ethnos, 2008)

Furthermore, the research suggests:

> The mechanisms to do so include research on minority ethnic issues, facilitation of advocacy and participation by public services at community events and in community life.
>
> (Ethnos, 2008).

Research carried out just three years later (2011) by Ipsos Mori into engagement of black and minority ethnic communities with HMRC and other services outlined that a lack of understanding of the diversity of these communities was impacting community engagement (HMRC, 2011). I would argue that community engagement and participation can be facilitated through community radio stations but lack of infrastructure and training limits the station's potential to do this.

Carlos Arnaldo (2001) when discussing radio's role in mobilizing the community, outlined that community radio enables its members to become 'actors in their own destiny' (Arnaldo 2001:1). Howley (2010) agrees, discussing community media as a form of 'participatory communication', which benefits the community as a whole (by broadcasting messages relevant for them) and the individuals involved in the process of producing the message. These aspects as well as AMARC's principles are also recognised as priorities for consideration in the *Community Radio Toolkit* (Radio Regen, 2015), which was commissioned by the DCMS and Ofcom in 2005 to help those wishing to set up community radio stations in the UK. Howley building on Arnaldo's (2001) earlier ideas argues used in a community setting, radio can enable communities to move from being 'recipients of external development to generators of their own development' (2010:184). Furthermore, he suggests that through participatory communication, engaging in public life in local contexts can (theoretically):

> foster a sense of community cohesion that acknowledges cultural, ethnic and religious difference without erasing it, through shared decision making and action.
>
> (ibid)

Howley's examples demonstrate that community media offers the opportunity for participation in and through the media as suggested previously by Carpentier (2011). Vatikiotis (2005:173-174) building on Melucci's (1996) work, points to participation as complex arguing as such, it should be recognised as both taking part, promoting the interests and needs of an individual and belonging to a system in which you identify with the general interests of the community. Therefore, parallels can be drawn between Vatikiotis discussion of participation and the values on which volunteers base their engagement with community radio as discussed in the citizenship section earlier.

As chapter six demonstrates, for some of those participating in community radio in Birmingham, it has enabled them to connect with their heritage and communicate with members of their identified cultural community, which was inaccessible to them previously due to poor language skills and lack of knowledge. Muswede discusses this in a South African context arguing community radio offered those who were illiterate or lacking the economic means to consume news through print media or TV, a 'concrete means for public participation and defence for cultural diversity.' (Muswede 2010:3). He goes on to outline the specific benefits of participating in diverse language programming, but also that involvement in the organisation and management processes of community radio stations 'empowers people politically, socially and economically', giving them access to information, but also resources (ibid).

Australian scholars support these views by suggesting that community radio can be used as a tool for building sustainable communities and should be considered in the same group as charities and pressure groups. This, they argue is because community radio stations perform a role in civil society 'fostering citizen participation in public life' (Meadows et al 2009:167-168). Then as community members are empowered, they take on a position enacting 'civic attitudes and actions conducive to a healthy democracy' (ibid). Liu's work on what he terms ethnic media (2010:252), argues that media acts as both the platform and the message in 'the

process of either initiating or resisting social change'. Howley (2010) builds on this arguing:

> with its commitment to participatory communication and social change, community media is uniquely suited to construct alliances between different communities working together in the pursuit of a range of common interests.
>
> (Howley 2010:344).

When considering the literature above, I would argue that some of the key themes outlined were considered in the construction of the social gain policy and viewed as beneficial to communities in the UK. However, as this thesis asserts, as the wider political economy of radio continues to change, along with social and technological landscapes, for the social gain policy to remain useful and fulfil its potential, the surrounding framework needs to be flexible enough to support each station, as they re-consider their communities which have also changed since they were licensed. In light of continuously fragmenting audiences, re-calibrating what social gain means for communities in these new landscapes is vital but requires the support of government and other sectors. Meadows et al (2009:168) discussing the growing listenership of community radio in Australia outline how audiences abandoned listenership of commercial radio altogether as it could not provide the same level of culturally diverse programming or opportunities to build communities, or effect change. This suggests that for audiences, cultural diversity and its articulation through programming is an important factor in their choice of station. Therefore, we will now consider cultural diversity in more detail and its role in community radio.

2.6. Culture

As the research itself focuses on stations located in Birmingham which has historically been described as a multi-cultural city (Wilson, 2015:586-604; Barrow Cadbury Trust, 2008) when referring to the variety of nationalities, ethnicities and heritage of residents and associated cultural practices they observe; I am considering how people articulate social gain in practice in community radio environments. Therefore, it is important to establish what is meant by the term culture, as there are multiple cultural identities and environments to consider.

When describing culture as a concept, Williams outlines it as 'a description of a particular way

of life which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning, but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour' (1961:57). Bauman argues we can understand culture as a social reality, which is ordered as a system or matrix of meanings and practices linked to identity (Bauman 1999: viii – xxxii). Furthermore, building on Kroeber's ideas (1948:293-294), Bauman outlines that culture should be considered in terms of eidos and ethos, the first being the explicit characteristics of the culture (shared by communities) and the latter the hidden characteristics which give the culture consistency and come together to form the individual's character (Bauman 1999:88). When applying these ideas to culturally diverse communities, each community would not only have to contend with socially constructed meanings based on nationality or heritage, religion, ethnicity and class, (which will differ between communities), but also each individual actor's identity and position in the community (which I will consider in more detail whilst observing programming practices in action).

It is also important that the definitions outlined above should not be confused with those framed by the multiculturalism policy, adopted by the Labour government in the 1990s (Scifo, 2011) which was important in the championing of the community radio sector. Brighton's discussion of multiculturalism suggests it was a strategy used by the British Government to promote integration and:

> Supposes a need to acknowledge and manage relations with, rather than efface culturally distinct communities.
>
> (Brighton 2007:5-6)

Parekh stresses that it is important to recognise the difference between a multicultural society, which wishes to respect the diversity of its many communities and one which seeks to assimilate those communities into a dominant culture. He continues that the assimilationist view sees the nation state as the ideal in terms of culture and assimilationists also believe cultural minorities should not complain if they are discriminated against, if they persist in retaining their separate culture (Parekh, 2006:197). Although multiculturalism was adopted as vernacular for describing Birmingham's ethnic and cultural landscapes (and marketing them), the limitations of the term in relation to understanding individual identity or the diversity of

communities, have been posited as reductive for over 20 years. Caws (1994:383) discussed the limitations of multiculturalism in relation to notions of individual identity. He argues one of the flaws of multiculturalism is an attempt to 'legitimize under its auspices, new fanaticisms of single (alternative cultures)'. He explains the main flaw is an assumption that all individuals understand aspects of culture including language, religion, philosophy, cultural practices etc, in the same way.

Parekh (2006: 1-8) argues we should rethink multiculturalism as a term in favour of moving towards cultural diversity and posits three forms of cultural diversity, which he argues can help to understand most groups. The first group he outlines share a broadly common culture, but seek plurality in the existing dominant cultures of society to embrace divergent aspects of their lifestyles. These he perceives as seeking subcultural diversity. The second group he outlines can be understood as aiming for an intellectual rethinking of diversity, as they feel dominant cultures should be reconstituted and seek perspectival diversity. The third group according to Parekh are those who live by their own belief and meaning systems with their own cultural practices. These groups he recognises as newly and well-established immigrant communities, indigenous geographical groups and religious groups understood as communally diverse. In Caws (1994:383) critique of multiculturalism he suggested the main limitation was the assumption that the individual has no choice and merely accepts the identity, which has been forced upon them by family or cultural origin and therefore, this suggests identity is fixed. Lawler (2014:2-3) positions identity as a social or collective process, rather than an individual possession, so for example individuals within a community may share markers of ethnicity such as language, religion etc, but their identity and subsequent behaviours will be constructed through a set of social processes performed alone, or as part of a collective and this is subject to change dependent on context. As discussed in chapter six, in the context of community radio, volunteers occupy and readily switch between a number of individual identities and a collective station identity on a daily basis.

Hall (2007:16-29) discusses the numerous ways of conceptualising identity and signals how

these conceptualisations have evolved moving away from essentialising definitions. Building on Foucauldian (1989) and Derridan (1981) ideas, he argued we should consider individual and cultural identity not as a stable or fixed version of the self, which eradicates difference to create a sense of unity across given groups, but instead as a process which can be understood as contextual within discursive practices:

> Identities […….] in late modern times are increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular, but multiply constructed across different often intersecting and antagonistic discourses, practices and positions. They are subject to radical historicization and are constantly in the process of change and transformation.
>
> (Hall, 2007:17)

Whilst considering collective and individual identities within each station, it was important to contextualise individual identities within the discursive practices that articulate the station discourse and wider discourses of community. Considering this in relation to the earlier discussion of citizenship (as I will argue in chapter six), the evidence demonstrates volunteers when initially engaging with the station often come with liberalist values, viewing their identity as individual and their subsequent actions as carried out for their own benefit in a social location. However, after a period of time, engagement and participation in the station can change values and volunteers can become more communitarian, improving their environment and exercising their rights and agency as a citizen to access and participate in the community.

Girard argues that each community radio station has unique processes of communication and understanding of community, which is underpinned by the distinct culture, history and reality of the community it serves (Girard 2007:2). This suggests that the needs and expectations of individuals in communities are shaped by factors such as culture, history and social environment, (as outlined above) and that this will be different for every individual in every community in the UK. How communities understand each other's culture and then how this is translated through operational practices, in community radio stations is underrepresented in terms of radio research, but articulations of culture have been considered through analysis of programming in community stations (Moylan, 2013). Meadows et al (2008) argue that in allowing cultural programming to be broadcast, community radio provides a public sphere where culture is re-articulated and can be re-imagined (2008:21). Meadows and his

colleague's work suggest Australia has a thriving community radio sector, as the size and structure of the country means many rural communities often live miles from the nearest major city. Therefore, the sector is viewed as crucial in the national media landscape for local communities and has been the focus of much academic research and even included in national plans for digital migration (Hallett 2010: 176).

Considering Meadow's work in relation to UK community radio, the sector presents an opportunity to support growing diaspora and mixed British and immigrant communities, with alternative radio programming content, that reflects the UK's cultural diversity. However, in the context of the UK we must also consider that evidence suggests to date, lighter regulation and plurality of services has not always prioritised cultural diversity. In considering how culture relates to citizenship and can contribute to wider social change, Stevenson (2001) argues that citizenship should not only be considered as individual and political rights, but also cultural rights. He reasons, by giving people the opportunity to exercise and articulate their cultural rights, it could lead to a more inclusive society facilitating social change (2001:1). As I will outline in chapter six, those exercising their cultural rights through community radio, explore and re-produce aspects of a shared community understanding of culture, and thus produce culturally and contextually appropriate content as discussed earlier. Through continuing participation, they begin to feel a deeper connection to the community and become committed to improving the community for others building stronger links, which is also an objective of social gain.

2.7. Social Gain or Social Change?

Subtle differences such as those highlighted above are factors, which inform how social gain is translated and delivered through contemporary community radio across the UK. Two of the three case study stations in which this research was conducted, serve mixed British and diaspora communities. Therefore, if democracy relies on key practices of communication as suggested earlier (Dahlgren, 1995), radio policies which facilitate the representation and participation in communication of multi-ethnic and mixed communities in the UK, are key for improving democracy on a local level and thus improving communities. As discussed in chapter one, radio policy until

2001 focussed on a saturation of public service content nationally and commercial radio locally (and then nationally), prioritising technology and the expansion of the commercial sector within a narrow vision of public service. The audience was not officially considered in terms of representing ethnicity or diversity within local radio until the 1970s (Silvey, 1974) when they began to broadcast two language programmes for immigrant audiences (Khamkar, 2016), but these considerations were not worked into radio policy until the 1990s (Stoller, 2010). As outlined earlier, the social gain policy, which was included when constructing objectives for community radio, dictates that each community station benefits its location and represents those that are underrepresented by mainstream media.

The social gain policy on the surface can be argued as a compensatory policy for those who have been marginalised as a result of Britain's historically restrictive immigration policies, which in turn have been argued to channel the preferences of the elite (Hansen 2000:263). For these audiences, content and provision has also been impacted by the restrictive legislation and public service approach to radio discussed in chapter one. By articulating social gain, community radio stations offer the opportunity to represent several immigrant and indigenous groups through one station, building a community that masks 'ideologically contradictory positions' (McKay, 2010:51). McKay also argues that community media begins from a position of compromise, but can be recognised as 'part of the wider and longer lasting movement for liberation and radical social change'. Gordon's work distinguishes between social gain and social worth arguing 'gain is demonstrating profit, return or reward, it is a value-added quality, whereas 'worth' is an intrinsic value or merit' (Gordon 2009:66). Huntsberger (2012:231-237) when discussing findings from a similar study of community radio practitioners' values and motivations, found it is these intrinsic values which fuel the types of experience sought by volunteers and their understanding of issues and possible solutions. Gordon however, discusses how stations rely heavily on demonstrating social gain through volunteer numbers and the amount of training they provide, but often fail to fully understand the needs of the community or their volunteers' intrinsic values. Chapter six of this thesis however, goes some way to outlining some of these intrinsic values through a discussion of developing skill sets and associated benefits felt through participation in the station.

Ofcom outlines the terms of social gain as four main criteria (see introduction), but following the Access Radio pilot of 2001, in which the pilot stations demonstrated some of the opportunities delivering social gain offered for the wider community, a government consultation led to a much more prescriptive list of suggested demonstrations of social gain (outlined in the guidelines for applying for community licences) and how these may be achieved (Everitt 2003:5-6, Ofcom 2004:12). However, this presents a dichotomy as for some the creation of this list could contradict the principle of communities holistically assessing their own needs and changing their environments as a result and lead to social gain being limited by bureaucratization (Rodriguez, 2001: xii). Alternatively, for others the suggestions made for how social gain may be achieved by the community radio guidelines, could be viewed as a route to finding common values in communities, which could then be used to develop those communities.

Van Vuuren (2001:2-4) argues community development relies on a minimum level of social capital, but once the processes of development becomes established, it generates more social capital, which leads to social change. Lin (2001:6) describes social capital as 'investment in social relations with expected returns.' Gauntlett argues social capital became a buzzword and has 'been used by policy makers and think tanks since the 1990s' (2011:129). Drawing on work from Bourdieu (1984), Coleman (1998) and Putnam (2001), Gauntlett outlines social capital as enabling people to benefit from a network of social relationships to do things they otherwise could not, which contributes to individual happiness and the smooth running of society and relies on social capital. However, he adds social capital 'relies on people looking beyond themselves and engaging in supportive or helpful actions, not because they expect a reward or immediate reciprocal help, but because they believe it's a good thing to do.' (2011:5). As chapters five and six will outline, although accruing social capital is not always the intention when volunteers first engage with a station, it is possible to draw on individual social capital in a community radio environment to suggest a collective discourse of community and ask members to participate. The social gain policy's objective to strengthen links within the community relies on social capital being embedded in the volunteering process, which volunteers argue contributes to individual happiness and the

smoother running of the station internally. Gauntlett's ideas on social capital could be argued as naïve as he focuses on positive aspects discussing the possibilities of social capital for social change. He updates his ideas in a second version of *Making is Connecting* (2018) where he discusses the differences and less positive outcomes of his propositions seven years earlier in a 'digitally connected world' (2018:2). On social capital he remains largely positive, but discusses how it can be used to build and strengthen bonds between those subscribing to misogynistic, racist and extreme religious groups, which look to exclude and marginalise with vitriolic language and intent on and offline.

However, it is Putnam's work (2001:22-23) where both bridging and bonding social capital is described that is most useful for considering social capital in relation to community radio and its potential to facilitate social change. Putnam describes bridging capital as inclusive, acting like a bridge across diverse groups who have a shared goal citing the Civil Rights movement as an example. He continues bridging social capital is useful for linking to external assets and diffusing information. Contrasting this, bonding social capital is described as a type of exclusive social glue, which mobilises a group promoting solidarity and collective action. Putnam warns that whilst bonding capital can facilitate exclusive identities and forms of reciprocity, bridging capital can broaden and extend identities. If the concept of bonding and bridging social capital are used in relation to community radio, it suggests both types of capital need to be present in almost equal measure to facilitate the internal articulation of social gain and the external articulation of social gain to experience the benefits of it in the wider community. This also suggests if both types of capital are present, it would be possible to create a cohesive community (Rodriguez-Garcia, 2010) and a radio sector where a nuanced sense of British identity is constructed and articulated without leading to ghettoization as discussed earlier in the chapter.

The original construction of the social gain policy under the Radio Authority, according to Stoller (2012) suggested stations would demonstrate social gain as they saw fit in their own communities in line with UNESCO's ideas that broadcasting regulation should be culturally specific to enable this (Saloman 2008:9-10). However, by constructing such a specific set of

tasks for demonstrating social gain, suggests communities perceive benefit in the same way and their understanding and ideas of social capital are the same, which in culturally diverse communities is unlikely to be the case because of different nationalities, cultural traditions and class status, all of which construct identity. In the UK, all community radio stations are required to produce annual reports outlining how they have demonstrated social gain through their station during the previous year. However, there are associated benefits not listed in the reports, because they do not fit the categories outlined in the guidelines, or are overlooked because they are not perceived as benefitting the geographic community, volunteers, station managers or committee members.

Although Gordon's work (2009:12-13) touches on similar ideas to McKay's (2010:51) of masking contradictory ideological positions, she supports the notion of community radio as a tool for empowerment and social change. However, Gordon acknowledges along with Günell (2008:87) that although community radio appears to be an ideal solution for building links within communities and empowering, stations often struggle to survive due to limited finances, restrictions, lack of volunteers and a failure to engage with the communities they aim to serve. This suggests community radio cannot build reciprocity and trust internally in stations activating bonding social capital without structured support in the form of enabling legislation and basic funding. Furthermore, I would argue this limits the ability of the station to engender bridging social capital in the form of fostering community partnerships. In 2002, Tacchi's research outlined community radio stations as vehicles for addressing and overcoming social and economic underdevelopment, in historically disadvantaged communities all over the world (Tacchi 2002:68-77). However, her research revealed internationally, the sector was fraught with difficulties, including a lack of funding, resources and skills and it would appear in 2018, the UK faces some of the same issues. However, as I will show some of these issues can be overcome by including specific individuals within the station structure who can perform specific roles and galvanise those working in the station engendering bonding and bridging social capital (Putnam, 2001:22-23).

In the Access Pilot Evaluation report written in 2003 by Anthony Everitt, a community radio fund (previously put forward by the Community Radio Association) was officially proposed to assist stations with start-up and operational costs. The original figure suggested by Everitt was an annual figure of £30,000 per station with match funding amounting to 50% of the total station operating costs (Everitt 2003:137-140). Although funding is not the only barrier to community radio sustainability, it is a core, determining factor in whether a station continues to operate or not. Lewis in September 2008, investigated models of funding from around the world, comparing them to the UK and suggested that funding for stations should consist of a core government grant with additional funding, sourced from partner organisations whose primary objective is to fund regeneration, social inclusion through arts projects and employment training. He concluded this collaborative approach to funding community radio and the partnerships it establishes, could help to sustain community radio stations in the UK, enabling stations to further contribute real social and educational value to their communities (Lewis 2010:17).

The themes outlined above suggest community radio operates as a site of ideological compromise, which is contextually specific. Although there are many definitions the social, economic and political context of community radio dictates the objectives and practices of the station and how much those involved with the station are willing to compromise. Downing (2001: v) has argued radical media such as community radio, can present alternatives to hegemonic policies and priorities. In the context of the UK, this would suggest community radio programming is an alternative to the tight repetitive programming conventions of commercial radio (designed to maximise profits) and the public service output of the BBC (designed to fulfil its remit and justify the licence fee). However, as chapters five and six demonstrate, despite these being the principles of community radio programming, the discursive practices used in the case study stations and how this is articulated reflects other sectors as part of a discourse of professionalism. Internationally, the opportunity to represent individuals and their communities, expressing their opinions is outlined by UNESCO as a right of all individuals but applied to the context of radio, without a community radio sector this would be limited and not prioritised through the other sectors. UNESCO has also suggested that the role of community radio is to promote social agendas. Arnaldo (2001:1) agrees, arguing by

doing this community radio enables communities to become drivers of their own destiny. However, Howley (2010:184) suggests without discussion shows, which encourage the wider community to participate the capacity to facilitate community development is limited. The literature suggests that unless community members are equally given space and encouraged to participate to improve their community, community radio in the UK is at risk of being reduced to a poorly resourced version of other available radio sectors.

During the introduction to his *Brief History of Neoliberalism* (2007: 2), Harvey argues neoliberalism is:

> a series of political economic practices that propose that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade.

He continues as long as the state has provided the framework, its intervention should be minimal to prevent bias. Although neoliberalism focuses on economic growth, I believe aspects of a neoliberalist approach have underpinned radio policy construction allowing competition to build, companies to grow and the UK economy to benefit from radio broadcasting. However, I also believe this same approach underpinned the creation of the community radio framework, which sought to create a sense of ideological liberation for communities through including them in the construction of policies which provide a framework for individuals to participate and thrive in their communities. However, neo-liberalist frameworks focus on economic growth and not community radio principles where the focus lies on human and citizenship rights and empowerment. Therefore, funding structures were linked to other third sector organisations to ensure no profit was made and as funding structures have now diminished, stations have returned to hegemonic discourses of public service and commercial radio production as professional which has seen the founding principles outlined above overlooked. Furthermore, when these ideas are framed by neo-liberalist themes, which dictate the boundaries, it defeats the purpose of community development from within the community and discourages some in the community from engaging with or contributing to the construction of social policy at local level (Howley, 2010:184). In reality these negotiations and the conditions for community development will also be limited, as the policies for community radio and demonstrations of community development through social gain, must fit within the institutional framework of the UK government to even gain a licence. This also suggests the opportunities to

exercise citizenship rights which are framed and articulated as beneficial to the citizen in practical terms, are also limited as only certain members of the community come forward to participate. In order to consider the principles (outlined above) and associated benefits of community radio and how these relate to practice, in the context of contemporary community radio, I will now consider the practices of community radio in more detail.

2.8. Community Radio Programming Practices

In order to consider the practices of community radio, we must first acknowledge that apart from the principles on which community radio is based (as discussed in the previous section), it is the political economy of the station, which will ultimately determine the station's output. Political economy is defined by Mosco as:

> the study of the social relations, particularly the power relations, that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources
>
> (Mosco 1996: 22)

These relations and the associated practices will differ, depending on the media model (public service broadcaster, commercial or community) being considered and the political context in which it broadcasts. These factors dictate the funding stream and objectives, allocation of resources, organization of output and programming content of each station and the frameworks within which they are regulated. Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea (along with Day, 2009) argue that traditional hierarchies, present in commercial and public service radio models are less widely used in community radio, as the structure tends to be 'more integrative and consensual' and 'based on a set of shared values.' (2010:82). Gordon also discusses this idea outlining the gap between the listener and the broadcaster in community radio as being 'almost non-existent' (2009:74). However, in practical terms, I would argue other factors such as the number of volunteers and their willingness to have their voice heard should also be considered. As discussed in the previous section Day's (2009) work outlines community radio as presenting opportunities for multi-flows of communication, but this does not necessarily mean barriers between the listener and broadcaster are not there, as Day's approach relies on those working in the station to cascade the skills and knowledge learned into the community off-air. It is also worth noting those who argue traditional hierarchies are not as widely used (Lister Mitchell and O'Shea 2010) can be challenged, as in some cases

(as this work will show) traditional hierarchies are used and can be considered as reinforcing an elitist public sphere and as I have discussed constructing particular kinds of citizens in an ideological discourse of democracy and professionalism in developed countries.

To consider how this impacts community radio programming practices, we need to first establish some of the key elements relevant across all radio sectors to the organization of radio station design and output. Much of the literature written about radio programming and production practices (Hendy 2000, Barnard 2000, Chignell 2009 and Hausman et al 2010) is organized around key themes. These include station policies (music, speech, advertising and social media) and management, target audience, regulation and other legal obligations, finance and accountability. However, in terms of practical radio production for community radio, the *Community Radio Toolkit* (Radio Regen, 2015) and website were commissioned by the Department for Culture Media and Sport in 2005 and updated in 2015 to include guidelines for using social media. When first published, the handbook was intended for use as a reference text for those interested in setting up a sustainable community radio station and made available to the wider community radio sector, as a resource by which to measure their own operation, should they wish. Although the document acknowledges the different models and contexts in which stations operate, it also recognizes the value of not for profit radio as giving communities a voice, thus developing and strengthening them, whilst also providing an outlet for social, cultural and educational content, excluded elsewhere by other forms of radio (See communityradiotoolkit.net).

The toolkit is organized under a number of themes, giving practical advice around all of the foundational aspects for consideration when setting up radio stations including the key themes outlined above, skills training required for radio production and engaging and managing volunteers. The creators also discuss the common tensions that arise in community stations around whether to prioritise community access or focus on the quality of radio output. Therefore, the authors argue there are three main areas by which to measure your operation; Quality of process, quality of output and impact in the community (Radio

Regen, 2015). To distinguish the practices of community radio from that of other sectors we will now discus these themes in more detail.

2.9 Quality of Process

According to the *Community Radio Toolkit* (2015), in considering the quality of process, it is important to first establish how much community members volunteering at the station benefit from programme making. This is an important question when trying to understand the potential benefits of social gain and how someone might understand and articulate discourses; which they consider could represent their community, express ideas and opinions through radio and train community members whilst strengthening links in practice (see introduction). Milan argues one of the main reasons for individuals to be involved in community radio past political value or ideal is 'the sense of freedom that derives from an environment that is self-organised' (2008:30). However, as discussed earlier although hierarchies are considered non-traditional (Day, 2009) they are still present and for most volunteer programme makers there is someone involved in the process of training them to enable them to make the programmes. If this is unstructured, it can impact their experience and the quality of the process. Moylan's research into programming in Irish community radio and how it represents Ireland's emerging transnationalism and immigrant communities (2009:109-124) describes a specific station in Dublin (Dublin City Anna Livia FM), which uses an informal structure and presenting style. Referring to a show for African communities living in Dublin, Moylan argues the informal style and the fact that both presenters speak English (as a lingua Franca), with different accents (South African and Nigerian), demonstrates characteristics of a community station as outlined by AMARC (2018) including respecting all cultural identities and international co-operation by building relationships based on equality. Due to limited studio time, most programmes are live. She argues:

> Un-rehearsed delivery can mean that an unpolished presenter can offer a particularly authentic style and delivery, which is effective in its own terms.
>
> (Moylan, 2009: 114 -115).

This conversational un-rehearsed style in commercial and public service broadcasting according to Barnard is often scripted to sound informal (Barnard 2000:180). However, as my earlier research found in addressing representations of those who feel socially excluded, this

freedom to be unpolished can build confidence and aspiration (Grimes and Stevenson, 2012). McInerney (2001:183) develops these ideas discussing benchmarks of professional production and outlining, a good radio interview should be led by the interviewee as opposed to the interviewer. Although McInerney is not discussing community radio specifically, it demonstrates the gap between what are considered amateur and professional production techniques and values. Moylan's case study (2009) concurring with Milan (2008), outlines the value of community radio programming is in the fact that community stations do not need to adhere to such strict schedules and timeframes. As long as the key commitments of the license agreement are met, she argues there is less pressure to sound like a professional cy, station. As I will discuss in chapter four, five and six, in the context of my research, I found each station was aiming to sound more professional, as they believe this gives the station and the wider community credibility. Despite the benefits of remaining unpolished (Moylan, 2013), as I will discuss in chapter six, engaging with community radio as part of a discourse of professionalism, built volunteers' confidence (in this case) improving their experience and the quality of the process for them. However, it is important where this discourse of professionalism is evident, that the principles of community radio (as discussed in the previous section) are not overshadowed by the neo-liberal principles which focuses on professionalism linked to profit and economic growth into new markets (which in this case would be community audiences) without re-investing in the community. In other words, neo-liberal agendas focus on the profit that can be made (as commercial radio has) from radio whereas community radio despite having to operate in a newly convergent media landscape attempts to retain its focus on its social principles despite using commercial practices.

Ward, Buckham and Hallett argue that community radio audiences, should be considered through a different lens to BBC or commercial audiences and programming should focus around either a geographical community or community of interest and should reflect this distinction (2012:349). However, for some stations this distinction is not clear as they attempt to serve both the geographic and cultural community by engaging them in the station and encouraging them to produce programming, they feel will gain more listeners. For most producing policy and researching community radio, programming is considered as 'a tool for

social action and community development' and the focus is placed on 'social and strategic partnerships' (Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea 2010:78-80). This implies in all cases community radio programming should be the end product after engaging the community, conceptualising their collective voice, understanding what issues are important to them and then effectively enabling them to address these issues through programming. In some cases, this can mean giving air time to groups or individuals in the community, skills training and a number of other initiatives outlined in their key commitments, which can result in developing the community overall (Day, 2009). As I will argue in chapter four whilst an attempt to do this is apparent in each of the stations at the centre of this research, it is inconsistent and easily neglected without social actors being engaged in key positions in the station, which I will also discuss in more detail in chapter five. The evidence suggests the key to retaining the principles of community radio at the station's core (despite the desire of some volunteer's to sound professional and compete with other radio sectors) is the have a key figure that remains focussed on articulating a discourse of community radio policy and purpose. Without this person in place the principles of community radio and key commitments of the stations can be overlooked in favour of the practices and articulated with the sole purpose of competing for listeners to justify any potential funding.

In the UK, since the Community Radio Order was published in 2004, Ofcom have proposed the licensing process for Community Radio stations be 'applicant led' (Ofcom 2018), outlining that due to the nature of community radio, it would be too prescriptive and 'inappropriate for Ofcom to decide the specific locations or target communities to be served' (ibid). In their licence application, each station must not only describe the community it will serve, but also how they will demonstrate social gain through the four mandatory criteria (see introduction). However, not wishing to be too prescriptive and limit social gain activity, Ofcom laid out a further seven possible social objectives which station activity could fall within, which include:

- The delivery of services provided by local authorities and other services of a social nature, the increasing and wider dissemination of knowledge about those services and about local amenities.
- The promotion of economic development and of social enterprise.
- The promotion of employment.
- The provision of opportunities for the gaining of work experience.
- The promotion of social inclusion.
- The promotion of cultural and linguistic diversity.

- The promotion of civic participation and volunteering.

(Ofcom, 2016)

These suggestions came out of the 2001 evaluation of the access radio pilot stations, conducted by Everitt (2003) as discussed in chapter one. The report outlined how these objectives when addressed through programming, should be tailored to the specific community and outlined in their licence application document. It is worth noting that although stations may benefit the community in any or all of these ways, they only need to demonstrate and report on the objectives set out in their original licence application and anything that is not considered to fall into the set of social objectives laid out in the documentation must be pre-approved by Ofcom itself. Therefore, including too little or too much in the key commitments of the station could potentially impact the quality of process and how much volunteers benefit from making programmes. Without a Station Manager who has time to amend key commitments and get approval from Ofcom, those making programmes could be tied to commitments they cannot achieve.

Whether in the form of a traditional hierarchy or a community structure (referred to by Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea earlier), the management of a station is a complex task and the person responsible may have to undertake a number of roles. McLeish outlines that whatever their title (e.g. Executive Producer, Station Manager, Programme Controller) 'this senior editorial figure is there to listen to the output and provide feedback on it to the producers.' (McLeish 2005:286). The order in which the output is organised is based on the station's format document, but it is the Station Manager who is responsible for ensuring the delivery of the objectives outlined in that format as smoothly as possible, and in community settings they also act as an arbiter of social gain. McLeish (2005:287) concludes station management should be considered through the following four steps; deciding what you want to achieve, the means of reaching your objective, integrating the effort of the team, monitoring progress and providing feedback. However, in a community radio station there are a number of other factors to consider, including training and galvanising the team and a lack of time and resources to monitor progress and give feedback.

Keith (2004 56:57) discusses the difficulties of performing a Station Manager's role in the commercial sector, where the individual is required to be an expert in a number of fields, but the overall priority is to ensure the smooth running of daily operations whilst meeting financial targets. Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea (2010:106) outline a good commercial Station Manager should know how to build and maintain an audience, judging the listener's needs and making fewer mistakes than their competition. They also suggest effective managers 'modify the structure to make the most of the skills and talents available locally' (2010:50). They go on to discuss the role in community radio as often the only paid role and vital to the sustainability and growth of a community station. This suggests one of the key roles of the Station Manager is to liaise between the committee to get a clear understanding of the social gain commitments outlined in the licence application and then interpret and translate these into station policies and then into training for volunteers and output for the station.

There are a number of other guidelines and legalities, which must be considered as they impact on radio programming practices. In line with the Communications Act of 2003, all broadcasting in the UK (with the exception of the BBC, which is regulated by the BBC Trust) is subject to the Broadcasting Code. The code published by Ofcom, outlines specifics of what can and cannot be broadcast under UK law. There are several categories, relevant for radio output which were updated in May 2016 and include:

1. Protecting the under Eighteens
2. Harm and Offence
3. Crime, disorder, hatred and abuse
4. Religion
5. Due impartiality and due accuracy
6. Elections and Referendums
7. Fairness
8. Privacy
9. Commercial Communications in Radio Programming

(Ofcom, 2017)

Those working in community radio, particularly managers and volunteers must also consider the broadcasting code when creating and broadcasting content. For example, when constructing a schedule for the station, particular types of programmes which include content of a sensitive or controversial nature, in relation to section one of the code (*Protecting the*

Under Eighteens), should be scheduled when younger members of the audience are most likely to be engaged in other activities and not listening to the radio, such as mid-morning during school hours. Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea argue that:

> previously well-established standards of taste and decency were replaced in the Communications Act of 2003, by arguably less subjective tests of harm and offence. (2010:202)

They warn that community managers need to familiarize themselves with the code and Ofcom broadcast bulletins, which outline responses to complaints to ensure their station is operating within the code. If a station is reported and found to be in breach of the code, then the station can be fined or in some cases have their licence revoked (See Ofcom Complaints online). There are sections of the code, which are specific to each sector, including section nine (commercial communications in radio), which outlines that 'spot advertisements must be clearly separated from programming' (Ofcom, 2017). This is usually executed with the inclusion of station idents or travel bulletins, which is also a technique promoted by management of community stations. Considering the quality of output for community stations and how much those making the programmes can actually benefit I argue will always be limited. A utopian view could posit the principles of social gain offer democratization of radio production and enable communities to exercise their rights, representing themselves through participating in a community radio station. However, as discussed in chapter one and above, when these principles are articulated in practice in a UK context another tension arises. The restrictive nature of regulation and lack of support for the sector to adapt to new political, economic, social and technological landscapes since its inception have seen some stations left behind whilst the political economy of radio changes in a neo-liberal, digital context where media forms are converging. In chapters five and six, I will discuss the quality of process and how it is impacted due to a lack of time and resources to engage the community which in most cases has changed as a result of losing staff since each station was licenced. In this case, stations struggle to re-consider the key commitments of the station and find solutions to operating with reduced resources to serve these new communities in light of these changes.

2.9b. Quality of Output

UNESCO's report on best practice for community media organisations, discusses commercial

media practices of maximising profit through targeting audiences with spending power and compares this with community media, whose audiences usually have little to no spending power. The report outlines that most community media models 'operate at the very margins of economic viability' (Buckley, 2011:35) which ultimately impacts the quality of output. As discussed throughout chapter one, the economic structures of community radio in the UK were designed to engage key agencies working in the third sector with community radio stations in a project of regenerating communities. As chapter five will argue since the onset of the recession in 2007, this has become more challenging as funds have diminished. Therefore, community stations have begun to adopt some commercial practices to compete for audiences and secure advertising revenue whilst filling gaps in programming. Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea (2010:44) research discussed those working in management positions in the first wave of community radio stations in the UK, as being a mixture of long-term project managers and executive producers and managers transferring from BBC and commercial stations. I believe this to have had an impact creating an aspirational discourse of professionalism in community radio stations, which impacts the quality of output.

Beaman argues that radio programming policies should be:

> established in the mind of the listener as soon as they turn on and everything it broadcasts should match up with that listener's expectations every time, they tune in.
>
> (Beaman, 2006:1-2)

However, he goes on to outline that this can lead to formulaic, standardised output, which lacks diversity. In the context of community radio programming policies, Scifo draws parallels between Amarc's European Community Radio Charter and the (UK's) Community Radio Order. He outlines that community radio stations:

> in determining their programme policy, they should be editorially independent of government, commercial, or religious institutions and political parties, and provide the right of access to minorities and marginalised groups, therefore promoting and protecting cultural and linguistic diversity.'
>
> (Scifo 2011:43).

This would support the notion that in constructing programming policies for community stations, each committee must engage members of the community at all operational levels (as outlined by Day 2009), to fully comprehend the level of diversity and associated cultural

needs, and ensure editorial independence. They must then consider how best to serve that community, through a mixture of elements which Hausman et al (2010:2-3) describe as constituting the 'station sound'. These include speech to music ratios, type of music, style and pace of vocal delivery of presenters, production techniques used for commercials and public information or community announcements, news and other recording techniques.

Hausman et al stress that there is a difference between programming and production, the former being concerned with the overall mixture of the elements as outlined above, and the latter the actual characteristics and action that go into making these elements (2010:315). The total station sound is a concept which was first discussed in the context of commercial radio, where in the USA commercial radio formats, or as argued by McCourt and Rothenbuler 'operated as a well-oiled sales machine' (2004:1), selling the station and its audience as a brand to advertisers, rather than focussing on individual listeners or programmes. They outline this was done by using very tight, prescriptive music programming policies and making the station recognisable as soon as the listener turned the dial. Although the principles of community radio outlined above dictate this should not be a priority for the sector, as the wider political economy of radio has changed, stations are now attempting to build and maintain brands in light of these changes to compete for advertising.

Barnard (2000:124) argues that music has been the foundation of radio programming since the medium began, as it is inexpensive and provides a frame for all the other elements of the total station sound. Street describes how, during the 1990s in the UK, deregulation led to the rise of radio groups such as GWR, Capital Radio and EMAP (Street 2009:20). These commercial groups' main objective (as with the early American top 40 formats) was to maximize profit by delivering an audience to advertisers, but Fleming supporting Beaman (2006) highlights, this tactic resulted in much output sounding very similar (Fleming, 2009:14). This issue seems less of a problem for larger groups who now own a number of formats as part of a portfolio as it is a distinct way of constructing various station sounds within the brand's portfolio. Hendy (2000:10) argued at the beginning of the 21st century, the radio industry could be understood as two main 'contradictory processes'. The first being an

industry moving more towards these large brands which own a number of formats, whilst also becoming more fragmented with more stations serving specialist target audiences. Keith discusses programming as a science in commercial stations, with very little now left to chance. He argued the most useful tool for a programmer to 'ensure the effective presentation of on-air ingredients' and the station's position in the marketplace is a programme wheel (Keith 2004:106). Also known as a programme clock (McLeish 2005:160), the wheel allows the correct amount of music, speech, news, weather and adverts, to be strategically placed during an hour. Keith argues that the clock 'parallels the activities of the community in which the station operates.' (2004:107), placing news on the hour and then the first fifteen minutes are designed and programmed based on audience research (Arbitron), which outlines the first 15 minutes as a peak for new listeners tuning in. Therefore, Keith argues most stations programme the biggest hits in this first quarter of an hour. This commercial practice gives structure, but according to McLeish also maintains consistency, whilst allowing freedom and 'changes to be made with the least disruption' (McLeish 2005:160). This would suggest that if most stations operate using this standardized method that it would be difficult to differentiate between stations and construct a station sound. However, in community radio the task of constructing a station sound is easier as key commitments mean the station should be distinct in its output, the tension lies in whether the community's station sound limits the principles of community radio and serves the whole of the community.

Barnard (2000:173-184) discusses radio speech styles and how the medium offers a space where speech can appear immediate (live) and intimate, giving listeners the impression of a one to one address between them and the presenter. Barnard continues 'radio speech styles tend to vary according to content, context and intentionality' (2000:176). When reviewing case studies in other national contexts to see if they mirror commercial practices to secure funding, the Hungarian model is outlined as gaining financial support through prioritizing local news and information. Velics (2012:277) outlines the history of the community radio sector in Hungary pre and post 2011, when the national policies changed. After broadening their radio sectors in 2011, Hungarian stations could apply to be re-categorised as community media

providers. This meant stations must observe a new set of production guidelines which included regular community news, six minutes of advertising of local businesses, four hours of cultural programming a day and observe a Hungarian music quota in exchange for community radio funding. Much of the research into community radio programming around the world focuses on democratic values articulated through speech elements and accessibility but the value of playing music from underrepresented genres as democratic and the use of automated music programming which repeats this to fill gaps in programming is largely under researched.

In 2011, UNESCO published a handbook, which outlined best practice for community media organisations and has since been updated regularly to incorporate new elements. Of the case study stations featured in UNESCO's *Community Media: A Good Practice Handbook* (Buckley, 2011), only one station (Radio Hamalali Garinagu in Belize) prioritized local music as an essential objective of the station and key to its sustainability and the sustainability of local culture. It is worth noting that very little literature focuses on the democratic values of the music or the benefits of playing musical genres on community radio stations, which do not feature elsewhere in mainstream output. As such this could be considered to be representing specific communities, and as those who venture into this area of research outline, some audiences value music as much as speech.

Rubin (2012) discusses a college/community radio station in the USA and the democratic values listeners placed on hearing alternative music selected by DJs. He outlines 'self-proclaimed alternative music-based community stations, also tend to share an emphasis on recordings produced by independent record labels' (2012:214). This would suggest that where a station is well developed with broad musical networks, it is possible to resist hegemonic mainstream music industry practices, but as I will discuss in chapter six even in these circumstances, this is not possible across the whole schedule. Rubin goes on to argue that although some stations follow commercial radio programming practices, by broadcasting new music that has not yet charted and older music which has not been heard for some time, they can be considered to be playing music which is in demand by communities and

therefore, considered as holding democratic value in serving audiences. He describes this as a heteroglossic practice, as it allows so many different alternative styles of music to be played in the same programme (2012:199-297).

Milan (2008:32) posits that music often holds a background position for some community radio practitioners, who tend to prioritise news and current affairs. However, she argues in terms of immigrant communities, music conveys specific cultural practices and acts as a non-verbal language, which can be shared. I believe this a key advantage that community radio has over public service stations, such as BBC 6 music and the Asian Network, who adopt heteroglossic practices by supporting music from other countries and British regions, as well as local musicians, but are restricted through play listing requirements and music policies designed from a public service perspective (Percival, 2011). There are less barriers to including a wider range of under-represented music genres as part of a community radio station's schedule if it is part of a station objective and written into their key commitments. As I will discuss in chapter five, in some cases for station managers this can be key in fulfilling two objectives with one action providing a clear alternative to mainstream radio stations and providing an inexpensive way of filling air time (with music), whilst engaging the community in what they view as output of better quality than is available to them elsewhere over the air.

2.9c. Impact in the Community

The majority of research carried out into community radio audiences and impact has been done in an international context and in the UK, community radio audiences remain largely under researched. Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea (2010:289) argue the impact of community radio on communities should not be measured through listener numbers but more the impact it has on stakeholders whether actively engaged in the station or passive listeners. Meadows et al (2009:149-169) discuss the Australian experience outlining community radio audiences' passion for the sector and its impact in terms of re-engaging communities with the processes of democracy 'creating social coherence through diversity.' They discuss the sector as being well researched in Australia as it has become so well established and has such large listenership. Gordon's work (2015, 2012, 2009) has discussed measuring the impact of

community radio in UK communities as challenging, due to the lack of time and money available to these stations to access traditional audience research methods or figures through RAJAR, the system used by BBC and commercial counterparts. Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea (2010:289) credit Tacchi et al's (2003) 'ethnographic action research', along with Jallov's (2005) 'barefoot' methodologies, as most useful in putting community stakeholders at the centre of measuring impact. In support of this, more recently resources have been made available to encourage radio stations to work together to conduct research in their area to measure their impact and provide data to potential funders. The *Prove It* toolkit (Radio Regen, 2017) has been designed as an addition to the community radio toolkit to assist stations to measure their impact in the community.

In *Radio in the Global Age*, Hendy argued that all radio stations have an audience in mind when designing and structuring their 'format' document, which describes their service (Hendy 2000:115). Tacchi added that audience research is the tool designed to 'measure, design, construct and ultimately build audiences' (Tacchi 2002:156). Although neither Hendy nor Tacchi are discussing community radio audiences specifically, these arguments can be used as a starting point to understand the role of audiences in the structure and design of a radio station and build on the ideas posed in the last section around programming preferences and the previous chapter about how growing agency of audiences not only impacts programming, but also regulation. Gordon (2009:66) argues community radio practitioners' motivations for becoming involved are often driven by other values, such as acquiring social capital as discussed in the previous section. Whereas the value of listening to community radio is often based around accessing local news and information, informal presenting style and, community radio is perceived as being accessible and approachable (Meadows et al 2007:1).

King, (2015:122) focussing on community radio in the middle east, asserts growing numbers of researchers conducting field work in community radio focus on how the station is attempting to meet the needs of the community, without tackling the gap which exists in ascertaining the impact of community radio listening on listeners. She argues collaborative research in communities with listeners and participants telling their own stories offers opportunities for the researcher and community members to reflect on personal impact

together. Traynor discusses community radio in China and Laos as having limited impact because of civil society being underdeveloped in these countries (2012:254). She also argues that participation is limited due to economic circumstances of volunteers, which limit their time and leave them participating from the periphery. Returning to UNESCO (Buckley, 2011) is useful, as they argue audiences and stations often have limited economic means and require content that can enhance their lives. In the context of the UK, seven years on from their research, this has become more important in a climate of austerity with increasing cuts to local services leaving communities suffering from further economic and social deprivation (Rodriguez, 2010:3) as supported most recently by the UN's Special Rapporteur.

As discussed in the first part of this chapter, the principles of community radio are viewed as a means for improving democracy, citizenship, participation and culture and as argued by Scifo (2011) and Hesmondhalgh and Lee (2015:5-10) were perceived as integral to a wider shift in cultural policy in the late 1990s, in which access to cultural production from a bottom up approach could improve wider wellbeing and prosperity. This suggests for community audiences the role of the station is to act as a conduit, bringing together community members and groups who are motivated to improve their environment through initiatives that can contribute to enhancing their lives. However, in the context of the UK and the station's featured here, their audiences also have competing ideas of what they require from a radio station, leaving most community stations opting for a commercial style of community programming (Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea, 2010:64-66). As I will discuss in more detail in chapters four and five, this impacts the construction of programming policies and scheduling, which we will now turn to.

In the UK, feedback and listening figures for the BBC and commercial sector, have been traditionally measured by Radio Audience Joint Research (RAJAR) and published quarterly (RAJAR, 2013). Despite newer online mechanisms, which are now available and enable stations to gather more qualitative data about audience preferences (see Stienstedt, 2008:113-127), these official figures are still used as an indicator of success. It is in response to those listening figures and other data that the programme clock is used to amend elements of programming without changing the format of the station, thus adhering to regulation and

operating within their format conditions. However, the restrictive nature of commercial radio formats, professional practices and standards required of its producers and presenters do not extend to community radio practitioners, as their primary purpose is to deliver social gain through the station and have an impact in the community (as opposed to making a profit). In 2012, Ofcom published a report on communication markets in the UK and outlined that community radio typically broadcasts 79 hours per week of live programming and 90 hours per week of original programming, including a mixture of live and pre-recorded elements (Ofcom 2012). This research was followed by a report called *Radio: The Listener's Perspective*, which uncovered that local audiences still view radio as an important accessible medium and value local content including access to frequent, local news and information (Ofcom, 2013). As the BBC have been subject to a number of funding freezes since the Charter review of 2004, there have been numerous attempts by BBC local radio Editors to build closer relationships with community stations to share news and content which serve these local audiences, but in 2016 had not yet reached a sector wide agreement (CMA Conference, 2016).

The research conducted around impact of community radio on community development, wellbeing and wider prosperity acknowledges the systems for measuring audiences and gathering this information in the UK (Rajar) (Hallett and Wilson 2010) is often too expensive for community radio stations to justify, as the data is not detailed enough when measuring audiences under 30,000. Despite academic research, which has sought to assist stations (Gordon, 2009), it has been done by only a handful to date in a UK context and needs to be repeated regularly to remain useful. The introduction of the *Prove It* toolkit to enable stations to measure their impact in a meaningful way, requires a considerable amount of station resource, volunteer time commitment and a partner station to yield results on the scale which could prove useful (Radio Regen, 2017). This is not to say community radio has no way of conducting qualitative research on their impact as on a smaller scale this can be done through phone-in shows, social media platforms and other calls to the station (Gordon, 2009). However, as I will discuss in chapters four and five since key economic structures and partnerships have begun to break down in community radio, some stations have also lost the

supporting reporting mechanisms, which were used by partner agencies providing funding support. Therefore, the principles of community radio are in some cases being overshadowed in UK community radio, as stations adopt commercial practices in an attempt to keep the station on air. However, despite newer reporting mechanisms being available, due to a lack of resources and volunteer time measuring the impact of community radio is limited.

Considering the principles and practices of community radio is vital for understanding how discourses of social gain are articulated in practice and as this chapter has discussed those in detail, I will now discuss the methods used when undertaking the research.

Chapter 3

Analysing Community Radio workers

This chapter outlines how ethnographic research methods were used to investigate the articulation and implementation of discourses of social gain (as outlined in the community radio licensing framework) in three community radio stations in Birmingham. Using a triangulation of methods including interviews and observations to gather data and interpretive frameworks including frame, articulation and discourse analyses to gain a deeper understanding of the data gathered, I analysed the perceptions, actions and production processes in the context of each station whilst mapping these articulations against a circuit of culture.

Whilst conducting research, I sought to uncover how each participant conceptualised social gain in relation to their own communities and how they articulated these ideas practically through their actions within the station. I also sought to understand how these articulations could be considered as points on a circuit of culture, whilst feeding into established discourses within each station. The chapter begins with a consideration of the methods used. Whilst exploring the strengths and weaknesses of each method, I will draw on previous case studies, which have utilised these methods and inspired my choices. I will outline my own approach and how I deployed each method, whilst discussing the ethical issues raised during the process and explaining the value of the chosen interpretive frameworks. This research raises questions about the role of individual perception and lived experience in understanding and re-articulating discourses of social gain through communicative actions, whilst negotiating the complexities of community radio environments in which discursive practices are socially constructed and collectively agreed. It has been established that individuals draw on their lived experience (Gray, 2003) to frame and understand issues impacting their community or potential problems (as discussed by Goffman, 1986 and Entman, 1993) which could be addressed through social gain. This study aims to consider the lived experience to outline these frames, understand how they underpin articulations of social gain, and identify the various discursive practices

used as articulations of social gain, situating them on a circuit of culture during the process of producing community radio.

I chose to focus my research on community radio stations in Birmingham, as the city has a diverse range of stations and models, and has previously also been the location of a number of studies, focussing on ethnicity and more recently, class in metropolitan cities (Rex and Moore 1967, Rex and Tomlinson 1979, Blackledge, 2001, Abbas 2006, Beider 2011). I believe re-considering some of the key aspects of these studies in a community radio environment has yielded distinctive contributions to previous debates by re-casting and re-presenting some of the ideas (discussed in chapter one), in a contemporary community radio context. For some of the participants interviewed, socio-cultural and socio-economic factors such as ethnicity, religion and class have framed their lived experience (Gray, 2003) and how they perceive the needs of their community. Furthermore, this drives their interpretation of social gain. I wanted to explore the complexities of how individual lived experience and identity contributes to a collective discourse of community and how this informs discursive practices and articulations of social gain in community radio environments.

Two of the community stations at the centre of this research aim to serve one or more ethnic groups and are located in the top 5% of the most deprived areas in Britain (Index of multiple deprivation, (IMD) 2010 [online]). This data is based on a number of indicators of deprivation, which include income, employment, health, education, skills and training, as well as barriers to local services. Abbas' (2006:6) research argued Birmingham's ethnic minorities were 'purposively ghettoized', and as a result had moved to particular parts of the city. Two years later research conducted by the Barrow Cadbury Trust (2008) argued minority communities wanted more initiatives to support children to mix with those from other faith and class groups to improve cohesion in the city overall. The stations I investigated are located in some of the areas referred to in Abbas' and the Barrow Cadbury Trust's research, but the minority communities living in these areas have changed more than ten years later. For others, class identities are more flexible as a result of concentrated initiatives to encourage social mobility under a new labour government in the 1990s (Scifo, 2011) and the acquiring of levels of capital

which Savage et al (2015) recognise under three categories, social, economic and cultural capital. These scholars outline markers of class as hierarchical and shifting, leading to a blurring of who inhabits and identifies with working class structures and status.

Each community selected has a radio station at its centre. Newstyle Radio is based in the west of the city (categorised as a deprived area) and aims to serve African, Caribbean and multi-cultural audiences in Birmingham (Newstyle Radio, 2018 [online]). The second station, Switch Radio is located in the north east of the city and aims to serve audiences of undisclosed mixed ethnicities in predominantly working-class areas (Switch, 2016 [online]). Although not considered as deprived (on the overall IMD) as the other two areas in which stations are based, the location of Switch Radio is still among the top 10% of the most deprived areas in Britain (IMD, 2010 [online]). The final case study station is Raaj FM, which is located in the north west of Birmingham on the border of Sandwell and Dudley, commonly known as the Black Country due to its industrial heritage. The station aims to serve Punjabi-speaking communities in Birmingham. The objective of this research was to map how each individual drew on their experience to frame and (in some cases) construct and articulate discourses of social gain and how they chose appropriate communicative actions to perform this task in each station. For the purposes of this research it is understood that lived experience considers markers of culture, ethnicity and class, which will vary in terms of priority when considering the identity of each interviewee and the context they are in (Gray, 2003). I investigated how the participant's lived experience frames their defining of the problem at hand, what they consider to be an appropriate solution and how this is articulated as discourses of social gain in the context of each community station.

3.1. Methods for collecting data

The data was sourced using two methods, which belong to the ethnographic paradigm of research, participant observation and interviews. May (2011:132) identifies four types of interview structured, semi-structured, unstructured and focussed. May acknowledges more than one type can be used depending on whether it is an individual, or group who is being interviewed. Structured interviews are described as posing the same questions to each participant and it is perceived that if participant's answers differ, the subjects genuinely think differently about the issue and is not a result of how the researcher executed the method. However, this suggests

little room for teasing out interesting points, which may not directly answer the question, but nevertheless be related. I felt this was important in a community setting where I was trying to establish how each interviewee understood their community and its needs. May also outlines the benefits of unstructured or focussed interviews are that they allow the interviewee to discuss the issue within their own terms of reference, which produces a more conversational style, but also allows the participant to lead the conversation wherever they wish, highlighting issues which are important for them (2011:133). Although this method allows for a more conversational style of interview, it can lead to participants drifting off topic and failing to divulge information needed about how they understood and articulated social gain transforming it into action. Therefore, I opted for semi-structured interviews by posing a particular set of questions to each participant to provide a basic structure, but drew from principles of the unstructured interview allowing the freedom to expand on interesting points participants may make during the interview. These can also be recognised as aligning with the principles of oral history interviewing techniques.

Outlining the value of oral history as a means of research, Grele (1985) discussed how traditional historians were sceptical of its value in the 1980s as it elicits memories that can differ from historical fact. Grele argued that oral history interviewers often failed to conduct the level of research required before embarking on an interview, which can lead to the interviewee's testimony being taken as fact. My own use of this type of interview was intentional to allow my research participants to explain their own perspectives and explore how their primary frameworks inform their understanding of community and social gain. Bryson and McConville (2014:69) argue the difference between more structured and oral history interviews is that the interviewer engages in active listening that relies on a 'leap of imagination and surrendering to your interviewee's perspective'.

In a 50th anniversary special issue, the UK's Oral History Society journal published twenty four articles from its archive which illustrate how oral history theory and practice have evolved since the journal began. In the introduction, Cosson (2019: 2-5) suggests that over the past fifty years there has been a growing sense of social and political purpose when gathering oral history testimonies. Portelli (2006:29) argues the power of oral history is that it enables a 'bottom up'

perspective to be added to ‘top down’ histories. Using an oral history approach enabled me to add to official descriptions of social gain by including individual perspectives on articulations and implementation of the policy. As such it represented a democratic method by which to include a ‘bottom up’ perspective whilst enabling my research participants to represent and present a cultural narrative unique to each station, which moved beyond documented articulations (of social gain) laid out in annual reports. It also enabled them to discuss their history with the station and how this informs their action, leading with aspects most important to them and thus giving them a voice. Returning to Portelli (2019) when critiquing his earlier work (2006 article), he outlines that the value of oral history is that it allows the interviewer to connect with and interrogate different forms of narrative and as I was keen to understand how articulations of policy are implemented in practice at different stages in the process, this seemed the most appropriate style of interview.

I was also keen to observe how social gain discourses are implemented in practice, as the complexities of keeping a station on air whilst attempting to fulfil policy objectives, remain within editorial guidelines and serve the target audience can be challenging. This is even more challenging when volunteering and in some cases not having received structured training. Therefore, I chose to use participant observation as a secondary method.

It has been argued that participant observation was born out of a positivist approach where researchers assume they already know what is important about what they will observe (May, 2011:162). However, I was interested in using a pragmatic approach and so chose to observe participants in a radio environment, performing production processes to ascertain which production elements and skills they drew on when articulating (what they consider a version of) social gain through radio practice. The observations took place after the interviews, as I wanted to explore how each participant’s articulations of social gain correlated with discursive practices in a radio production environment. Rock (1979) argues that social life is constantly changing and is not a fixed entity, but instead progressive. He continues, to understand this progression; a researcher must immerse him or herself in a participant’s social life. Through conducting semi-structured interviews, I also hoped to establish a sense of the participant’s social life from their

own perspective and how this informs their practice. Participant observation also referred to as a tool of ethnography is defined as offering:

> an empathic understanding of a social scene. It is said to exclude, over time, the preconceptions that researchers may have and exposes them to new social milieu that demand their engagement and understanding.
>
> (May, 2011:166)

May's outlining of the preconceptions held by researchers was a key factor for consideration during this research, as I have a professional background in radio production and so have a number of preconceptions of processes and production values, which I understand as essential when producing radio. Whilst conducting the research, I was aware it was important to acknowledge my own history, but not project it onto the participants. As May argues, this could have influenced the social scene and my own perception of what people said in interviews, but also how they communicated this through practice, whilst under observation. As I set out to investigate how individuals translated social gain, I was conscious that participants could have perceived my presence as a threat or as me conducting an audit, so I took my time to get to know participants through meeting socially before interviewing them, outlining my position as a researcher and gaining each participant's trust, so they felt comfortable when talking to me, and confident I would not be relaying information to Ofcom.

3.2. Previous Case Studies

Previous studies into community radio have focussed on the motivations of volunteers (Milan 2008) and benefits to the wider community through the participation of individuals. There are also studies, which focus on representing diverse migrant communities (See Moylan 2013) and how regulation in the UK has attempted to accommodate this (Hallett, 2010). However, as outlined earlier, focussing on socio-economic and socio-cultural factors and how these impact individual interpretation and response to instruction when articulating collective discourses is an underexplored area of research. Therefore, my aim was to ascertain the role of these individual articulations and how they feed into discursive practices in each community radio station environment.

There are other relevant methods for researching these issues, including textual analysis (as carried out by Moylan 2009), which focus on the aesthetics of the radio text produced in community settings for particular communities. It is also possible to conduct audience analysis (Gordon 2009), which would focus on how community radio audiences perceive discourses of social gain to be articulated through the station, focussing on consumption and reception of the radio text. However, the focus of my research centred on those involved in constructing and implementing the policy and those managing and producing articulations of it through the station and the radio text. These participants according to Vicari (2010:504) can be understood as social actors and as they are involved in articulating notions of social gain practically, conducting interviews and observing each of them were deemed the most appropriate ways to ascertain how they do this.

Milan's research into the emotions and motivations of community radio practitioners outlined her findings into three themed frames. The first was community radio as a free space; the second community radio as a political tool for social change and the third was community radio as a collective experience (Milan 2008:30). Milan's research investigated an international group of practitioners whose motivations and locations were extremely diverse; however, these common frames were used when producing community radio. Although the subjects of this research share a city, they too have diverse identities and so they also share common frameworks and practices, which will be discussed in the following three chapters.

Previous participant observations carried out in radio stations have raised the issue of a stark gap between producers and listeners, but as highlighted earlier in chapters one and two, in community radio these are often the same people. Bonini's (2005) ethnographic study focussed on a community station based in a hospital. He spent several months building relationships with long-term patients who were working as volunteer producers whilst they were undergoing treatment. However, due to ill health, Bonini's participant's attention span was limited, which resulted in him having to interview whilst observing, as there was little chance of being able to return and interview the same participants (Bonini 2005:146). Borsch (2014) overcame this issue by volunteering herself in the newsroom at the station, whilst conducting research. She also

befriended staff on social networking sites, to avoid relying on interview data alone and to observe levels of participation by volunteers in newsgathering online and relaying this to others in the station, demonstrating their commitment to the community. Wall's (2004) research also used observations as he warned interviews alone only reveal participants own perceptions of how they conduct themselves, not necessarily how they actually do. Therefore, reflecting on Wall's advice I also used participant observation, which allowed me to observe participants in the production environment, to establish how they actually translate their ideas into action.

Community radio (as discussed in chapter two) is often articulated as a democratic platform for marginalised groups and as such, stations have key objectives to fulfil through their output and day-to-day operation. As previously established, many community radio stations employ standard commercial practices and tools when structuring their output, but take a flexible approach and value the practice over professionalism (Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea, 2010). Therefore, we can assume that the discursive practices, within which discourses of social gain are articulated in community radio, are located in a space between commercial and public service broadcasting production repertoires, but with more focus placed on the learning and broadcasting experience.

Drawing on the experiences of those outlined above, I observed (and interviewed) volunteers and longstanding members of the community station over a two-month period in each station. I built relationships in each station by providing resources such as relevant academic research, or suggesting ways for engaging audiences and sharing contacts, which I felt could prove useful to those working in each station. Although the turnover of volunteers in community radio stations is often high, I kept in touch with those I'd interviewed through social networking platforms, mostly relying on Facebook and Twitter to stay connected. By leaving time between the interviews and observation, I hoped to avoid drawing participants attention to their practice, influencing their actions or suggesting (rather than observing) how they might relate to discourses of social gain. I also hoped to observe whether participants felt free to prioritise aspects of programming they viewed as important and if they perceived this as democratic or as exercising their cultural rights or rights as a citizen (Milan, 2008).

3.3. Ethics

When considering ethics in relation to the interviews and observations carried out as part of this research, I consulted Birmingham City University's Research Ethical Framework to ensure I was upholding the standards expected of all academic researchers (BCU, 2018). I was conscious that undertaking research in a community environment could uncover sensitive information, particularly in relation to community members, their relationships and attitudes towards each other, the wider community and other communities. Therefore, to ensure participants felt comfortable taking part I assured them of anonymity. Although this was somewhat problematic, as each station would need to be located to give context to the research, I made participants aware that the station would be named but where their quotes were included, they would not. Instead, I assigned a number to each person including their age and gender. However, after discussion with my participants, they were nervous as the ratio of men to women interviewed and the context of discussion meant it would be easier to recognise people. Therefore, as these factors were not relevant to the key arguments being made, I also ensured them I would not reveal their age or gender or discuss outcomes of interviews with other participants, stations, or with Ofcom (beyond published findings). It was also important for me to consider my own positionality and how this would influence my questions, data and arguments. As a middle aged white woman stepping into different ethnic, religious and deprived community environments, I was aware of the potential for me to be perceived as an outsider but also my own potential to make assumptions. Roegman (2018:836-850) discusses her own positionality as white researcher investigating educational environments and drawing on Milner's (2007) framework outlines three key categories for consideration when conducting research. Firstly she discusses 'the seen' which she explains as obvious aspects she notices in relation to race and ethnicity because she is a white woman. For me, an example of this would be an absence of white people in a station that is specifically for African and Caribbean community members. The next category Roegman discusses is the 'unseen', which she refers to as aspects that lie under the surface, that we often don't find out about such as others opinions about the absence of white people in a Punjabi speaking radio station. The unseen can only be explored, by initiating conversations or asking questions about the seen aspects of the research environment. The final category she discusses is 'the unforseen' which she describes as unexpected outcomes

that arise from the conversations initiated around race and ethnicity or deprivation and the type of questioning I chose to use. I cannot change the fact that I am a white researcher asking questions which are directly related to issues such as ethnicity, religion and class and my knowledge of these areas is based on (mostly) white European social histories much like Roegman. However, as this is only an element of the research and the overall project looks to establish how interviewees view their own communities, I feel using an oral history style of interviewing, which enables the research participants to take the lead, relaying what they feel is important and appropriate, and being aware of the three categories outlined above, will assist me in asking more nuanced questions which allow me to follow the conversation and follow up unexplored areas and lead to more nuanced answers.

All participants were informed of the objectives of the research and how their contributions would be used. I relayed the value of integrity in research, clearly outlining their rights as participants and my role and the expectations of me as a researcher in terms of transparency. After initial discussion of the principles of informed consent in relation to academic research, I distributed consent forms, giving each participant time to read through the form and ask any questions they may have before they signed. I also informed them of their right to withdraw their testimony at any time during the research process and request the notes taken during observations be withdrawn from the published findings. The consent forms I used were adapted from a template sourced from the Birmingham Centre for Media and Cultural Research to ensure any specific amendments adopted by the wider Arts, Design and Media faculty had been considered. All participants were e-mailed a copy of the consent form when agreeing to participate and I also took hard copies with me to interviews. Any hard copies obtained were kept in a locked cabinet and electronic copies stored in a folder on an external hard drive along with audio files collected during the interview process. I also backed up all audio, observation notes and permissions forms saving copies on USBs that were also kept in a locked cabinet.

When recording interviews, using a mobile phone facilitated a more informal conversation, but also supported verbal reassurances that participants' interviews would not be broadcast, as audio recorded in a voice note format (on a mobile phone) is of a lesser quality. As previously

discussed, the nature of working with volunteers and also small, essentially voluntary organisations raises a number of issues of instability, the context of which needs to be considered. For example, in one of the case study stations, there is a history of power struggles and the relationship between the station and the organisation that runs the facility in which it is located. During the early stages of research when initially forming relationships, one station was subject to a hostile takeover and the Station Manager and Presenters were locked out of the building. As this was publicly reported, the information was already in the public domain. However, when interviewees discussed this period of time, I clarified whether this response could be included in the final thesis.

Although the findings don't include any information that could lead to accusations of slander for individuals and libel for the University or myself, assurances of anonymity when discussing these and other aspects were essential. I also chose to leave out discussions of the departure of a formal Station Manager resigning as a result of fractious relationships between religious groups in the station. Despite the relevance of these issues in terms of impeding work in communities, as participants were reluctant to discuss these issues publicly and could not agree who was at fault or whether rumours were true, I decided not to focus on them. To ensure a discreet system and a level of confidentiality when the interviews were conducted, they were immediately transferred to an external hard drive, which was stored in a locked cabinet in my office. All interviews were initially reviewed and transcribed. As I come from a radio production background, I have experience of transcribing interviews, but as it is not one of my strengths and an onerous task, I employed the services of a professional transcriber who could complete the task more efficiently within the time frame.

3.4. Interpreting the data

Once transcribed, the interviews were reviewed and notes written about initial ideas and themes that were raised in each interview. Following this process, each participant was categorised by position in the station along with themes that arose and these were colour coded. During the participant observation phase, I took notes and photos and kept these in a notebook typing up the notes afterward, again highlighting shared themes across the observations. Subsequently, I

analysed the data using a mixture of frame analysis considering the lived experience of each person interviewed and how this contributed to their framing of issues. I was then keen to ascertain how these perceptions were articulated and used the circuit of culture model to understand them. Finally, I used discourse analysis to understand how these discursive practices fed into established station discourses of social gain and constructed alternative discourses.

Entman (1993:52) argues framing theory seeks to define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgements and suggest remedies. This research draws on these ideas to investigate how each individual involved in the construction and articulation of social gain framed the issue from diagnosis (of community issues) to suggested remedy (type of station or programme needed). I began by focusing on the social gain policy itself and interviewing one of the key people involved in constructing the objectives for inclusion in the community radio licensing framework. As policy makers command and exercise considerable power and community radio policies have been criticised previously as being restrictive rather than enabling (AMARC, 2007) and lacking a cohesive approach (Coyer, 2006:131), I felt it was important to establish how the policy was intended to be articulated in diverse communities in the UK. O'Farrell in critiquing Foucault's work argues:

> Those who set the rules regulating truth and falsity, valid and invalid knowledge and ways of acquiring knowledge, are in position to exercise considerable power.
> (O'Farrell, 2005:13)

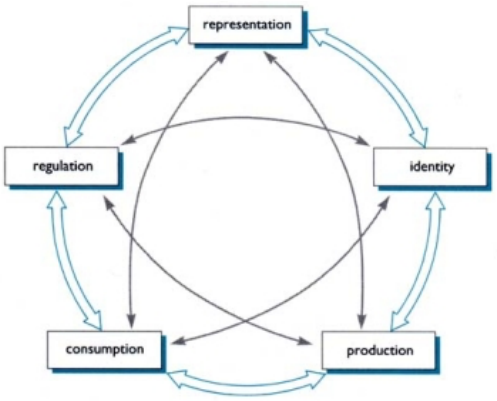
This could also be said to apply to those constructing key comittments in each station. Therefore, I also explored how this was considered and articulated by individuals in each station when constructing their key commitments. I focussed on how these suggested remedies were agreed as a collective, and then articulated as collective action and taken forward as part of a station discourse. I considered how this discourse was interpreted by Committee Members, Station Managers and volunteers and how they framed the issues for which they believed community radio was the remedy, and then considered how they re-articulated their ideas as action. For the purpose of gaining a more focussed analysis, I sought to use a mixture of frame analysis to analyse individual responses, articulation to understand how this was acted upon and the relationships between each connecting element

using a circuit of culture and finally discourse analysis to identiify these articulations as discursive practices which can be recognised as social gain in each station.

As the stations are very different in terms of target audience, I was interested to see how personal identity informs articulations when cascaded from the Committee to the Station Manager and finally volunteer Radio Producers. De Fina (2011:265) argues identity can be viewed as implicit characteristics or the result of social interaction. She continues that modern life is fragmented, with a lack of continuity and as a result some individuals have adopted the notion that identity is a permanent set of characteristics, whereas actually they construct their identity through social interactions. In researching each individual's lived experience (Gray, 2003), it was important to consider how they identified themselves and which characteristics and interactions in their social life informed their action and whether nationality, religion, ethnicity, class, geographic community, or socio-economic status drove these. During the research these characteristics were understood to assist in framing issues and defining a problem and its causes and making a moral judgement about the best solution. When conducting interviews, I adopted an approach which began with the participants' backgrounds and then encouraged them to answer based on their understanding of the term background, then moving on to how they came to be involved with the station.

DeLuca (1999: 335) describes articulation as having two meanings which include 'speaking forth elements and linking elements.' I set out to explore how a discourse constructed to benefit communities has been understood in the context of the specific social structures and relations apparent in each community radio station environment. In order to analyse individual frameworks role in articulation and understand how these link to discursive structures, practices and discourses articulated within a radio production environment, mapping these articulations on a circuit of culture helped to gain a deeper understanding. Du Gay et al (2013) discuss that in using articulation as a method for studying a cultural text or artefact, a researcher needs to consider five major processes, which include regulation, representation, identity, production and consumption. These processes according to Du Gay et al can be understood as a circuit of culture outlined in the figure below, which feed into each other overlapping and connecting in a

contingent state. Therefore, to consider articulations of social gain through community radio, the circuit of culture was used as a lens to help me understand each aspect, its relationship to the next and each other and how actions may be considered part of a discourse of social gain.



(Du Gay et al, 2013: xxxi)

I also used discourse analysis to identify the discourses, which were framed as the problem by individuals and then those articulated through participant's actions. Van Dijk (2011: xv) outlines the 'multimodal nature' of discourse analysis, offers researchers numerous ways to interact with the language and communication used by individuals, social groups and cultural communities. My focus was articulations of social gain (as conceived by the policy maker), along with discourses of community (Joseph 2002), ethnicity (Jiwani and Richardson 2011), culture (Keating and Duranti 2011), identity (De Fina 2011), professionalism (Evetts 2013) in terms of radio production and finally the organisational discourse of each station (Broadfoot, Deetz and Anderson 2004).

Returning to Van Dijk (2011:5) for guidance, sequentiality, hierarchy and grounding were key properties for examination in each of the discourses outlined. Therefore, it was important to note the temporal order of social gain discourse construction, comprehension and production and the role individuals played in this process before it was re-articulated to volunteers. I began with a policymaker integral to the construction of the social gain policy to establish the purpose of the policy and the intended objectives and articulations. Following an interview outlining his lived experience, I considered the policy through the circuit of culture outlined above (Du Gay et al, 2013). As the context of each community and the individuals framing the discourse changed the

nature and meaning of each criterion, I also interviewed station Committee Members, before moving on specifically to each Station Manager. The interviews with Station Managers focussed on how they framed social gain and articulated their ideas as a format and schedule for their station and training provision for volunteers. In all stations I found volunteers were trained and mentored by other volunteers and I was keen to ascertain whether this was an intentional articulation. I also interviewed those volunteers training others in the station to find out whether they recognised this as an articulation of social gain. Whilst doing so, I considered their lived experience (Gray, 2003) and identity, as well their past experience of radio production and training, as I felt this would also impact their understanding of the task and their approach to training community volunteers. Tannen argues when using frame and discourse analysis, the latter can help us:

> understand the lingusitic means by which frames are created in interaction, the concept of framing provides a fruitful theoretical foundation for the discourse analysis of interaction.
>
> (Tannen,1993:4)

Goffman (1986) argues when individuals encounter events, they draw on frameworks to interpret or make meaning of the event. He continues primary frameworks are not considered, but reactionary and make what would otherwise seem meaningless, meaningful. This was a vital consideration during my observations of volunteers and their responses to instructions given when performing the tasks, which lead to the event of making radio. Gumperz (1978) argues speech structures the frame. Goffman (1986) builds on this idea arguing natural frameworks identify undirected or unguided occurrences, which are due to natural determinants (state of being). However, Goffman continues social frameworks provide background information and can be moulded by individuals and driven by actors. When an actor intervenes in a social framework it can lead to actions, which then become subject to socially accepted standards, which critique the action itself in a collective action frame. This was also a vital consideration during observations of programme production in studios, as I was keen to ascertain which actors had constructed socially acceptable discourses of professionalism in terms of radio production.

Vicari (2010:504) outlines frame analysis as having provided a new conceptual framework for analysing interpretive collective processes led by social movement actors. In this context, Vicari's ideas were useful for understanding the collective processes led by social movement actors in each station including, Committee Members and Station Managers and the collective action frames in which they negotiated delivering key commitments through radio programming, production and volunteer training. Combining these methods enabled analysis of how discourses are structured, drawing on primary frameworks and then how collective action frames were socially constructed and agreed and how the discourse was articulated through communicative action.

We must also consider that the re-articulation of instructions from the Station Manager, to the volunteers when training other volunteers in production techniques and programme making for the station as they each work from within different frameworks.

Entman argues:

> Analysis of frames illuminates the precise way in which influence over a human consciousness is exerted by the transfer (or communication) of information.
>
> (Entman 1993:51)

Entman's work outlines that in processes of communication, frames have four locations. The first location is within the communicator, whose frames are based on their belief systems and these inform their decisions. The second location is the text, where the framework dictates there will be key words or phrases present or absent and sentences are structured in themes, reinforcing facts or ideas in clusters. The third location is the receiver, whose frameworks may or may not be guided by the communicator or the text, and the final location is culture, where Entman argues:

> A demonstrable set of common frames are exhibited in the discourse and thinking of most people in a social grouping
>
> (ibid).

When considering these frameworks, it must be acknowledged that every individual involved in community radio programming gave priority to different elements when constructing the radio text, which was dependent on identity, the training they received and how this was ordered and prioritised. It is worth remembering the overarching role in community stations is

to provide programmes to inform a community with a collective identity. However, the research uncovered a number of tensions between the station's key commitments, the individuals understanding of their community, the principles of community radio and its practices and its purpose in relation to other sectors.

3.5 Analysing Interviews

The research participants were made up of station Committee Members, Station Managers and volunteer Producers who are also community members. Each committee was made up of three to four members, plus the Station Manager. As outlined earlier, May (2011:134) discusses the benefits of semi-structured interviews are that they allow the interviewer to probe beyond the initial answers and enter into dialogue with the interviewee. This enabled me to go through the social gain criteria with each interviewee to find out, how they interpreted each point, what they felt benefits the community and how this guided their decisions and actions. I also observed interactions between those working in the station, to assess and understand the negotiation of ideas into collective action frames, and how discourses of professionalism (linked to reflecting other radio sectors) impacted on decision-making, and the articulation of social gain through production processes. I began my research with a scoping exercise where I sent e-mails to each Station Manager and followed up a few days later with phone calls to find interview participants.

Switch Radio was the first station to respond and following an initial meeting with the Station Manager in which I outlined the research objectives; he agreed to speak to volunteers on my behalf about taking part. In 2013, Switch Radio moved to a completely volunteer led model of community radio. In the early stages of research, I had interviewed the outgoing Station Manager and in doing so, this made access much easier. To operate efficiently as a volunteer led model, they have adopted a structure, which incorporates a committee made up of three Directors, including a Station Manager, Director of Finance and a Music and Marketing Manager. These three positions are responsible for agreeing all decisions regarding the licence and schedule. There was also a Business Development/Fundraising Manager who held the only paid position in the station and the rest of the station volunteers were Producer/Presenters. When carrying out research in this station, I focussed on my status as a PhD student rather than my previous radio

experience when introducing myself as my objective was to uncover the step-by-step articulation of the policy in practice. Although this presents an ethical issue, my actions were not intended to conceal information from my participants, but merely to gain a clear description of the order in which they carry out production activity. Where participants questioned my experience in radio production further, I was open and transparent but I asked that they made no assumptions that I knew how to perform specific tasks, as I was keen to learn how they did it.

Following the interviews and observations at Switch Radio, I sent another e-mail to the Chairman of Newstyle Radio explaining my PhD research and requesting a meeting to discuss it further. As I had no response, I followed this e-mail up with a phone call to the African and Caribbean Millennium Centre where the station is based. As I had undergone training for an HNC in Radio Broadcasting at the centre, at the beginning of my production career, I was able to use this history when contacting the centre. Fortunately, the receptionist remembered me and spoke to the Chairman on my behalf, suggesting as a former beneficiary of the centre and community radio training he should talk to me. I was also able to connect with some of the presenters through an undergraduate student I had taught who volunteered at the station. Once inside the station, I was able to procure other interviewees and set up observations of their shows. Whilst conducting my research at Newstyle, I was asked to be an interviewee myself to discuss the course I had done at the ACMC and my subsequent career in radio and move to an academic environment. This earned the trust of the volunteers who were then more willing to participate and used me to answer some of their questions about career progression.

My original plans had included an Islamic station in Sparkbrook but unfortunately, the station pulled out of the research at the eleventh hour, so after searching for an alternative station which focussed on aspects of ethnicity, I discovered Raaj FM, just on the border of Birmingham and the Black Country. As the Station Manager is a graduate of BCU following a short phone call he agreed to take part in the research, but explained as some of the volunteers were Punjabi speakers, they might not feel completely comfortable being interviewed in English, so he couldn't guarantee a huge number. However, he agreed to speak to the volunteers on my behalf and we arranged an initial visit to the station so I could meet the management team.

Those working as Producer/Presenters in each station are accustomed to interviewing people for the purpose of broadcasting the interview on air as part of their show. Therefore, their first understanding is that the information they give me will be broadcast and made public and their reaction to me when I asked to interview them was one of reticence, which appeared to be because there was an assumption that I would make the content public. To address this issue and ensure it did not have an impact on what they were willing to disclose, as discussed earlier, I recorded all interviews on a mobile phone. I also decided to interview each participant at a mutually agreed location away from the station, hoping the distance between them and the production environment in which they work, would focus their thinking around their involvement and priorities when considering why they do what they do at the station. The second leg of the research, involved going back to each station at a later date to observe the interviewees in practice and how they transform their thoughts and ideas into action in the station. This was carried out some time after the initial interviews, so it would not influence the volunteer's practices by connecting what they had said in the interview with their production activities.

3.6. Analysing Observations

In organising research in each station, my initial intention was to select volunteers who produce and present across weekday programming and weekends, selecting breakfast, drive time and one evening specialist show during the week, the weekend breakfast show and two specialist shows from Saturday and Sunday. The reason for this was a report published in 2013 into local audiences, which outlined that one of the main values of local radio is local news and information (Ofcom, 2013). Another motivation was breakfast and drive-time shows have been highlighted as key points during the day for broadcasting such information (McLeish 2005:160). I also selected a specialist show from each station, as they have been included in the programming because the community have demonstrated a desire to make and listen to them (Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea 2010:138). This approach would have resulted in a minimum of thirty-six interviews across the three stations. However, in practical terms, the issue of people performing several different roles in a station such as Director, Station Manager and Producer/Presenter and only some of these agreeing to be interviewed, cut down the number in the first station from a possible twelve

interviewees to six. The total amount of participants actually interviewed was twenty-six across three stations and the total number of observations was reduced to ten, as not all participants were comfortable being observed.

When approaching observations, I was keen to observe the production practices in studio of all those I had interviewed. However, logistically this was not possible and some of my interviewees were nervous about being observed in a radio production environment, as they thought it would distract them and lead to mistakes whilst on air. Drawing on approaches to observation laid out by Shank (2002: 18-33), I sought to consider my own strengths as an observer to guide my conduct. Shank outlines eight types of observer, suggesting researchers should consider the characteristics of each, stressing it is important not to try to fit completely into one of the categories, but to assess their own strengths and weaknesses. Considering these I recognised I have qualities of a number of types of observers including the *Embracer*, as I was keen to observe the whole experience and consider the minutiae of the radio studio environment to highlight elements taken for granted in this environment. I also recognised characteristics of Shank's *Tape Recorder* (2002:23), as choosing to use a semi-structured approach to interviewing, I also drew on my previous training in oral history interviewing techniques. I chose to do this so I could also focus on any conversational aspects which arose during the observation, as I had already interviewed the participants at length about their translation of ideas to action. I also used aspects employed by a *Baseliner* as each participant was observed only for the duration of their show adding the dimension of limited time to the observational period.

The final characteristics for consideration were from Shank's *Interactor,* as I was keen to observe how each participant behaved in the natural environment of the studio and in this sense was guaranteed they would perform tasks as they normally would in the studio environment (despite my presence). During the observations I also took on the role of *Reflector*, as it was almost impossible to completely disregard my own experience. However, I began to ask questions regarding the order in which each participant prioritises tasks when producing and presenting shows, which gave me a greater insight into the role of training and aspects of production which

volunteers felt took priority. This also enabled me to consider ideas around the use of commercial practices in community radio settings Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea's (2010), but also the democratic value of the order in which to prioritise as suggested by Milan (2008).

Whilst conducting observations I used Shank's focus framework as a guide, which outlines nine aspects for consideration during the observation. These include:

- Space (What does the space look like? Is it common?)
- Actor (Who is involved? Are they usually involved? Does his or her presence relate to anyone else?)
- Activity (What are they doing? How do activities relate to each other? Are they expected?)
- Object (What are the physical props? What role do they play? How would the environment change if they were removed?)
- Act (How common are single acts or actions? Are they related to other's acts? Do other's act the same way?)
- Event (How do we know when acts become events? Which events are most common? Which events seem most important?)
- Time (What kind of sequences can be observed? Are they linked to the environment? Are they linked to the individual's motives?)
- Goal (What is the participant trying to accomplish? Does this change?)
- Feelings (What sorts of emotions are being expressed? What sorts of emotions does this setting and acts/events bring out in you?)

(Shank, 2002:29-30)

Although I approached each studio observation in the same way and with the same framework in mind, as with a community radio environment, the physical environment and actors were often subject to change, as community radio is by its nature a precarious environment due to volunteer commitments elsewhere, which can impact on the production and planning of shows and the spontaneity of guests coming into the studio. This resulted in a set of observations, which were as diverse and rich as the stations themselves. Having outlined and discussed the methods employed and interpretive frameworks used to analyse the research data gathered, I will now move on to discuss key findings from this process.

Chapter 4

Constructing discourses of social gain and visions of community

This chapter will explore the contexts in which the social gain policy was constructed and articulated as a set of key commitments by those applying for community radio licences. It will also consider the role of each individual's identity through a discussion of what Entman (1993) terms, personal frameworks and Gray's (2003) concept of the lived experience. As discussed in the previous chapter, these frameworks seek to define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments and suggest remedies for the issues they define. I will consider how these remedies are articulated using appropriate action (Slack, 1996:126), through the lens of Du Gay et al's (2013) circuit of culture (see figure in method chapter) mapping participant's actions to points on the circuit, to ascertain how these feed into the discursive practices in each station which construct social gain for the benefit of the identified community.

As later chapters will outline, each individual involved in the process of constructing and delivering social gain through community radio, share characteristics in terms of what Goffman (1986) refers to as primary frameworks (and their underlying values). These primary frameworks at a basic level drive these individuals to want to help others and as a result they perform a role in constructing, establishing and articulating the social gain policy, through their actions in a community radio environment. However, whilst understanding the potential to empower and improve the community, each station relied on a number of existing issues and conditions to construct and establish discourses of social gain which deliver the key commitments they set out, in the context of their own community. This enabled them to demonstrate aspects of the policy in a tangible way, whilst addressing their own needs. As the evidence will demonstrate, interpreting social gain and articulating key commitments as collective discourses in a climate where formal financial and mentorship support was readily available was challenging, but achievable. However, maintaining the delivery of these

commitments over time has proved to be challenging. This has become more of an issue since the financial landscape changed and formal funding streams have diminished, with the onset of a global financial crisis (in 2007/2008) and a change of Government (in 2010) in the UK sought to cut funds for community initiatives. In this context, the community radio stations featured in this research have been forced to rely on informal collegiate networks and the good will of their volunteers to keep the station on air, whilst they re-consider whether their key commitments still benefit the community and can actually be delivered with increasingly limited resources. Each of the case study stations has managed these challenges in different ways (as discussed in chapter five).

As discussed in the previous chapter when analysing articulation Du Gay et al's (2013) circuit of culture, outlines the key themes for consideration as representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation (see method chapter for diagram). When considering the key criteria outlined in the *Community Radio Order* (2004) below through Du Gay et al's (2013) circuit of culture, the language used enables each criterion to be interpreted and articulated in a number of contexts.

- The provision of sound broadcasting services to individuals who are otherwise underserved by such services
- The facilitation of discussion and expression of opinion
- The provision (whether by means of programmes included in the service or otherwise) of education or training to individuals not employed by the person providing the service.
- The better understanding of the particular community and the strengthening of links within it.

(Community Radio Order, 2004)

For those interviewees involved in writing key commitments for their stations, the community radio order, became the tool that facilitated their move from temporary restricted service licenses (RSLs), to full time broadcast stations. I will begin by focussing on the first of the stations to do this (licensed as part of the pilot scheme) exploring in chronological order the political and social factors, which informed their framing of the issues faced by their community. These fed into their articulation of social gain through a set of key commitments. I will also discuss how they consider the station and its output to articulate social gain whilst

analysing these articulations through the lens of Du Gay et al's (2013) circuit of culture model and its key themes of representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation.

4.1 Build it and they will come; social gain agendas and station discourses

When considering how social gain was conceptualised and fed into key commitments, geographic location was an important aspect to consider. When each station was awarded its licence (Newstyle in 2002, Switch in 2008 and Raaj in 2009) they were required to outline how they could address issues in their communities, which were comparable to those outlined in Everitt's original report which evaluated the 2001 Access Radio pilot scheme (2003:31). The report suggested each station proposal should be considered on the basis of geographical location, but acknowledged stations also had the potential to serve an audience outside that specific target community, who identified as part of that community (if the signal was strong enough to reach them) or had come to find themselves living in that location.

Newstyle Radio when licensed was based in the Afro - Caribbean Resource Centre (ACRC) in the west of Birmingham and had originally taken part in the 2001 trials having previously managed a number of successful RSLs. They saw the full-time licences as an opportunity to enhance the work of the community centre in which they were based, whilst increasing the training and broadcasting provided through previous RSLs. As part of the new proposals, the ACRC was re-branded as the African-Caribbean Millennium Centre (ACMC) and Newstyle Radio's role was posited as central to supporting more members of the African and Caribbean communities in Birmingham. I interviewed one of the original members involved in writing key commitments.

> One of the major commitments or aspirations of the wider centre is to represent the interests of African Caribbean communities. I've always seen radio as extremely powerful and not many community organisations incorporate a legal radio station.
>
> (Participant 9, 2015)

Each radio station included in this research, maintains original members who discuss important factors in the history of their station and how as a collective, they constructed a set of key commitments. In this case it is suggested that community radio was viewed as a cultural means for representing African and Caribbean identities through the production and

consumption (by those communities) of culturally relevant radio programmes (Du Gay et al, 2013). Parker and Stanworth (2014:157) outline the power of action by collectives, but continue action deriving from collectives can only be achieved if particular roles are identified and each individual acts in a collective way. As suggested with the construction of the policy, it only became policy because of collective action. For those interviewed at Newstyle and questioned about the history of the station, they suggest acting in a collective way across the centre and the station, to frame and address issues they felt African and Caribbean communities in Birmingham faced, such as lack of opportunity and representation in the city, as well as decriminalising activity in pirate radio was important. Those involved in the community centre management team and radio training through the RSLs, felt this could be done more effectively with a full-time radio licence.

> We saw this as a way of giving a voice in terms of radio, but also support to people who may suffer all kinds of disadvantage in this society, blatantly disadvantaged people.
>
> (Participant 9, 2015)

This can be recognised as a key articulation of social gain, but also as representing identities through the lens of the circuit of culture (Du Gay et al, 2013) as Newstyle were attempting to give a voice to those who felt they belonged to a marginalised community.

As chapters five and six will discuss, volunteers from the African and Caribbean communities of Birmingham also frame issues in their community in terms of disadvantage with a continuing focus on lack of opportunities, representation, music and general arts and cultural programming across other radio sectors and mainstream media. However, for this interviewee, he discussed how the collective responsible for drawing up the key commitments for Newstyle had framed these issues originally so support could be offered through the wider centre. In fact, it worked in reverse and the RSLs had reached parts of the community they couldn't reach through the centre and enabled them to build a relationship with younger members of the diaspora.

One of the key objectives for Newstyle's licence application was the inclusion and legitimisation of pirate broadcasters in Birmingham. It is suggested that the station facilitated this by providing a legal means and effectively decriminalising the activities of those involved

in pirate stations. They did this by highlighting to younger listeners in the community, that there were now legal methods available for broadcasting to African and Caribbean audiences in Britain, which would validate radio broadcasting as a career aspiration, create more opportunities for DJs from these communities and change the perception of them as criminals.

> We got involved with radio because we were assisting a pirate radio station called PCRL and they were one of the few organisations dealing with radio and they were poignant [sic] in radio. We assisted them in some of their organisation and administration and indirectly we developed expertise in radio and we had a number of occasional licences.
>
> (Participant 9, 2015)

This was echoed as a key discourse in the station's history by some of the volunteers involved in training as part of the original RSLs, who had remained part of the radio project at the ACMC. It can also be considered in terms of the circuit of culture (Du gay et al, 2013) as an articulation of community identity.

> There was lots of talks with the pirate radio stations, especially PCRL, you know, if these licences were given out will you come off air? Because you're saying that you are on air because you want this to happen and you're serving the people. Well if we've given them legal licences there's no need for you and they did. They came off air; we came on air.
>
> (Participant 3, 2015)

Pirate Radio during the 1980s and 90s was also suggested as the original starting point in radio for a number of current volunteers. However, although they appeared willing to use non-licenced stations as a place to start and gain experience, as I will discuss in chapter six, volunteers also indicated the importance of being given the opportunity to broadcast as part of a legal station when trying to forge a career in radio. There was also an implicit suggestion that historically, there were limited formats and opportunities, which allowed aspiring DJs from these communities to play the genres of music they listen to. Subsequently, to be part of a legal black radio station was framed and articulated through the key commitments and station discourse as an important issue the community needed to address (Participant 9, Participant 3, Participant 5, 2015). Through setting up a station which represented a broad range of community identities through producing culturally relevant music and community programming within a regulated framework, committee members of the ACRC can be recognised as articulating key social gain discourses but also themes from the circuit of

culture (ibid). Through encouraging former pirate DJs to step out of the realms of illegal activity and represent their own audiences African and Caribbean heritage legally through programming they also externally articulated a discourse of professionalism for an activity, type of radio and community that was formerly recognised as taboo.

> I've been playing on radio stations, what we call community, what the system that we live in describes as pirate radio stations; I've been doing community radio since 1989. It's all community radio because it's all run by and for the community. The fact that New Style has a licence and that we don't have to hide our record bag as we used to or our CDs when we're coming into the building, that's the only difference, we're doing that same thing.
>
> (Participant 11, 2015)

The testimonies offered from those interviewed within Newstyle Radio suggest the station discourse collectively constructed and articulated through key commitments and discursive practices is based on positioning the station as a vehicle for providing legitimate platforms for pirate DJs and others in African and Caribbean communities to act as purveyors of black history and culture (which we will discuss in more detail later); serving the geographic communities living in the areas surrounding the ACRC in the West of Birmingham. Thus, Newstyle Radio following its licensing in 2001 offered an alternative representation and identity for African and Caribbean communities, through the production and consumption of culturally appropriate programming within regulatory frameworks in line with Du Gay et al's (2013) themes. As political, economic, social and technological landscapes have changed, so too have the needs of the communities as further chapters will demonstrate. However, this suggested taming and embracing political, grass roots groups (the pirates), appears to have resolved the fears of early legislators when considering community radio, by assimilating militant elements into the community and guiding them towards legal channels of broadcasting (Stoller, 2010:159). In this respect, Newstyle's historical station discourse sets them apart and makes their history distinct from the other stations researched.

Switch Radio (in the north east of the city), in its licence application focussed much more on markers of deprivation, such as lack of skills and aspiration in their local area as integral to their application. These were outlined as primary characteristics of their target audience and framed as core issues to be addressed through a full time licence. Switch was originally part of a project set up to regenerate the Castle Vale area where it is located. The area itself had

been awarded funding during the early 1990s and had applied for a Restricted Service Licence (as defined in chapter one) with the intention of providing community radio training, as part of a regeneration project. This was proposed as a remedy for addressing the lack of skills and aspiration in the community. They took advantage of the RSL mechanism and subsequently managed a number of successful temporary licences. I interviewed the original Station Manager just after he left the station, as he is one of the only existing members still contactable who was involved in the original licence application. He was integral to writing the key commitments which frame the issues in the community and constructing (both internally and externally) the historical station discourse about Switch Radio, which is often described by volunteers as a station which is owned and run by the community who help each other.

> We chose not to get involved [with the Access Radio pilot]. Although it was our aspiration, we'd developed a really comprehensive and successful model of accredited training, so we were more structured as a training organization that did radio broadcasting every six months. We were also developing schools-based projects and the genuine question was how could we fit a full-time radio station into this without compromising all of that?
>
> (Participant 1, 2014)

Seven years on from the 2001 pilot and with Newstyle Radio as a model to inspire them, the Housing Action Trust (HAT, now known as the CVCHA) that had managed the regeneration project and previous RSLs in Castle Vale proposed a full-time version of Vale FM, which would extend beyond Castle Vale to north east Birmingham. Switch Radio would focus on broadcasting to the wider area with training increasing to source the number of volunteers needed to meet the growing demands and programming needs of the station.

However, when the funding came to an end along with the original Station Manager's contract, the station volunteers were offered the opportunity of taking over the station and Switch became a volunteer led model. A core group of volunteers organised themselves and together, they put forward a proposal to form a not for profit company to take over the licence with the support of the original organisation (CVCHA). Through financial help with legal documentation and waving rental fees and rates on the station premises, CVCHA contributed to the continuation of a regeneration discourse in which volunteers are responsible for training their own community.

> CVCHA helped us out and had they not have done that Ofcom wouldn't have given us the licence because we were running a shortfall on the grant funding we had at the time. So Ofcom consented and we've been running it ever since, we had the station transferred in April last year, 2013.
>
> (Participant 20, 2014)

This support is viewed as key to the volunteers moving the station into a new phase in its life. They perceive this as continuing the discourse of regeneration and by moving to a volunteer led model, it enables them to continue to address some of the key issues framed by the original CVCHA and still faced by the community nine years later.

> Without the infrastructure the CVCHA or the HAT as it was then, there wouldn't be the opportunity to have this, we wouldn't be here, there wouldn't be a community station.
>
> (Participant 18, 2014)

The discourse which has been constructed since moving to a volunteer model suggests volunteers have been trained and assisted to drive the station's destiny, supporting Arnaldo's (2001:1) ideas around the role of community radio in empowering and enabling communities. They viewed their re-thinking and continuing delivery of key commitments to a wider area (north east Birmingham) as essential, as the issues framed as problems in Castle Vale before the regeneration by CVCHA, (such as high youth unemployment and low aspiration), were shared by the neighbouring areas.

The collective historical discourse constructed by the volunteers once they took over the station is that Switch Radio, although originally designed to help with regenerating the Castle Vale area, has moved on to become owned and run by the wider community of north east Birmingham. Discursive practices in the station, articulate this as a natural stage in a longer regeneration discourse, where community members support each other to overcome issues such as lack of skills, and those with knowledge and relevant skills train each other. One of the key station objectives within this discourse is to articulate through programming, how many positive initiatives are set up by the community and the tangible benefits of these. Thus representing community identities in a positive way through the production and consumption of culturally appropriate radio through regulated training in line with Du Gay et al's (2013) themes. Collectively, these volunteers suggest key commitments have presented the

opportunity to manage the station through its transition to a volunteer led model, which affirms how well the community is doing in supporting and developing itself and its members.

For the final case study station Raaj FM which is located in the north west of Birmingham, on the border of Sandwell, a historical station discourse of respect for religious tradition and language and a broad target audience which stretches over multiple generations was articulated through their key commitments. Raaj FM began as a twice-yearly RSL (as with other stations) located in a Gurdwara in Smethwick and was licenced to mark specific religious festivals in the Sikh calendar, which smaller commercial stations had refused to represent. However, the popularity and good will shown by listeners around Vaisakhi and Christmas when the RSLs were on air, led to the Sikh community requesting more than just religious content. The Licensee began receiving requests to carry on when it came close to the end of the twenty-eight-day period and listeners began to suggest including music would broaden and strengthen the community. However, representing a broader range of community identities through diverse content was not possible within the rules of the Gurdwara. This problem was framed as a lack of music and entertainment for Sikh, Punjabi speakers and the suggested remedy was to test a mixed RSL outside of the Gurdwara.

> Obviously from the temple you can't play anything else [just religious programmes]. To be honest I'm a religious guy but nobody will listen to religious programmes all day, so we came out of the temple and changed the format of the RSL.
>
> (Participant 16, 2015)

Moving out of the Gurdwara as an experiment, allowed the station to test out a mixture of religious and other content whilst under a temporary licence. As this was well received, the Committee decided to apply for a full time licence enabling the station to broaden its programming to include other aspects, which would appeal to a wider target audience beyond the temple. This allowed them to include key members of the wider Punjabi speaking community and their families regardless of religion. The original member outlines by including music with the content, the station also attracted younger audiences who were not being served by local commercial stations and thus created a set of cultural artefacts through programming which articulated the five key points in the circuit of culture (Du Gay et al, 2013).

> We had four weeks [RSL] and it was very popular, right, and people they said again why can't you carry on, because after four weeks it's like we lost something. Then we thought, you know where the Punjabi, the Asian community is, we're in the heart. We're in the middle, right, of all the communities.
>
> (Participant 15, 2015)

The historical discourse which has been constructed and is articulated by members of Raaj FM is that Punjabi speaking Asian communities in Sandwell and north west Birmingham were not being served by local commercial stations or by the religious service coming out of the Gurdwara, which excluded some because of religious preference. However, they believe when they applied for a full-time licence, central to their licence application and proposed idea of articulating social gain was the idea of bringing these communities together.

> It's unbelievable how popular that was [the mixed content RSL], very, very popular. Even people stop listening to XL and all the other radio stations. It was just Raaj FM.
>
> (Participant 16, 2015)

The evidence suggests conceptualising key commitments for each station, which would enable them to demonstrate social gain was informed by the social context of each community and its geographic location. In considering their target audience each station focussed on social and political aspects unique to their community, when framing the issues and diagnosing the causes and by articulating these as key commitments to be addressed as a collective through the station, made each proposal distinct from other stations in the city. Although this could be considered common sense, it has become key to the historical discourse of each station, but also the way they operate and where they place the emphasis when articulating the history of the station. For Newstyle this was embracing and legitimising pirate broadcasting in the city. For Switch it was regenerating the north east of the city through training, which could increase skills and levels of aspiration. For Raaj FM, it was bringing together wider Punjabi speaking communities through religious programming for key festivals in the Sikh calendar and contemporary music and community news programming for non-Sikh Punjabis. Although community radio licences were framed and proposed as a remedy to the issues each community faced, for each station this actually meant broadening and changing their content to serve a wider audience. So, although the vision and perception of community became broader, coming up with key commitments and articulating these as

discursive practices which demonstrate social gain objectives requires everyone to have a similar understanding of the mission of the station, the community and how radio production practices can address these issues.

4.2. Wishful thinking and facing facts; constructing and delivering key commitments

As discussed in chapter one, it was following the Heathrow Conference of the 1980s when ILR was demarcated as a commercial entity, that community radio was conceptualised as the remedy for providing access to representation of minority voices. However, as those in government who supported the initiative were ousted, it took another decade to realise the ambition in the form of on-air stations. For policymakers it is suggested it was not only a victory, but also a pleasant surprise when they witnessed what communities were able to achieve.

> Once it started rolling all the things I hoped would happen, have happened and lots of things I didn't know I hoped for have happened.
>
> (Participant 2, 2012)

For Newstyle Radio, Committee members believed being part of a larger community centre which provided a wider range of services was a potential asset and longer term would support economic development in the geographical area (the west of Birmingham) as well as the African and Caribbean communities in the wider city. The ACMC is still used for meetings by community groups including religious groups, senior citizens groups, writers, community artists and other businesses and initiatives happening in the area. The centre charges some of these groups (usually those who are hosting events and selling tickets), but otherwise attempts to let community groups use the facilities for free, if they consider the event to be beneficial and offer opportunities to engage with African and Caribbean culture, educational activities and local politics. The ACMC facilitate training on behalf of the Department of Work and Pensions, which they receive no funding for (according to a committee member), accepting the unemployed into the centre and giving them a work experience role, under the supervision of a relevant person. Committee members argue, it is the majority of people who engage with the centre who become beneficiaries of Newstyle's key commitments, as they receive training and access to the station and often go on to become presenters.

However, as the funding structure of the wider centre changed, and a number of people with radio experience left Newstyle, delivering the key commitments presented some challenges. When discussing some of these, a number of obstacles are articulated such as financial difficulties, which we will return to in more detail later in the chapter. Another key point made in interviews was the need for expertise when liaising between committees and volunteers during the articulation of policy to practice. Whether this person is responsible for overseeing the daily operational aspects of the station, or managing those delivering the key commitments, they are vital to steering the station through challenging times when resources become scarce or unavailable (Participant 3, 2015;Participant 4, 2015;Participant 5, 2015, Participant 7, 2015).

For the case study stations researched the Station Manager is identified as a key role in undertaking these tasks, as they often understand both the policy and practicalities of radio. However, often in community radio stations people take on more than one role, so these tasks can be performed by one person or divided between several people, depending on how the station is organised, but the qualities required for this role share themes across each station. In some, the Station Manager has traditionally been a paid role, but for Newstyle after the departure of the original Chairman who also acted as Newstyle's manager, the management of the station was left to a new centre manager, who was the only committee member left from the original (2001) group. With no former radio experience, he admits to not understanding the technicalities of radio, but taking on the role by default as in becoming the Chairman of the ACMC, he is also expected to oversee the running of the radio station. As he is lacking in some of the relevant skills and experience, he canvassed volunteers to take on the role of Station Manager. However, tensions in the station between volunteers and the competing priorities of managing the wider centre and the station, left a void which he attempted to fill, but to no avail. The Chair originally had no desire to become more involved in the station, but due to the removal of the previous Station Manager as a result of tensions between volunteers (and an incident which volunteers claim was underpinned by a clash of personalities and religious differences), he had little choice.

> The previous Chairman, who was extraordinarily hands on in terms of what happens and programming and that aspect of how the radio station operates and also, he was

> a very technical person, so he'd understand the technical aspects of running a radio station in terms of the components and that kind of thing. I don't and don't wish to, but in terms of what goes on in the radio station by force [I manage it].
>
> (Participant 9, 2015)

This lack of an individual who understands the technicalities of radio hinders the ability to articulate the key commitments as a discourse of community radio policy to committee members and regulators and re-articulate the same key commitments as a discourse of community radio purpose through programming to volunteers. It also suggests that key aspects of the station culture when viewed through the lens of Du Gay et al (2013) will not be as prominent.

After the removal of a volunteer Station Manager, other volunteers at the station became disillusioned as the structured radio training, station meetings, volunteer meetings and technical support ceased. Although the Chair has attempted to address this through engaging other volunteer managers, the proposed candidates have not won the respect of core volunteers who recognise the problem as being a lack of vision from the top of the organisation. These same volunteers have framed the problem as the breakdown and loss of top-level committee members and a Station Manager. They suggest a discourse of purpose and the ability to articulate this (as a collective through the station) is key to articulating social gain through production, whilst maintaining the momentum of volunteers and the power of the collective.

> They need to start again, whole new board, proper management at the radio station, somebody who's here all the time because it's pointless having a radio station if you don't have anybody to sail the boat, so it's just like a vessel that has nobody steering the rudder.
>
> (Participant 3, 2015)

Even those who came from pirate stations articulate their reasons for coming to the station was to represent the community through producing culturally appropriate music programming, but recognise that structured training and articulating key commitments on behalf of the community, was also part of the package that attracted them. All of those who had previously worked on pirate stations discussed a realisation on arriving at Newstyle, that they would have access to professional, industry standard equipment, but also through the relationships the station had with local commercial and BBC stations, access to professional DJs and

music producers to help them improve their practice and learn new skills, key aspects of the circuit of culture (Du Gay et al, 2013). They also discuss their early days as hopeful that being involved with Newstyle could project them into professional spheres and give them a legal means to play their music and serve their community in a way pirate radio could not have.

> This is very powerful what we've got here……. and I know the power of it. I will use it, but I know I need to remain responsible. So, I'm not reckless in terms of what I'm doing for my community.
>
> (Participant 11, 2015)

Whilst there is no shortage of enthusiasm articulated by those responsible for constructing discourses of social gain in relation to Newstyle's community, or those responsible for articulating them through practice, the problem is framed as the station not fulfilling its potential and delivering social gain as it was intended. The causes are defined as a lack of a leadership from the committee and no Station Manager to articulate a discourse of community radio policy to the regulator and committee whilst also articulating a discourse of community radio purpose to the volunteers, which represents community identities and trains them to produce culturally appropriate programming within regulatory frameworks reflecting Du Gay et al's (2013) main themes. This lack of Station Manager is causing tension within the station itself. The suggested remedy from community volunteers is to find a new Station Manager and appoint a new committee.

For Switch Radio after they had been granted the full-time licence as previously outlined they continued to operate a successful training programme with a number of partner organisations. As these training programmes were to train volunteers who would populate the full-time station, it took two years before they actually got on air. The original licence application was ambitious and there was some doubt as to whether they could fulfil their plans as the financial landscape had changed since their application was submitted.

> The interesting thing in terms of carrying out the licence is that you think how close was it ever possible to be to the original licence application? Because you find out so much by actually doing it and thinking logistically is that doable? You know the recession had kicked in, so you know, by the time it was launched, the circumstances had changed.
>
> (Participant 1, 2014)

As Switch's original key commitments had been very ambitious in their licence application,

the operation became unsustainable as training partners began to pull out when funding dried up. As they moved to a volunteer led model, the issues were framed as an inability to sustain and articulate key commitments with just volunteers. Therefore, the committee had to re-think what could actually be achieved and streamline the key commitments so they could be delivered with limited resources.

> We tried to be smart, in that we tried to put a board together that…. because you still have to pass the test for Ofcom and have a reasonable board of people that can do what you're proposing to do. We have done some work to change the key commitments …. to make them more achievable because the original licence application was very optimistic….and some of those values were a little hard to achieve.
>
> (Participant 20, 2014)

The volunteer committee at Switch also took the opportunity to reconsider two years on from the original licence award (2010), whether any of the issues raised as needing addressing in the community, had changed. Actually, what they found was the issues largely remained the same, but were compounded by the onset of the recession and felt in the wider parameters of their broadcast area. What they found the community really needed addressing included established markers of deprivation as outlined in the 2013 (IMD, 2013). Before the application was submitted, these were outlined as lack of skills and qualifications and lack of aspiration and motivation for 15% of the community living with what they consider to be a life limiting illness or disability. When discussing these issues with community members working as part of the volunteer led incarnation of Switch, they recognise these as continuing issues for the community but also the reasons for poor aspiration and lack of employment opportunities. Although the current Station Manager believes Headline Media had constructed a solid discourse of policy amongst the committee through key commitments in the original licence application and a discourse of purpose with (and amongst) the volunteers which they successfully articulated through training and programming, this was not sustainable as a volunteer model. Therefore, the volunteer Station Manager revised the key commitments and thus the discourse of policy and purpose were more achievable and this is recognised as key to the station staying on air.

> I think when [……] looked at those commitments, he tried to make them more achievable and so far**,** luckily this year, for the first time in the station's history, we've hit all of our kind of station commitment targets.
>
> (Participant 25, 2015)

By re-framing the issues and considering whether Switch's original key commitment of training community members was still achievable, whilst being managed on a volunteer basis, the collective involved in managing and articulating social gain through the station took the opportunity to rethink their processes and station culture and how they could practically deliver key commitments for north east Birmingham. This relied on putting together a strong volunteer committee, with a breadth of skills who could articulate social gain and continue with the structured approach already established by the previous organisation Headline Media.

> We came in and thought there's no longer anyone full time here, so we need to think how we're going to deliver this in a sustainable way. So, we kept it as it was although now the initial training is delivered by current volunteers. There is an expectation rather than a demand, because they are all volunteers so you can't ask too much of them, there is an understanding that as a volunteer you may at some point, you'll have to train another new volunteer.
>
> (Participant 20, 2014)

However, (as previously stated) until the volunteer model was up and running there was no real way of knowing how it would work in practice and there are still very practical problems in articulating key commitments to the wider north east area. One of the key issues is offering advertising and access to the station for other community groups, when the station has committed to not charging them.

> We have a rule that we don't charge at all for community groups and stuff like that. I mean that is problematic to some degree. Also, it takes a long time to go out there and people don't know that you're out there for them and available for them to come on to your station.
>
> (Participant 25, 2015)

There are however, other types of training which have been made available, which were not considered before as part of the formal funded training provision, but have since been framed as a potential remedy to the lack of skills and aspiration in the community. The volunteer Finance Director, when interviewed, acknowledged she has on occasion trained volunteers (interested in learning accounting and finance practices) how to use standard accounting software. However, this cannot be offered on a larger scale because there is a lack of funding available to do so since the regeneration funding ran out. Those interviewed at Switch describe their volunteer Station Manager as central to the proposal for taking over the licence,

as he was able to re-articulate an alternative discourse of policy and purpose, which was easier to achieve as a volunteer model. This is crucial as volunteers at Switch, suggests one of the key challenges in articulating discourses of social gain is limited time of volunteers and resources. Therefore, these new processes and the way they are articulated can be argued as a more appropriate method for representing the identities of volunteers and enabling them to produce culturally appropriate programming for consumption by the community within regulated frameworks and thus reflective of the themes of the circuit of culture (Du Gay et al, 2013)

For Raaj FM, the model they had tested outside of the temple, which mixed religious and community content with contemporary music programming, had proved popular with the community and they received feedback from young and old alike which confirmed this. They framed language, religious and music content as missing from current local provision and so articulated this as a key aspect of their programming in their key commitments, in the hope that it would also bring together young and old, religious and non-religious audiences. They did this by focussing on shared community characteristics including the Punjabi language and a passion for traditional and contemporary music. Three key people oversee the daily operations of the station and as it has evolved and their audience has grown and diversified, Raaj FM has maintained its key commitments, but reconsidered how they are articulated to serve a broader audience. Whilst keeping the key commitments broadly focussed on language and music the Station Manager suggests he looks for creative ways to add extra value.

> I have to put the language, I have to put the music and then whatever's beyond that…… we can do extra activities or extra, kind of, stuff on the radio what will benefit those aims.
>
> (Participant 15, 2015)

The key commitment of broadcasting in the Punjabi language has remained integral to discourses of policy and purpose in the station, as uniting communities is articulated as important. However, as with Switch, in reconsidering how to sustainably serve such a broad target audience, Raaj FM have adopted scheduling and broadcasting practices that naturally suit when and how their listeners tune in, much like the commercial practices discussed in

chapter one (by McLeish 2005:107 and Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea, 2010). After interviewing the management team, they suggest they each take responsibility for different aspects of the key commitments to ensure they are articulated as intended and achieved. Their discussions outline a desire to represent the broad range of social identities in their community through programming consumed by their over the air audience. This seems to be an important factor when reflecting on how the station remains relevant, continues to gain momentum and justifies its licence.

> The main thing is [to] make the station upcoming, you know, make the programmes enjoyable from the outside, hit the target audience. Our audience is all, you know, young, middle age, older generation, [they] get different programmes, [we] bring people in like police surgeries, immigration surgeries, things like that what's needed, NHS comes in as well, so we get all those people coming in and it helps people.
>
> (Participant 14, 2015)

The station management committee also realises that, whilst for younger audiences, discourses of value may be articulated through music programming for older audiences, the value of the station may be articulated through more tangible forms of support, which strengthen links within the communities.

> There's a lot of things we do in the background, like, the embassy that's a big thing. A lot of Asian people have problems with the embassy… people get frustrated when they haven't got the documents right because people travel far from Bradford and Leeds to come to Birmingham, but now when they have problems they come [here] then we try and solve it.
>
> (Participant 14, 2015)

This acknowledgement of the variety of programmes and activities suggests Raaj FM's culture can be argued as reflective of the key points in the circuit of culture (Du Gay et al, 2013). Raaj FM's approach to dividing responsibility enables more focus on each key commitment and they believe ensures effective articulation of social gain. However, to construct and articulate discourses of social gain through community radio, as the evidence has shown, stations need someone who can re-articulate a discourse of policy to regulators and committees and purpose to the volunteers. In the case of Raaj FM it is clear the discourse of policy is articulated by the Licensee, whilst the discourse of purpose is articulated by the Studio Co-ordinator and the Station Manager has an overview of both areas but focuses on how to articulate these to an online audience in support of a geographic community. This is also vital for engaging and maintaining volunteers who want to learn

production skills, which can represent over the air as well as online communities in a digital landscape, so it is important to consider how each station does this.

4.3. Everyone wants to be a DJ; engaging and accommodating community volunteers

When discussing engaging and accommodating volunteers with each of the case study stations a recurring theme that was discussed was volunteers who come from a range of locations outside the defined geographical community itself. They also suggested that despite the initial enthusiasm of volunteers, few actually stay on when they realise the amount of work that goes into articulating social gain through programming. There are also those who come for their own gratification, but once embedded in the station become an active member in a collective discourse of purpose around serving the community. This supports Milan's (2008:31) description of motivating factors in the continuing contribution of community radio volunteers. For Newstyle Radio, as other external groups use the ACMC or direct their clients there (such as the DWP) from all parts of the city, they became aware of the radio station and want to be a part of it when they engage with the centre. There is evidence that this desire to be on the radio rather than doing administrative tasks is a recurring theme across the case study stations and across the sector generally and participation often focuses around articulation through production (Frölich et al, 2012). However, it has become a major issue for Newstyle radio who struggle to engage volunteers to work in the wider community centre.

> What one finds is that radio, like the media generally…it's a very sexy, hot medium, people like it, people enjoy it. We often find that people come in here from the DWP for example to do reception work or administrative work and the moment they see the radio bit, they're taken in by it.
>
> (Participant 9, 2015)

However, I would argue the implicit suggestion from those volunteers interviewed is the opportunity to participate in activities which are reflective of the key themes of the circuit of culture (Du Gay et al, 2013) are actually what attracts them.

For Switch Radio, they believed the training courses they were running when they were awarded the full-time licence, would populate the station with a constant stream of volunteers

including those who would support administrative tasks. Although this happened, as with Newstyle, they weren't all necessarily from the local geographic community.

> For whatever reason recruitment from Castle Vale residents onto those accredited courses was very poor. Now there's all sorts of reasons for that, we were too small an organization really to be able to do anything about that, these were about wider underlying issues around all sorts of stuff, but I suspect [it was] the kind of courses we were running, which was including modules… around media law, interviewing, writing for radio, radio news.
>
> (Participant 1, 2014)

Once the station became more established in the wider north east of Birmingham and around the city, it became easier to recruit production volunteers but as with Newstyle Radio, not so easy to recruit volunteers to undertake other duties.

> We do not have problems recruiting on air volunteers. We have problems recruiting volunteers for any other purpose, no one wants to sit down and do paperwork, but we have no problem. We don't have the staff, don't have the resources to process the amount of applications we get, so that is a problem.
>
> (Participant 25, 2015)

As the evidence shows however, Switch is one of the stations that represents its community through music and community information programming, which doesn't necessarily require the skills outlined above.

Raaj FM finds its volunteers through local events or when people find out about them through word of mouth at the temple.

> So, what we normally do…so, for example, if there's an event where we know it's going to be a majority Punjabi audience we will go there and obviously we'll search for volunteers, so we'll have a tent up saying we're recruiting volunteers. Social media, we're always looking on social media. The majority is producer, presenter, but we get a few here and there who want to be involved in, like, the play listing, music management, the technical side of it, so we get various roles, but the majority is for presenting.
>
> (Participant 15, 2015)

As most of the people who volunteer have other commitments, their time is limited, as other aspects of their lives require attention. These time constraints are also problematic for other community organisations and so getting them on air to advertise their services in the community is challenging (which policymakers had not predicted).

> A lot of these organisations [that we deal with], are run by volunteers who have time constraints themselves and our volunteers have time constraints. And one big problem is I tend to get an email of interest about coming on the station or doing

> something with us and I e-mail it out to all the volunteers to radio silence often (Laughs) because its really, really difficult to match getting someone to do an interview, with the volunteer sector and someone who's available to do the interview.
>
> (Participant 25, 2015)

The issues that arise with volunteers can be challenging, but also make it difficult to articulate social gain (and justify the licence) in a tangible way other than through production if there is no clear volunteer process, and a lack of funding to support such a process.

4.4. Radio for the community; tensions and challenges in articulating social gain

The suggestion from reviewing literature is that the Government had attempted to address the calls for commercial radio earlier in the 1970s through the introduction of ILR which they based on public service principles (Linfoot 2011). For my interviewee, the frustration of commercial radio saw him move from a role with the regulator, to manage an ILR station, where he believed he could deliver the type of radio needed (radio with a social purpose) and address the problem he framed as the increasing commercialism of ILR.

> In my mind there was a whole field of radio, which was not happening. The ability as well as the willingness and the skill to experiment, the BBC is too institutional to do that. The commercial stations were becoming increasingly corporatist, BBC local radio as usual had no money and was being afflicted from all sides and there was this whole radio thing. About the power of voice, it is political, it is cultural, it is social and I really felt these things were not happening as they had been happening. In the early days of ILR these things were happening.
>
> (Participant 2, 2012)

This suggests the interviewee viewed radio as a cultural object that could improve people's lives through inclusive processes. However, as the targets increased and ILR continued to adopt more commercial practices in a neoliberal context where profit was prioritised over content, it led him to the conclusion he could find no remedy and so he left radio altogether. He returned 12 years later, when the opportunity to address these issues once again presented itself in the form of community radio and he was tasked with re-framing the issues and constructing the social gain policy which would be included in licence frameworks. When asked to reflect on how he feels the policy has been implemented in practice, he appeared enthusiastic and even excited by the number and variety of stations available, but frustrated that the legislation was more rigid than intended.

> It now makes me feel annoyed I didn't stay with it. Again, I'm sorry this is arrogant, but I knew how to play that particular process and it would not have been quite as restrictive. The commercial sector would not have got as many restrictions placed on community radio as they did. The concept of social gain would have been broader if I'd have stayed around, but I was persuaded to go to Ofcom. As a result, the legislation was less helpful than it could have been.
>
> (Participant 2, 2012)

Although the policy maker's perspective was one of frustration at the rigidity of the legislation, for the case study stations the social gain policy enabled them to go from RSLs (which went on air for 28 days), to full time broadcasting licences which ran for an initial one-year period (Everitt, 2003:5) with the possibility of extending their term if successful. For the case study stations, the contradiction is that although the RSLs had enabled them to identify and serve specific minority communities full time and were designed to broadcast local news and information, their proposals committed them serving a broader audience.

To achieve this each station had to reconceptualise their service and how they would practically move from a community initiative, which broadcasts twice a year for 28 days (in line with the terms for this type of licence) to a full-time station articulating social gain objectives for a larger broadcast area (footprint). For those community organisations where RSLs had just been an additional aspect of their services, these new licences presented an opportunity to consider and include other members of their community (such as the pirate broadcasters) and collaborate with other local organisations targeting their audience, to strengthen their provision. The policy makers had envisaged what they wanted, but weren't sure whether it could actually be achieved.

> We were trying very hard to think of them [community radio licences] in as diverse a way as possible, so they could be localities, but…we were then thinking of divisions within localities, which is one of the things that had been tried with the incremental stations in the late eighties, very early nineties, where you could serve…well, we thought particularly in terms of ethnic groups, ethnic communities. I wanted to think also in terms of communities of interest.
>
> (Participant 2, 2012)

It is clear at this point that the benefits of community radio as a cultural artefact which offers opportunities for representation of identities through the production and consumption of programming within regulated frameworks was beginning to be recognised more widely.

As we will discuss in the next two chapters, lack of diversity and divisions in areas are still an issue for some stations and the communities they serve. Nevertheless, the radio licences, which became available to geographic and communities of interest were viewed as an opportunity to expand and broaden the reach of those on small incremental licences and this was exactly what they did.

> This was about expanding what had been just about Castle Vale and looking at a much bigger area. So, this was a golden opportunity for us, this was going to be about broadcasting to northeast Birmingham and into north Solihull.
>
> (Participant 1, 2014)

Switch Radio used their volunteers to assist with research into the surrounding council wards to ensure the community was involved in framing the issues their key commitments would address. Using key sources of local information and statistics including the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD), they were able to find relevant information for inclusion in the licence application about the needs of the wider community of northeast Birmingham. This information also helped them consider where they could access funding to address some of these issues through the station and financially sustain it.

As seen in Chapter one, the rise of the commercial sector, technological factors and networking practices of larger stations have led to less local content across all sectors in mainstream radio (Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea 2010:13). Therefore, this is a key aspect in committee members, managers and volunteers justifying their service in the city as they feel the local radio landscape overlooks the tastes and needs of their audiences and this makes it easier for them to articulate their value through Du Gay et al's (2013) circuit of culture, as they are working within regulatory conditions to represent underserved communities of music fans through producing music content that can be consumed through FM radio for those who do not have access to digital technologies or platforms.

> Well the radio landscape in Birmingham is quite bizarre, especially in that a lot of the specialist content is disappearing, well it is available on DAB, but there are people who are 40 or 50s for whom DAB is just a collection of letters, it means absolutely nothing to them. So those kinds of people are going to be left behind or forgotten as things move onto digital platforms. There are also areas of broadcast that simply aren't served full stop, commercially at least.
>
> (Participant 20, 2015)

This suggests BBC and commercial radio is lacking in culturally appropriate output and

constructing alternative rather than reflecting audience identities to either justify their licence fee or make a profit through advertising. Those interviewed across all three case study stations, view this as unacceptable especially as Birmingham has such large, diverse music communities participants feel their voices and tastes should be catered for. Committee members and Managers believe the reason this is not happening is because of the ever-expanding pressures on commercial radio to cut costs, which has led to tighter playlists with less genres of music.

> I think [Newstyle] it's important because …… if you listen to radio stations around, they don't really represent the African Caribbean people. Choice and Galaxy used to play soca and calypso and reggae when they were there. Now I don't know if they have any reggae presenters [in mainstream radio].
>
> (Participant 10, 2015)

They also discussed how commercial production and marketing practices, such as networking programming and social media are extending commercial stations' broadcast footprint. Whilst some community stations are adopting (some) of these production practices, others are not adapting so well because of the lack of business skill required in a neoliberal context where economic benefit outweighs and social benefits. They believe another contributing factor is an inability to engage with younger audiences and volunteers who understand how to balance social objectives with financial stability. Therefore, the task of catering for diverse communities of music fans has fallen on the shoulders of community radio, but is becoming more challenging as the volunteers each station attracts don't necessarily have digital media literacy skills which could help deliver programming on multiple platforms opening up alternative funding streams. However, where this is possible, stations then have to find the funding to acquire the new equipment needed to facilitate this.

Another aspect discussed by participants was the focus on commercial radio stations serving specific audiences through music, but their own determination to give more time over to representing the community and strengthening their identity through debate, discussion and more general speech programming, as this was missing.

> For me the important thing with the shows was that there were as many talk shows as possible, because when you look at the history of black radio it, it's all pirate radio

> and it was all music led. There wasn't the sort of talk shows where you could have those educated discussions, so for me that was important for Newstyle.
>
> (Participant 5, 2015)

This particular volunteer argued this type of content was culturally appropriate and also led to better understanding and relationships within the community which is an articulation of the fourth social gain criterion.

For Raaj FM, in terms of religious programming they had tried to initially work with local commercial stations to provide the sort of service they wanted for the Sikh community during religious festivals, but this was resisted.

> Radio XL, although that's commercial, that's being going on for many years. At that time there was only that station here, but they wasn't really interested in giving anything to the Punjabi community for some reason. I don't know why. I think they were lot more, like, for the Muslim community, so…but, you know, we said even if you give us half an hour or one hour then we will just pay you for that time, right, but, no, anyway, they never used to.
>
> (Participant 16, 2015)

This again suggests the focus of commercial radio stations is to construct and represent an audience identity that is profitable rather than specifically culturally reflective.

Other interviewees drew comparisons between the objectives of community radio and BBC local radio, suggesting as they had previously worked for them, they knew the principles of public service broadcasting and how to represent particular communities through programming.

> We still have those gaps…Choice that came on and it was like, yes, great, but the trouble is Choice didn't serve any of the people it was meant to serve and it didn't employ the people it was meant to serve.
>
> (Participant 3, 2015)

Some outlined that they had taken elements of the BBC's principles but tailored them to suit and serve their communities in a professional manner and this type of programming was influential for them, when articulating key commitments for their station.

> If you look at other radio stations which are non-music, which are more kind of 50/50, maybe BBC WM which is like a local radio station, so the same programming, current affairs, discussion, debate, advice, music, a variety of that is the same thing what we do, but in Punjabi language.
>
> (Participant 15, 2015)

There is a suggestion that BBC programming is more focussed on representing their audience as opposed to profit but that community radio also offers the opportunity to involve the community in this representation.

When discussing the task of putting together an application for a full-time licence, an aspect discussed by those involved at a management level within the stations themselves was considering how to bring groups together into their reconceptualised community, as this would be recognised as demonstrating their value and articulating social gain.

> Birmingham City Council have said people don't see their community beyond a few streets and that's hard to quantify but it's a big problem and you can't get people to give you money to solve it. For big funders you have to have numbers, proof of things being a big problem instead of anecdotal.
>
> (Participant 20, 2014)

The areas researched in the north east, west and north west of Birmingham, are all considered deprived and have been listed on the Government's Indices of Multiple Deprivation since 2013 (IMD,2013; 2015). Although the benefits of community radio in areas such as these, has been researched and proven many times, as outlined in Chapter one, financial support is no longer as easy to apply for as the recession has changed the funding climate. Therefore, gaining support when the licences were originally granted was fairly straightforward, but keeping the stations afloat and continuing to articulate discourses of social gain during a recession has required some consideration of which funding streams are available and where each station can access support from other agencies.

4.5. There's no magic money tree, financial support and implications when it's reduced

When the social gain policy was constructed and community radio was given the green light, policy makers felt they had finally come up with a third tier of UK radio, which would serve a number of purposes. At the same time it would not worry the commercial sector and their public service counterparts, as it was significantly different enough no to threaten their position or share of the radio audience which for commercial radio was evidence of market share in the new neo-liberalist landscape and for the BBC justified the licence fee which

supported their activities in the eyes of their audiences who in the same neo-liberalist landscape were consumers requiring evidence of value for money.

> The BBC were positive, the politicians loved it…because they could do something that wasn't going to cost them a lot of money. They absolutely jumped at it. I remember that I was very aware that the funding for this was going to come quite a lot from people who would see that radio was useful for their social aims, so at the time there was the regeneration fund and that they therefore would set criteria. Any grant making body does, and therefore there would be a way of actually measuring these things, without the radio licensing body setting down how it had to happen.
>
> (Participant 2, 2012)

In 2004 when applying for their licences, (as suggested) they also applied for different pots of money available for community initiatives and in some cases as previously discussed, broadcasting full time was a secondary aspect, because their focus was articulation of social gain through training people in radio production, as opposed to focussing on the audience they were broadcasting to. In this sense Switch Radio were moving from regeneration activities and training the community to producing culturally appropriate artefacts.

> One of the key considerations was the financial implications of putting training on hold, we were running courses under franchise contract from colleges. So, it meant there was a business decision we'd have had to have just parked all that and we couldn't afford to do that. But we also thought well let's sit back and watch from the side lines here, we're really interested in this, but let's see how another station makes…….. You know, how it manifests itself and what their experience is.
>
> (Participant 1, 2014)

Although Switch had been measured in their response to the original Access Radio pilot, and then taken the full two years after being granted their licence to get on air, they used this time to strategically plan how they could work with other agencies to financially support a full-time station. However, as previously outlined as these pots of money dried up, the financial restrictions placed on stations made it financially impossible for the original organisation (Headline Media) to keep paid staff on to support the running of the station. Therefore, they signed it over to a group of volunteers who registered as a not-for profit company and took over the licence. As will be outlined in chapter five, these volunteers have had to re-consider how they organise activity and logistically keep the station on air articulating social gain without the financial support offered by earlier regeneration funds.

> The station previously received grants from the Housing Action Trust or CVCHA as they're known now, to sustain them so if there was a shortfall in funding the gist was

> the Housing Action Trust would meet the gap and they wouldn't have any problems with funding. That was fine until it became evident that CVCHA weren't going to keep putting money into it.
>
> (Participant 20, 2015)

In actual fact each of the case study stations outline they could not have survived funding cuts and a recession without the good will of their volunteers. However, practically the restrictions placed on them in terms of where they access financial support has made staying afloat much more challenging than they had ever imagined. Some of the participants believe that although this is dictated by associated factors such as competition law and to protect the interests of commercial stations, they frame the issues as not being supported enough by local authorities.

> One aspect of having a community licence is that you can only generate because of obvious reasons to do with competition, we can only generate 50% of our income from the radio [advertising]. Now that is itself is an issue, a logistical issue to manage, to ensure we keep within those parameters. We've had difficulty generating funds…… despite being in a very poor area, the ACMC has not had a single penny from Birmingham City Council in terms of grants over the last few years.
>
> (Participant 9, 2015)

Although those involved with licensing the sector were aware that this may happen and had considered how to support the stations after regeneration and charitable funds could no longer be relied on to do so, they were shocked at how little support was given by the industry itself and the government whose main focus turned to other established sectors

> We knew it would be rocky, we didn't know quite how rocky it would be. We didn't know the government would actually refuse to go beyond £500,000 of funding for the entire sector and that was and remains pretty shameful.
>
> (Participant 2, 2012)

The impact this has had on each of the stations particularly in terms of the day to day tasks undertaken by Committee members and other volunteers was evident throughout the interviews and there was an acknowledgement of how practices and attitudes have had to adapt to survive the challenges this lack of formal funding and a new commercially driven landscape presents.

> At the moment my main jobs are ensuring overheads are paid and books balance but my job relies on the Funding Manager to secure funds. At the moment there's some uncertainty around his salary for next year and we really do need him, so we are

> looking into charitable status, but when you pay corporation tax which we do, it makes it difficult to secure funding.
>
> (Participant 24, 2015)

However, some stations when finding it difficult to access grants have had to look closer to home for financial donations from Directors and in some cases volunteers themselves. All committee members interviewed discussed the invaluable in-kind contributions of volunteers and agreed it would be difficult to calculate in economic terms the value of this type of support but suggested this is the only way to access funding and support.

The underlying frustration and concern outlined by committee members and volunteers as a result of not gaining financial or wider support was that some stations were not articulating social gain effectively because of the precarious financial conditions and instead doing things cheaply or which attract advertisers and money. This again is suggested as a result of not having the right people in place to re-articulate a discourse of community radio purpose or ensure the production of culturally appropriate programming which is reflective the key themes of the circuit of culture (Du Gay et al, 2013).

> The focus has gone to just income generation and so there's not the thought that goes into running the station as it should be run with all the potential we've got.
>
> (Participant 5, 2015)

Those interviewed suggest the impact of withdrawing financial support meant prioritising a reconsideration of how to operate with limited resources and funding. The suggestion was there is a move to re-consider their activity in commercial terms and using commercial business practices to adapt to the neo-liberal landscape, where listening figures and other metrics demonstrate outcomes and impact to attract financial support.

> When I talk to people, I can see there's been a huge change in the way that funders operate with regards to organisations like community radio stations. I think funders now want to see the solid outcomes of projects are. So that means we've had to change how we do business slightly, so kind of, a more hard-headed approach, I guess.
>
> (Participant 25, 2015)

During this chapter evidence has shown that each person involved in constructing and articulating discourses of social gain have framed the main issues for their communities as

inequality and culturally appropriate community radio as a remedy. Those involved in constructing the policy and community radio activists, can be recognised as framing this as inequality of culturally appropriate, inclusive radio services for local minority voices and define the causes as a prioritisation of profits over culturally appropriate local content. The remedy for improving this was to construct a policy framework for communities to address this themselves through radio and in a politically liberal, communitarian context, by including the social gain criteria as a key element of the policy. Those involved in visualising the policy as key commitments and then re-articulating discourses of social gain in a station context framed the main issues as lack of representation across the local radio landscape of socially and culturally diverse music and language programming for the diverse communities living in Birmingham. The programming in these stations is intended to articulate aspects of African, Caribbean, Indian, Pakistani and mixed ethnicities, including language, history, music, discussion of cultural practices, religion, class identities and opportunities for skills acquisition. Interviewees from each station identified the Station Manager as a key figure in this process suggesting they are needed in two different spheres, a political sphere in which they articulate a discourse of community radio policy through the key commitments in specific ways to address issues such as those outlined above. The Station Manager is also needed in a social sphere to articulate a discourse of community radio purpose to volunteers through discursive practices of scheduling, programming and production. It is suggested when the Station Manager articulates these discourses of policy and purpose simultaneously, they can guide the station through difficult challenges, whilst delivering the original key commitments and ensuring programming is culturally and contextually relevant.

This resembles Keith's description of the duties of a commercial radio Station Manager as outlined in chapter one (Keith, 2004, 56-57). However, when an organisation has been set up with social and cultural objectives, it is not an easy task to begin operating using commercial practices which measure listening figures, outcomes and impact in economic terms, particularly when this is not necessarily in the skillset of those running the organisation. Having discussed the historical discourses of each station, how issues were framed when constructing key commitments and how these have been articulated through the lens of the

circuit of culture (Du Gay et al, 2013), I will now look at how each station has evolved focussing particularly on the infrastructure and its role in delivering social gain in the context of each station.

Chapter 5

Organisational Structures; management, leadership, processes and people

This chapter will outline the context in which those working in the case study stations operate in order to understand how they frame and articulate discourses of social gain and how the structure of the station, management and discursive practices facilitate or impede this articulation as a cultural practice. Firstly, I will explore each station's structure to understand the context in which discourses of social gain outlined in key commitments are articulated and deployed. I will focus on leadership and management styles, how volunteers respond to each person in the organisational structure and how these factors impact articulations of social gain in the context of each community. It is important to consider the wider infrastructure of each station, its internal culture and how this dictates the its practices. These practices are used to train volunteers to articulate a cohesive discourse of social gain through the station. The chapter also discusses the role of social actors in galvanising and motivating volunteers to consider themselves part of a community collective. As discussed in chapter four, the delivery of key commitments through radio was proposed by each station as a remedy for addressing issues faced by their community. However, as also discussed until actually implementing these proposals through the station, it is impossible to assess how they will work in practice. Therefore, the final section of this chapter explores the role of social actors and their value in the lived experience of community radio workers, as they attempt to articulate social gain in context.

The chapter argues that discourses of social gain are successfully articulated where key components are in place and particular approaches are taken to the management of the station and its volunteers. These include a management structure where an identified formal or informal leader contributes to constructing infrastructure, the station culture and associated processes. This person can be recognised as a social actor, able to articulate a discourse of community radio policy, but understand how to galvanise people articulating a discourse of community radio purpose to volunteers, which motivates them to act as a collective keeping

the social gain agenda and objectives at the heart of volunteer activity. This coupled with a human relations approach to managing volunteers where respect, trust and incentives are included assist with the articulation of discourses of social gain as outlined in the station's key commitments. However, when one of these key components is missing, the infrastructure and wider culture begins to break down and collective action is reduced to smaller groups and volunteers fall back on reflecting business practices they see in commercial radio, as this is what they consider professional.

5.1. Management, leadership and the space between

Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea (2010) as highlighted in Chapter one, argue that there are fewer traditional hierarchies present in community radio than in commercial or public service radio, as working around a shared set of values and towards a shared goal is an overarching characteristic which makes it distinctive. However, as Vecchio (2000:147) argued in his study of wider organisational cultures and behaviours at the turn of the millennium, the layers of management that had traditionally offered clear, gradual, structured progression had begun to be eroded by changing business practices. This was documented in radio sectors ten years later (Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea, 2010) and is evident in the community radio stations researched. We must also consider that working in voluntary organisations such as community radio offers a more complex set of managerial issues as in most cases, this means managing volunteers. According to Palmer and Hoe (1997:278) managing volunteers is often harder than managing employees as they are unpaid and rather than challenging aspects of their work they dislike, instead can leave the organisation. As my research has uncovered and we will discuss in more detail in the next chapter, some interviewees have found it challenging to reprimand or dismiss volunteers because they are giving their time for free.

Whilst researching each case study station, it became apparent that different management styles exist in each and these can impact volunteer's understanding and investment in social gain criteria for the benefit of the wider community. However, it should not be assumed that those with the most experience (or the longest running station) have the most successful or

effective management style. Nor should it be assumed that it is easy to create an environment in which articulations of social gain through community radio production tangibly benefit the wider community who consume the programmes, or that this is the main objective of volunteers. As chapter six will discuss in more detail, some volunteers participate in community radio for reasons of self-interest. Therefore, not all discursive practices are articulated with the purpose of representing community identities (Palmer and Hoe, 1997:285) but rather individual identities. Where the objective of articulating a collective discourse of social gain was suggested, these articulations were analysed through the lens of Du Gay et al's (2013) circuit of culture (representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation)

Vecchio (2000:148) argues management and leadership are different things and defines leadership as a process during which an individual 'attempts to get organizational members to do something they require.' He continues although an individual may be an effective manager, they may not actually be the person who is considered by the other members of the organisation to lead. To fully understand the different characteristics Milner and Joyce (2005:61) are useful as they argue that leaders are pro-active, confident, risk takers, and managers are more passive and impersonal, merely carrying out operational aspects. This is echoed in relation to community radio by the roles of the Committee, Chair and the Station Manager but as outlined below, the former are not always perceived as the natural leaders of the station. Puccio, Murdock and Mance (2007:5) consider the main distinguishing factor between management and leadership to be creativity which considering evidence outlined below, supports the argument that without someone who can creatively articulate a discourse of community radio policy to regulators and re-articulate a discourse of community radio purpose to volunteers, the station infrastructure and wider culture breaks down and the relations between leaders, managers and volunteers, sours.

With this in mind, an extra layer of complexity must be considered in terms of both management and leadership in a public service or community context. Milner and Joyce discuss these complexities further, arguing those responsible for leading in a public service or community context must 'both inhabit and navigate a way through overtly political territory'

(2005:60). They argue a legacy of assumptions that 'policy leadership and managerial implementation' can be divided leads to tensions and people who occupy these roles in this context must speak a language that can be understood at all levels. This echoes discussion of neo-liberalist environments in which economic policy can be implemented without impacting social conditions (Smart, 2003), which always leads to disparities in what is intended and what is implemented. This supports the previous statement around community radio Station Managers who as outlined in this research often occupy both a management position and a leadership role. However, it should also be recognised that they are only partly responsible for the direction in which the organisation or station can go as their role is enacted within the constraints of policy. Therefore, Milner and Joyce as reflecting on case studies from both Australia and UK, they argue for service-based leadership (ibid, 2005:59-65) to be encouraged and implemented at every level of public service organisations, to ensure smooth transition through policy to service design and implementation in these contexts. As outlined by Vecchio (2000), some traditional management layers have been eroded, which suggests this could be possible. However, in some community radio environments there are still traditional hierarchies present (although they are not always explicit) which make this challenging. Palmer and Hoe (1997:278) suggest volunteers are becoming more demanding, wanting 'a greater say in framing their activities'. Whilst this is supported in many ways through the evidence below and in chapter six, in a community radio environment, volunteers still look to the Station Manager to gain approval that their articulations are within the regulatory requirements of the station. Considering this with the circuit of culture in mind, this suggests that community radio station cultures begin with regulation and the Station Manager.

As this section will demonstrate, where there is a traditional hierarchy in place, those interviewed suggest it is important not only that the person responsible for translating and articulating discourses of social gain at a management level (to regulators and volunteers) understands their role, but also understands the practicalities of radio production and the complexities of getting a show to air. As well as this they should also understand the cultural representation of the identities in their community and who is consuming the programmes.

Without this clarity, it appears difficult to communicate a discourse of purpose to community radio volunteers and justify the actions of the management, in relation to the station's key commitments and articulating a wider bottom up approach as part of the discourse of policy. Instead volunteers lose respect for the management structures and begin to define their roles for themselves, regardless of parameters or Ofcom guidelines as testimonies below demonstrate. If the person assuming overall control does not understand how to articulate key commitments (which seek to address the issues framed as faced by the community) through radio which is meaningful and culturally appropriate and guide volunteers to do the same, it is important they delegate this task to one or several people who can take on a leadership role. However, this individual must understand the community and issues they face, key commitments, which frame these issues and the key practical components of running a radio station (as outlined below) to understand implementation.

An example of this was evident at Newstyle Radio, where a change in management brought about some unexpected hierarchical changes where one of the Directors of the wider ACMC found himself elevated to Chair of the centre and the radio station. When interviewed, he outlined this was not something he had expected or had the relevant skillset for, but in the absence of someone else to take on the role and wanting to keep the centre and the station going, he took on the position. Once he assumed the role of Chair of Newstyle Radio, in this new context he found himself appreciative of those working in the station. Furthermore, he identified issues with effectively delivering key commitments due to his lack of knowledge and experience running a radio station, and volunteers being unable to consider the key commitments of the station in the wider context of the community and the ACMC. He suggests addressing key commitments in this wider context led to tensions at management level, which diverted their attention away from the management of the station and the volunteers.

> At a level of Directorship and Management, we've had problems and disagreements within the organization and we've found through it all, that our presenters have been extremely professional. They've kept the organisation going and this has been invaluable for us and that is a test of their professionalism and commitment…. I don't even think we always fully appreciate what we have……a lot of presenters are very critical of the quality of the station. They always feel it could be improved…...
>
> (Participant 9, 2015)

However, station volunteers framed quality issues when interviewed, as a legacy of the breakdown of the former management structure and culture and the subsequent removal of the Station Manager they viewed as their leader. They suggest the current breakdown in communication and dismantling of the infrastructure and production training processes are key cultural issues and vital to the sustainability of the station. Whilst volunteers agree it was necessary to change the structure, they suggest new people with radio production and leadership skills should have been brought in to fill gaps. Clearly this has an impact on subsequent articulations of social gain, as volunteers who begin to define their own roles and activities lose their motivation for collective action, instead believing they alone are working for the community.

Longer established volunteers discuss the former hierarchical structure (with a much more proactive Chair in charge) as problematic in many ways, but generally as a golden age in the station's history. They agree that those in charge were sometimes controlling and strict, but identify these as being essential strategic management qualities, or as Palmer and Hoe (1997:278) suggest, defining the boundaries when working with volunteers. They believe for their station to be effective in the community it needs leadership, which informs the management and re-instates the infrastructure and ensures a clear set of processes is maintained which will rebuild a healthy station culture. Those interviewed suggest this is the only way to effectively articulate social gain and for them to produce culturally appropriate radio texts which successfully represent community identities and are consumed by the community, within the regulatory frameworks of community radio and could be viewed as reflective of Du Gay et al's (2013) key points as cultural artefacts.

> This is the thing in the early days of Newstyle that I was quite proud of, because you couldn't just go on air and say you were going to be a presenter. You did have to do a lot of work beforehand and come in at times and do a practice run and record it and listen to yourself and evaluate yourself and get tips from other people on how you could do it better. When I listen to Newstyle, people are coming on and doing a very basic sort of get used to the desk and then being put on air and there's no real training. So, there's times when I'm listening in and I can hear for example, issues around compliance and because they haven't done the training, they don't know what's wrong.
>
> (Participant 5, 2015)

Returning to Du Gay et al (2013), when mapping key commitments outlined in chapter four, it

is clear to see how each person involved in constructing these considered the five points of representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation through the key commitments as an articulation of how social gain would be demonstrated. However, moving on to the roles of managers and leaders within this articulation, it is clear without robust infrastructure and processes as part of the station culture, it impedes volunteer articulations of social gain and how successful they feel the station is in delivering these.

Instead, these volunteers suggest there are problems in the production phase of the circuit of culture, which is having a detrimental impact on the internal and external discourses constructed about the station and about the community more generally. Without robust training processes in place, the training aspect of social gain (criterion 3) is not being articulated effectively and production skills are not being acquired, evaluated or improved. The concern of the volunteers is this will result in radio texts going out on air, which may not truly represent the community or its identity within the regulatory frameworks. Therefore, the station runs the risk of constructing a distorted discourse of professionalism internally in the station and externally about the community, limiting the potential of the community to develop and becoming detrimental rather than beneficial. The evidence demonstrates as a result of this longer established volunteers at Newstyle have become disillusioned with the current management and believe the station to be in jeopardy, as committee members have little understanding of the requirements and practicalities of radio production and running a station.

> The people who were here who were championing this station and working hard to keep it afloat and to keep what our aims and objectives were in the first place, they have since gone. It has then been replaced by a number of people who I believe … don't understand radio, but yet they proceed to tell people who know better than them how to do things. And, then you've got a board who knows nothing about radio, who wants to tell us how to operate the radio station and things they come out with it's just like, you can't do that.
>
> (Participant 3, 2015)

Another interesting outcome of the research was how the female volunteers interviewed framed key issues in the station as a resistance by the management to engage younger volunteers, specifically young black men. They identified the causes as those in positions of power feeling threatened by younger potentially more capable men challenging their authority. They also suggested without doing this or finding a solution, the station cannot

continue to develop or serve a constantly changing community audience. They believe the best solution for this is a new Station Manager who can make the station accessible to younger volunteers and incorporate programming for a younger demographic, thus re-articulating social gain to include the wider changing community and injecting youth and enthusiasm into the station culture.

> Our last Station Manager, he had this idea that he wanted to bring in younger people. We used to have…an up and coming comedian. He's very funny, very talented and incredibly smart and articulate, but opposition was put in the way so that couldn't really happen. There isn't [sic] very many young, black men on the station. I think it would be possible to find them, but I don't know if the powers that be would allow it, because you get a bit territorial over your little empire, don't you?
>
> (Participant 12, 2015)

> The reality of the matter is that I see that it's about that shift in culture, but I also feel like we have a legitimate licence we were fortunate to be, you know, one of the first to get that licence and that licence means something and it stands up against scrutiny and I feel like there's a responsibility to say this may only be, quote unquote, community radio, but the reality is that it still should be run in a manner that is in keeping with the standards to which it is signed up to.
>
> (Participant 8, 2015)

Although efforts have been made to replace the Station Manager, none of those who expressed ideas for how to move the station forward wished to take on the role. Even the current volunteer acting in this position outlines he has no desire to take on the role permanently, but as long as he was only acting as an interim, he was happy to do it.

> I didn't know it was so...toxic would be the right word, but I remember [….] would say to me…you know I really want you to help with the management. I didn't want to go [into that] at all because I found when I come here it seemed that everybody had an issue with somebody and I'm not into that, you know, everybody my friends and I felt that any time I ventured into the management business, I normally lose some friends and I don't want that, so I resisted. He said, please even if you can do it on, kind of, like as a standby, kind of thing… yes, just as a standby manager. He said, it's very, very important because, they needed some stability in the place and he felt that the rapport that I have with everybody and I'm friendly with everybody and nobody had anything bad to say about me.
>
> (Participant 10, 2015)

The overall impression given by volunteers interviewed at Newstyle was that the previous management permeated trust in a hierarchical structure (although flawed) in which strategic vision and leadership by the Chair was trusted (despite often being criticised), until individuals within this structure became dictatorial and controlling. Although there was clear leadership,

there was little explanation of changes being introduced and the environment became one in which producers and presenters became restricted and felt they could no longer be themselves due to strict editorial policies on speech and content being imposed which changed the station's cultural identity.

> It didn't go down well because [….] started to bring in little policies that took away from the nature of the people who were presenting. So, for example, we weren't allowed to talk patois when we were presenting, so it had to be all Queen's English, so some people who did have the Caribbean twang to the jargon, that's where people started getting a bit unhappy. Some carried on and made themselves very vocal about how they felt, but some just felt it wasn't worth it and went back to the pirate stations.
>
> (Participant 5, 2015)

In this environment, volunteers feel the station became unrepresentative of the community voice. Several years on, this has led to an environment where in-fighting has become standard amongst volunteers and even though the current Chair has attempted to replace the Station Manager, the atmosphere which is felt to be a legacy from this time, has deterred those with the skills from taking on the role. Although volunteers recognise the former structure as being flawed, they believe the balance of management and leadership qualities helped to maintain a strong infrastructure and internal culture. They also talk of the former Station Manager as possessing both the necessary leadership skills (to lead volunteers) and knowledge of the relevant production practices for maintaining a functional community station and articulating a discourse of community radio policy and purpose.

For Switch Radio, who moved to a volunteer model in 2013, the traditional hierarchy and culture apparent in the previous station was dismantled when the station changed hands. The previous organisation responsible for running the station (Headline Media) had operated with a paid manager in place, who oversaw daily operations, co-ordinated training and volunteers and engaged people to deliver activities if he could not. The management style of the individual was considered inclusive and had always incorporated the volunteers as central to the station explicitly constructing a discourse in which the contribution of volunteers was valued. This management style and the highlighting of the various skills each volunteer brings when joining the station, was framed as a key aspect in continuing the work Headline Media had started when transferring to a volunteer model. Although there is an implicit

hierarchical structure in the station, it is not recognised as a hierarchy, or articulated by the wider management structure of Switch. This suggests the core group who make up the management team succeeded in achieving a solution, keeping a sense of inclusivity and valuing volunteers which has maintained the infrastructure and the wider sense of a supportive station culture.

> There was a core group and there's still a core group of volunteers, myself, […. And ….]. We took over the running of it, but everyone, EVERYONE is a key component, a cog working together and that's how it runs, so there's no hierarchy, but we actually took on the business side.
>
> (Participant 18, 2015)

> You have me, a stereotypical radio geek, you have [….], who has a background in training and accounting and teaches accountancy and that is key for all of us. I mean you could find another radio geek, maybe not as geeky as me, but you could, or [….] who is the Music and Marketing guy, but to find another [….] with that financial knowledge, would be like absolute gold dust and I don't know where we'd be without her. We got down to 3 people all of whom brought different things to the board.
>
> (Participant 20, 2015)

> Originally there were 5 of us who went for Directors roles, but that was reduced to 3. [….] took the lead on looking at and changing the key commitments and making them more achievable and together the three of us signed them off.
>
> (Participant 24, 2015)

This type of collaborative management style is also appreciated by other volunteers who trust the management team to make decisions in their best interests and the best interests of the wider community. They also trust that the management team are committed enough to monitor programming and standards of training delivered by and for volunteers and alert them to any issues arising from their contribution.

> If you want to know more, [….] will tell you but otherwise he tells you what you need to know. So, I know as a presenter, I have to hit 10 minutes speech and with the news it's 12 minutes because […. and ….] will randomly listen in and if you're not doing it, they will have a word.
>
> (Participant 21, 2015)

Each volunteer interviewed at Switch Radio, articulated that the management structure in the station existed, but did not consider it hierarchical with one person in charge. Instead as the core management group are considered approachable and the culture promotes the value of volunteer's ideas and opinions as part of the collective, they feel empowered to challenge and suggest alternative solutions to any issues that arise. However, during interviews and observations it became apparent there was clear leadership present, as when making a

decision on changing or introducing new elements to station programming or activity, volunteers defer to one person, as he is perceived as having the most knowledge about radio and regulation. They also perceive him as the one person who understands working within regulatory frameworks and delivering key commitments and understanding the technical and operational aspects of running a radio station. The manner in which this knowledge is deployed is framed as sharing information and skills as part of a collaborative partnership in which everyone is valued as part of the collective, rather than through a traditional top-down hierarchy substantiating those who argue non-traditional structures are key to community radio (Day, 2009, Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea, 2010). Palmer and Hoe (1997:277-290) also outline this as a key aspect for consideration when working with volunteers and establishing a policy. Volunteers also suggest going to the person who has the most knowledge within the collective is a logical thing to do, as they are there to help and guide each other.

The structure of the third case study station, Raaj FM highlights a clear hierarchy, but the titles used by the management team suggest a set of tasks is devolved to each individual as part of their role. The structure of the station begins with the licensee as the person who assumes overall responsibility and is referred to as 'Uncle'. When asked how this nickname came about, he explains it as a cultural practice in Asian communities, but attached no value in relation to the structure of the station itself.

> In the community, the older one they will call Uncle because they think if they call the name, they think it won't be very respectful. That's how the Asian community is, you know…
>
> (Participant 16, 2015)

However, implicitly when interviewing and observing the interactions with other members of the team, it became apparent that the title of Uncle is framed as very important as it commands a level of respect and sets the tone for the internal station culture, how the management team interact with each other, and who they consider as an authority figure and a leader. We will discuss the cultural practices of each community in chapter six, but a brief insight into the value of respect in Sikh communities is given by Oliffe et al (2010:762) in their research. In their study of Punjabi Sikh men and their attempts to retain cultural practices when migrating to other countries, men's groups, which usually originate in Gurdwaras are prominent. They argue hierarchies are often constructed and maintained, which position

those who have access to the most resources or more language skills, as leading activities and guiding the efforts of others in the community. At an operational level, the management structure and associated tasks are split between the Station Manager and Studio Co-ordinator, whose roles are articulated by the volunteers as relevant for different things. For example, the oldest is articulated as the person in charge of the overall station and someone with whom the buck stops. As we will discuss in more detail later, he also produces and presents a daily early morning show, which he believes sets the tone for the station and for the morning audience. He also interviews and trains all the volunteers.

Comparing this style of management with the other stations, rather than being viewed as a dictatorial management figure or as a peer, he appears to be perceived as a leader and a social actor (which we will discuss in the last section) who brings everyone together. As such, the management team and the volunteers alike respect him. The second member of the management team is the Station Manager, who has a long history with the station, having helped with the original RSLs that took place inside and outside the Gurdwara (Sikh temple) when he was a teenager. Now in his early twenties, he is paid as a Station Manager and his long-term relationship with the Licensee and the station has enabled him to develop the role by combining the skills he learnt whilst volunteering in this and other media organisations with skills learnt at University. He suggests this enables him to take the lead on bringing the station to online audiences and working with commercial partners or advertisers hoping to benefit from those audiences, which is vital for bringing in revenue that can be redirected to enable the station to continue its work in the community.

> I am the Station Manager, giving a major focus on business and marketing and that includes sales, partnerships and stuff, so I kind of…if you take the Manager role out from there, I'm the next person to oversee the whole station in terms of programming, marketing, business, sales, everything A to Z. Then obviously I have staff working under me, but I give the main focus onto the business side of it, to make sure the station runs financially and making sure it serves its purpose, including all the Ofcom regulations and marketing as well.
>
> (Participant 15, 2015)

Returning to Vecchio (2000:147-150) discussing the role of Managers, he outlines how new business practices have meant that much more is expected of the role. As a result, individuals find themselves managing large teams and working across functional areas.

However, it is argued these are the people that large companies employ. If we relate this to community radio and the interviewee's comments above, the Station Manager began as an unpaid volunteer and has developed his management skills in a community radio environment, alongside studying for a formal qualification. Therefore, he has been able to test out skills he learnt at University within a community environment, articulating discourses of social gain within a formal management hierarchy in which there is a leader above him to regulate and advise on commercial activity. When questioned further on using new business practices, the Station Manager outlined that because his degree is in Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) he understands how the sector is changing and its changing needs. When discussing delivering social gain through the station, he framed one of the main issues as financial instability and diagnosed the main causes as not enough available funding, or traditional radio advertising space sold, to sustain the running of the station or the level of work they do in the community. He identified the solution as combining his marketing and business skills to find alternative funding streams to solve this issue. Through developing Raaj FM's website the Station Manager has built new partnerships and made the station accessible to international partners and younger audiences through the site, social networking platforms (Facebook, Twitter and Instagram) and applications such as TuneIn and YouTube. In doing this he has also become the middle layer, between the top level of management and volunteers (in the absence of the Studio Co-ordinator) and advises younger presenters who want to expand their reach online. In doing this he is also including a younger transnational Punjabi identity and including them in the station production and consumption.

The Studio Co-ordinator (who is the Licensee's son) takes on the role of liaising with volunteers in relation to their shows. The Studio Co-ordinator is being trained to take over his Father's role in liaising with the geographical community including older volunteers, and those audiences and advertisers who live in the community and approach the station physically. However, he has no desire to take on a show, just support his Father with the work he does in the community.

> My role is Studio Co-ordinator, so I deal with all the presenters, their shows, covering shows when they can't come in and then advertisements as well, you know, people

> contact me for advertisements if I've got to go see clients or they come and see me, so I do all the advertisements as well, take all the pressure off dad.
>
> (Participant 14, 2015)

When interviewed he framed the issue as the depth of his Father's role in the community. He diagnosed the causes as pressure, stress and worry about keeping his business links in the community, whilst continuing an active production and training role in the station and maintaining a strategic overview ensuring the discourse of policy and purpose are maintained. He framed the solution as taking over some of his duties including business community liaison and co-ordination of presenters etc. This new structure required a clarifying of management roles which can be clearly articulated by each individual involved in the structure, but also appears to be key to the station's success in managing volunteers to articulate discourses of social gain.

> We're the three main…just the three of us… It's goes smooth because all the presenters who come in week in week out, they know what their role is.
>
> (Participant 14, 2015)

As well as outlining how important clarity around management roles is and who volunteers should liaise with, if they have issues with programming or have been approached by the community for help with dealing with particular community issues; another aspect which is framed and articulated as a crucial part of the management style within Raaj FM is trust. For those interviewed, being able to trust each other and those who come into the station is argued as crucial to the operational management and functioning for the benefit of community.

> [We're a team] so we've got…you know, we've got other friends as well we can trust if we need advice and things, but normally the three of us just… we've got family members as well. Trust is a big thing, yes.
>
> (Participant 14, 2015)

It is also suggested with three people responsible as opposed to one, the team can represent a broader range of Punjabi identities, through producing culturally appropriate programming which can be consumed in a variety of ways within regulated frameworks.

As well as trusting each other the station has a trial period system in place for those who wish to volunteer. After initial training, each volunteer is given three months trial to see how they

behave and whether they can fit in, respect and command respect from other volunteers and are trustworthy. If they can demonstrate these things, they are asked to stay on and given a slot:

> You're not going to get everybody who are good. You're going to get some who are not very good and that's where you've got to be strong enough to kick them out because the English saying is one bad apple can spoil the other right, so, you know, we had some [volunteers] who just came I think because they just want to make their name, it's not very good for the station. So, that's why we say three months, it gives you a chance to see and see what they're like and their behaviour.
>
> (Participant 16, 2015)

The evidence suggests that the management structure at Raaj FM is explicitly framed and articulated as being based on respect, trust and clarity of expectations. Each person when discussing their role articulated their position as part of the collective and as contributing to discourses of social gain with a focus on specific aspects. For example, the Licensee takes on a strategic leadership role and represents the top layer of management articulating a discourse of community radio policy whilst overseeing the discourse of community radio purpose. However, the other two in the structure undertake tasks to practically support him and articulate this to volunteers and the wider community audience.

Although the structures of all three case study stations are organised differently, they do share characteristics. In those where there is clarity around management roles and associated duties and clear technical knowledge about radio demonstrated by one individual, the management work to support this person and they are implicitly suggested as a leader, by the wider management team and volunteers. However, although management styles and characteristics suggested as important (such as knowledge of policy and management of outcomes) are shared by all three organisations, without the technical knowledge of radio as a cultural object, the ability to articulate a daily discourse of purpose to volunteers (as suggested in the last chapter) becomes challenging. From time spent interviewing and observing volunteers, they suggest without an individual in place with this ability, the management and volunteer relationship breaks down. This is because volunteers lose trust in the management of the station and subsequently their passion for volunteering, as they can't identify a formal or informal leader and their understanding of the meaning of community

radio and its objectives become redefined form their own perspective.

5.2. The value of Infrastructure and internal cultures

As outlined in earlier chapters, it is usual in community radio to have committees, which include members of the community and different stakeholders who may be paid or unpaid working for the station. However, as suggested by this research, key decisions about how to translate social gain discourses in each station, can only be made if there is a robust infrastructure, which facilitates shared decision-making processes and action as a result of those decisions. As discussed in the previous section, this action is usually driven by someone who can articulate a discourse of community radio policy to regulators and a discourse of community radio purpose to those working with or for them in the station. In the case study stations researched this task has either been formalised in a station management role, or as an implicit leadership role that is supported by a wider management structure. However, where there are gaps in these structures or change has happened quickly, the organisation's infrastructure and internal culture has slowly broken down and this has led to a negative environment. In this case volunteers have become frustrated, and in some cases left, because they feel the station is no longer operating effectively or representing the community through their structures or output. This is not always recognised by top level management when there is no Station Manager or other supporting roles in the management structure able to re-articulate discourses of purpose to station volunteers.

Although the current Chair of Newstyle Radio has 50 years of experience in the voluntary sector, as outlined earlier he confessed to having no experience of radio production or management cultures. This suggests that he cannot articulate a discourse of purpose which radio volunteers can understand and articulate through their actions, as he has no knowledge of radio production processes. Although he acknowledges his inexperience of radio, he focuses on his experience of working with volunteers and devotion to the organisation and crucially that the station and wider organisation has previously survived funding cuts, investigation and a complete re-structure when key people were removed or left.

> It's not that easy to run any institution and to make it viable and certainly in the voluntary sector it's particularly difficult to manage people because you're not paying

> them, so that has challenges of its own. I think we, right now we run a very stable organization, but we've had problems with presenters, station managers and employees, but we've always managed. If we need to dismiss someone, we've always managed to do it, at whatever level the person is operating, without disrupting the organization, which is again something to do with management experience and skills and ways of managing individuals.
>
> (Participant 9, 2015)

This suggests he is unaware or (as some volunteers suggested) not willing to acknowledge the level of frustration and anger accumulating amongst long standing volunteers; who believe his priority is to retain control of the wider centre and exercise his power, rather than identify a Station Manager or effective station management team who will focus on the internal culture and output of the station. In the long term, volunteers suggest someone who can implement relevant processes is vital to re-establishing a robust infrastructure and culture. This breakdown in communication highlights a gap in management layers as there is no one to act as an interpreter between the Chair, whose focus is on delivering a discourse of community radio policy and the volunteers who require a discourse of community radio purpose and a set of processes and in some cases specific radio guidance to articulate social gain and produce culturally representative community programmes which can be considered reflective of the points in Du Gay et al's (2013) circuit of culture. Instead the Chair is dealing with volunteers directly without explicitly acknowledging to them his intention to address this issue and find a Station Manager longer term. Therefore, whilst he believes he is managing the station, the volunteers interviewed believe he is a key cause of the station's not delivering social gain effectively.

> I think if you're running an organisation of this kind and a radio station, which is very powerful actually and you're seen as having some power in community organisations, this is my judgement, if people see you… I think in life if people see that you're fair and just, if you like that you're not arbitrary, people are prepared to tolerate all kinds of things from you. They're even prepared to tolerate your foolishness, your eccentricities, your mistakes and your ignorances [sic], if they think you're fair even if you're wrong.
>
> (Participant 9, 2015)

In fact, the longstanding volunteers are struggling to forgive this inexperience as they continue to refer back to previous management with nostalgia, suggesting certain processes are crucial to the infrastructure, internal culture and the effective running of the station including the training and management of volunteers. In their view this is a key element

missing in the station and one, which they feel is impacting on the internal and external discourses of community, professionalism and impacting the station's ability to a supportive culture and produce programming which could be considered as reflective of points in the circuit of culture.

> We had a couple of station managers who had split roles so one had marketing and one had the training role and they used to give basic training when new people came in. They'd have basic training and then they would be put on-air, but not given a main slot, they would just like other radio stations do, they would do the graveyard slot to cut their teeth and get their experience before going into a main slot.
>
> (Participant 5, 2015)

This trial slot is a good example of a key aspect which is viewed as vital to the process of community radio training and from the perspective of volunteers, not including this is detrimental to volunteers learning how to represent community identities and produce culturally appropriate programmes within the realms of regulation, which can be consumed by the community audience. (Du Gay, 2013).

They also expressed ideas about how the station and the wider centre could re-connect with the community to serve them more effectively.

> We should be listening to what the community's saying and what they want and I think over the last year or so, those kinds of things have fell by the wayside. I think the whole building needs to be closed for a period of two weeks. It needs to be deep cleaned. It needs to be decorated. We need to get a new board in. We need to get a new manager in. we need to get the training rooms up and running again, get in contact with the colleges, so people from the colleges come here to do their practical, so we get those running again.
>
> (Participant 3, 2015)

This suggests that Newstyle's discourse of purpose has become distorted and volunteers feel they have lost touch with the community since the breakdown of the infrastructure and the internal culture has changed.

At Switch Radio there appears to be a solid infrastructure and clear processes in place for managing the operational aspects of the station. The management team and long-established volunteers suggest these have been built on a blueprint of the original foundations laid down by Headline Media.

> We came in and thought there's no longer anyone full time here so we need to think how we're going to deliver this in a sustainable way. So we kept it as it was, although now the initial training is delivered by current volunteers.
>
> (Participant 20, 2015)

This is viewed as a key strength and Switch volunteers feel they are all given a chance to help new volunteers. As well as a management team, the station has one paid employee who acts as a Programming and Business Development Manager. As the title suggests he oversees daily operations in terms of programming in the absence of the Station Manager, but his main function is to builds partnerships with other community groups and potential partners who can assist in bringing in funding to the station. Switch encourages volunteer applications through their website and at community events where they have a presence. After an initial application, potential volunteers are invited into the station and given a tour by the Station Manager. After this meeting, they are encouraged to shadow other volunteers to learn the ropes and often co-present (as a guest), before being given their own show, which must be proposed officially and accepted by the Station Manager and the wider management team.

> When we have new volunteer meetings, people come with great ideas, which could work, but as [the Station Manager] knows what we have and also what we need, only the programmes we don't have get agreed. Then you have some volunteers who when they realize how much work it takes, they pull out. You have some who get involved at every level and some who just do their own show and go home, which is sad but that's people for you.
>
> (Participant 24, 2015)

Although some processes and aspects of the internal culture and programming have changed since moving to the volunteer model, those who have been with the station since the early days of Headline Media and during its transition, recognise that some processes are different under the new administration, but there is still a robust infrastructure in place.

> [Before I joined] I went on the website they had a really good section on volunteering and you could tell what the station was about. I filled in an application form and went along to a volunteer meeting and it was great…They made it clear because I was only 16, I would have to shadow until I was 18, so I was paired up with a woman called [….] and for about 6 weeks I was shadowing her. She trained me up on everything, and I ended up on air at the end of the 6 weeks after the training [as a co-presenter]. When I started [….] trained me and I had to do an Ofcom test to make sure I understood the requirements but now […. and ….] keep in touch via e-mail.
>
> (Participant 21, 2015)

> We've had our licence renewed through to 2020, so another 5-year extension, so we've obviously been doing right in the licensing and in the eyes of Ofcom and that goes down to every single person and in a lot of ways even the cleaner. Everyone works together and the whole idea is to take the station forward and from the first day we knew Headline [Media] was going, that was the focus and it's exciting to be part of that as well.
>
> (Participant 18, 2015)

For Raaj FM, there are a clear set of organisational processes, which include scheduling designed to serve appropriate audiences when they are listening, on air and online advertising to suit local geographical and international advertisers and initiatives to engage and retain volunteers. These processes have evolved from the original infrastructure designed to move the station from an RSL to broadcasting full time. Tasks are divided between the Studio Co-ordinator and the Station Manager. However, when volunteers come to the station, the first person they meet is the Licensee, which they believe sets the tone and makes them aware of who is in charge.

> When we have presenters come [and] [….] the one who has a chat with them first because he's got the most experience. They fill the form in, application, check the idea and then they'll sit in a show observe. They've got to…it's easy listening from outside, but when you step in there you've got to do it. Okay, there's no audience, but the audience is outside, you know, and make sure they're trained properly with the right presenters and once they're trained…we give them a few weeks to train, you know, but you can see with a presenter if they come in regular, they're keen, you know?
>
> (Participant 14, 2015)

When it comes to operating as a bigger station, trying to serve a number of Punjabi communities Raaj FM appears to have framed the former infrastructure as unsustainable financially and logistically and instead adopted a more business-like approach in a bid to continue to remain financially viable. They have shared responsibility to organise logistics and try to focus on financial sustainability without losing cultural aspects or the overall focus on social gain. It is suggested that one of the causes was that members of the local business community wanted to barter when agreeing radio advertising costs. As the Licensee felt conflicted it was suggested that responsibility was shared and the solution was outlined as agreeing a set price list (depending on details), which the whole management team agree with and not deferring from that. This is recognised as a more robust approach and set of practices relevant for securing advertising and subsequent funding.

> […] is the main man. He's got years' experience and he knows too many people and a lot of people respect him. Sometimes they don't want to talk to me, especially advertising because I'm strict, right. Whatever the fees are set they're set. In my philosophy, right, say you come to do an advert and I knocked it down and the next person come I charge them fully it's wrong isn't it, for the same advert, same spots, you know? If […] done a deal somewhere, he'll tell me right that's it and I won't change it, […] won't change it because you've got to have that link between us.
>
> (Participant 14, 2015)

Raaj FM has also adopted a clear process into the station culture of paying long-term volunteers for their contribution. Although this is not a common practice in community radio stations and it is the only one of the case study stations to do this, it is articulated as a symbolic gesture to demonstrate the value of volunteer contributions and viewed as an important tool for demonstrating the management's respect for station volunteers' contributions.

> So, if someone does a show for two-hours we're paying the petrol which is average about £12, about £12, £15 per show, however long they stay here so if they're training someone and they're staying for six hours they're paid a bit more for lunch and food and stuff.
>
> (Participant 15, 2015)

> We offer it to everybody because we think, if somebody's giving their time out, coming out right because a lot of people don't work, right, you know, obviously you can't expect them to pay out of their pocket to come here. A lot of people don't want it, but we do say to everybody look, you know, once you've been here with us over three months, your show is good, obviously you've got to bring something to the station as well and give something different to the community as well, then we will pay your expense.
>
> (Participant 16, 2015)

Returning to Palmer and Hoe (1997:278) they argue the most challenging aspect of managing volunteers is the 'absence of the wage link'. However, in this sense Raaj FM are adopting what Vecchio (2000:10) terms the Human Relations approach to management, by acknowledging social factors such as incentives to motivate volunteers, they find them more likely to continue to give up their time because it is valued by the management. The management styles, infrastructure and culture (including processes and practices) of each of the case study stations, as demonstrated, impacts the motivation and engagement of volunteers. It also dictates how willing and motivated volunteers are to articulate a collective discourse of community through the station and their desire to deliver social gain. Although station committees have the capability to articulate discourses of social gain policy externally

through key commitments, internally a formal or informal leader is required to articulate and motivate volunteers through a discourse of purpose. Although we will discuss this particular aspect later in more detail, it is also important to consider the individual as part of a collective working within the station and what role team working plays in the operational aspects of each station.

5.3. There's no 'I' in team; Individuals versus the collective

When discussing group dynamics in each station, it is important to consider those which have a clear management structure and robust infrastructure in place comparatively with those where this has broken down and the internal culture of the station become negative. In stations where key commitments were designed by a group with an understanding of the issues in the community and key members of the group have remained with the station, there is an explicit continuing discourse articulated about who the community is and how the station serves them whilst articulating social gain. Interestingly, in two of the stations, those who are viewed as leaders, acted in supervisory or management positions in their previous or current (paid) jobs, but these are not what would traditionally be considered as top-level management roles. However, they take a human relations approach (Vecchio, 2000:10-11) to working with other people which facilitates an environment in which volunteers and management alike, feel as though they are working as part of a collective towards a shared goal, which as suggested in some of the earlier literature reviewed is an overarching theme of community radio (Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea, 2010). As outlined below, this gives individuals in these stations a sense of security and confidence when approaching the tasks, they are asked to undertake, because they feel they are working with people who value and support them to improve and progress.

> The value of Switch goes past North East Birmingham and it's not just about those areas, but about a community of Switchers, that's the main attraction. When you become valued as part of the Switch family, you feel like everything you do, every action is valued by people and you earn mutual respect of others.
>
> (Participant 24, 2015)

> I think even if I get, like, a paid job in a radio station I think I'll always be at Switch helping one way or another…..I can't see me just walking away and not seeing what it's doing because we've built up a reputation too, I couldn't just give it to somebody and just walk away and not look…it's like giving your child away and not checking up on it, so I think I'll always be involved now
>
> (Participant 4, 2015)

> The whole plan is to pull people together wherever they are in the north east of Birmingham. Even the volunteers, if they come from different areas and meet each other because they volunteer, it unites the community. We need to break down those barriers, bring people together and that's the whole idea, the whole foundation of community radio.
>
> (Participant 18, 2015)

> Yes… you know…it's family atmosphere, they come here we want them to come enjoy the show, you know, and after have a chat after, whatever and they're part of the team.
>
> (Participant 14, 2015)

> It's very important to value people. If you can't value people then I don't know how you will succeed in life really. You can't take people for granted, you see…… the way I've been brought up, me as a person, we're all like that [here] really, you know.
>
> (Participant 15, 2015)

> We want them to progress. We want them to go further and then obviously wherever they are, no matter where they go, they start from Raaj FM, they always will say we started from Raaj FM it's because of Raaj FM we got this.
>
> (Participant 16, 2015)

As discussed in the first chapter, this supports ideas suggested by Lewis and Jones (2006) that community radio builds confidence and can make people more positive about their surroundings and their prospects (as discussed in chapter two). It also suggests it can teach volunteers about internal working cultures and how to navigate them in a working environment. When going into more detail, volunteers suggest this support and encouragement and more importantly the positivity they feel as a result of this is an important element and crucial to establishing a collective discourse of community internally and externally to the audience (and a discourse of policy to regulators).

In the other case study station, which as discussed above, has gone through changes in management structure and as a result, the volunteers explicitly frame a lack of leadership and management as key issues in the station. They suggest the discourse of purpose (collective team work and a shared goal) has been dismantled. As suggested by Puccio, Murdoch and Mance (2007: xi) who discuss the vital role leadership plays in organisations adapting to change, in the absence of clear leadership, volunteers in the station have begun to define their own parameters for social gain and mobilise, building their own teams in which they feel valued. They suggested as long as their own contribution successfully attempts to achieve

key objectives, they are still working for the community towards a shared goal, just not as part of a larger collective. Each person outlined their contribution as representative of the community's identity producing professional sounding radio output, which gains a positive response from the community and is produced within the realms of regulation. These contributions can be recognised as reflective of Du Gay's circuit of culture (2013) and despite not being carried out as part of the collective, each person believes they are working to produce radio for the community which achieves these objectives.

> There isn't a real team in Newstyle anymore, the power struggles that we had through our lifetime and we've just been through another one a couple of years ago. We're in a position where we've got a Management team that doesn't know or understand radio, all those on the Board they're from a political background or the community.
>
> (Participant 5, 2015)

Volunteers also suggest in this context, they have rationalised what they do in different ways, either by forming their own mini-teams, focussing on professionalism and the quality of their own shows, or by producing and presenting other volunteers shows which they learn from. In this case they identify themselves as members of the wider community and so see their achievement in terms of wider community benefit.

> I couldn't do this without the team. Well, I suppose I could but I wouldn't want to.
>
> (Participant 3, 2015)

> I'm just focused on building my own [show], recognising there's a management that need to look at the whole picture, so they see where I fit in.
>
> (Participant 4, 2015)

> I don't have a problem with the word selfish, yes. If I wasn't part of the community, I would not serve the community. I'm not going to serve something that doesn't involve me and that's what I mean by I don't have an issue with the word selfish, yes. It serves me also because as I'm trying to prod and poke my community, the more they wake up is the more that I can be elevated also with them, you know, and that we can all be elevated together because at the moment it's not too good.
>
> (Participant 11, 2015)

In this sense there are several internal cultures and artefacts being produced for the community but these are not overlapping to impact overall culture or output. However, there are those who are trying to reach out to other volunteers in the station by suggesting ideas or working across programmes in the hope of re-establishing a discourse of collective team

working and family, which empowers, encourages and values the contributions of volunteers. The standby Station Manager has put together a small group of volunteers to support him and act collaboratively as a management team.

> I just feel that …everyone one of us we make mistakes and everybody's got feelings as well and that…, I feel that management… everyone who is involved in the project not only of management, but of the whole place, they're like pieces of jigsaws that you put together, every presenter and then the management this is just another piece of that jigsaw that completes the whole.
>
> (Participant 10, 2015)

Although the individual approached by the Chair of Newstyle Radio had no desire to manage the station on his own, he has been key to bringing together a group of individuals with complimentary skills, who have a desire to take the station forward and attempt to introduce internal structures in the station and a culture which supports the volunteers and wider station. In this context, the standby Station Manager at Newstyle Radio shares characteristics with the two figures in Switch Radio and Raaj FM, who are identified as informal leaders in terms of influencing people. However, he has no desire to do this permanently and frames the main issues as a lack of time.

> I really don't want to go down that road…… I'm too busy, very busy, and number two managing people, managing my friends is not the kind of thing that I really want to do…….time is my greatest problem because I'm in a band, play in that weekly, I have my little DJ thing I do occasionally and then I have my own two shows a week and I thought it was going to be too much for me.
>
> (Participant 10, 2015)

He believes the solution to his own lack of time to concentrate on the role is to bring a wider management structure together as Raaj FM did to share responsibility. He has set himself this task whilst in the role of Station Manager, as he feels this is key to moving the station forward.

> So, I just feel that the power of management as you put it that belongs to everybody, we empower ourselves to, you know, manage and without you all I cannot manage effectively…. I feel that's the way it should be because we're like a club, aren't we? We help each other to make this thing work.
>
> (Participant 10, 2015)

However, to empower people each interviewee suggested there needs to be someone in the station who can foster an internal culture which can motivate volunteers and encourage them to become part of the wider collective. We will now discuss the role of social actors in the case study stations and their ability to motivate the collective to act.

5.4. There's always one; the role of social actors

During this chapter I have discussed the role of leadership, both formal and informal in community radio stations. The evidence has suggested informal leaders must possess the ability to understand the issues framed as key commitments and articulate solutions as a discourse of policy and a discourse of purpose, or delegate this to a person or people who can. They should also have technical knowledge of radio, which helps them earn the respect of those from the community coming to the station to volunteer, but also have a sense of how to manage people and construct a supportive internal culture. According to management literature (Vecchio, 2000:148-149) these people can be described as informal leaders and usually do not form part of the top-level management structure. However, in two of the case study stations, those identified as leadership figures are also part of the management structure in the station and the committee. Although in one of the stations, the Chair is not considered as a leadership figure, he identified a standby manager who immediately started to bring together a team, interested in being part of the management of the station. As they have complementary skills each can focus on different aspects including technical aspects in studios, managing people and liaising with the Chair of the organisation. Therefore, he has re-structured an implicit hierarchy, in which he can hold a position and assist volunteers in building a new internal culture, without being identified as a formal leader.

According to Parker and Stanworth (2014:156) social actors can be understood as individuals with motives who can 'initiate action rather than being compelled to behave in a certain way'. In each of the case study stations, the evidence suggests that those that operate most effectively where volunteers feel part of a team and invested in the station and its structure, are those where one individual has embedded themselves as part of a management team and are able to compel the collective to act. From interviewing and observing people in each of the case study stations, it became apparent that each station needs a social actor, who can influence the collective to act by explicitly articulating a supportive station culture and identifying themselves as part of the collective. Exploring the power of individuals when acting as part of a collective, Parker and Stanworth (2014:157) outline that by doing this, the social actor's power is multiplied, as they can achieve things on a scale they couldn't if acting alone.

However, they also suggest social action needs to be considered in the context of social structures, which we have discussed in each station in some detail above. Furthermore, social action should be considered in relation to social interaction, which we will discuss in more detail in the next chapter, whilst looking at the motivations and investments of those interviewed and the work they actually do. We will also consider how this action can again be identified as relevant to Du Gay et al's (2013) circuit of culture.

This chapter has considered the organisational structure of each of the community radio stations included in this research and how management, leadership and social actors impact the articulation of discourses of social gain and the internal culture in each station. Participants interviewed at the first case study station suggest internal and external discourses of community (and the professionalism of the community) are becoming distorted and this is putting the station at risk. They frame the main issue as the current management structure, arguing it is unstable due to key people with knowledge of radio production in the former structure being removed and their skills not being replaced. Those interviewed believe without the leadership of someone who can command respect and also bring people into the wider collective, the station cannot move forward and continue to serve the changing community through radio. They identified key points in Du Gay et al's (2013) circuit of culture including representation, identity, production and regulation and framed these as key issues impacting the internal culture and external representations of community identities which in turn could potentially impact consumption and the longer term sustainability of the station.

By contrast since moving to a volunteer led model those in the second case study station suggest, the management have successfully transferred a collaborative, supportive culture, with a clear social actor who is viewed as a knowledgeable peer but considered their leader. They assert that they are successfully achieving key points on the circuit of culture (ibid) representing the community and their identity, through producing radio texts and events in the community within the regulatory frameworks of community radio. They frame the management team's style as approachable and the internal culture as valuing the contribution of volunteers and this as enabling successful articulations of social gain discourses. They

also suggest this approach is integral to the station continuing to successfully construct and articulate discourses of the community as developing both skills and aspirations. Furthermore, they believe this enables the station to continue to develop a collective culture internally and externally as a community, and the regard held by volunteers for each other is proof of this success.

Those interviewed at the final case study station suggest the management team have re-organised and clarified duties amongst themselves (and with volunteers) to continue to successfully construct internal and external discourses of trust, respect and value for each member of the Punjabi speaking community. They frame the issues that led to these changes, as the station being unable to sustain itself or the level of work that they do in the community without finding alternative funding streams to make it financially stable. They suggest the solution was sharing responsibility and enabling each member to focus on specific areas of management, whilst still relying on the Licensee to articulate a discourse of community radio policy strategically and oversee but not necessarily manage the discourse of community radio purpose or internal culture in the station. They suggest this enables them to recruit volunteers who they can trust to produce radio texts both over the air and online which can be recognised as reflecting key points on Du Gay et al's (2013) circuit of culture; representing community identities regardless of age or religion and producing texts which can be consumed via relevant platforms, which adhere to regulatory frameworks of over the air community radio, but to take advantage of the wider community audiences they represent and alternative funding streams available through online platforms. As I have considered the construction of key commitments designed to focus articulations of social gain in each community radio station in chapter four, and the structures and internal cultures of each station and how they facilitate or impede articulations of social gain in this chapter, I will now turn to look at the role volunteers play in articulating discourses of social gain.

Chapter 6

Volunteer articulations; personal investments, motivations and identities

This chapter will explore volunteer articulations, specifically the personal investments, motivations and identities of volunteers and the role they play in articulating social gain through community radio. The purpose of my research was to ascertain how volunteers frame and articulate discourses of social gain in the context of their own community stations and what informs this. Milan (2008:31) conducted research into the motivations of volunteers in community radio (as discussed in chapter two) and found a desire by most of her participants to listen to stories from the community, using them as a tool to connect with each other. Although this is also discussed by those interviewed below, their testimonies outlined a variety of other reasons for their participation in community radio.

Arnaldo (2001) suggests a key obstacle preventing communities from becoming empowered and improving their lives and the wider community is a lack of opportunity to represent themselves in their own terms and a lack of skills. As these are key objectives of the social gain policy, I was interested to see how (or if) volunteers feel their own actions in the station address issues in the wider community. As previous chapters have argued, articulations of social gain are impacted by internal and external discourses of community which frame contextual issues, the management structure, culture of the station and whether (or not) it is informed by a social actor, who volunteers consider as a leader with the ability to articulate both a discourse of policy to regulators and purpose to volunteers. This chapter outlines how multiple identities and lived experience (Gray, 2003) inform the individual's understanding of social gain and their attempts to articulate discourses that benefit their identified community through the station and how these articulations can be considered through the lens of Du Gay et al's (2013) circuit of culture.

Furthermore, the chapter builds on literature discussed in previous chapters around the principles and practices of community radio (covered in chapter two) and internal station cultures which impact the delivery of these. It also explores the concept of emotional labour (Hochschild,2003) in relation to individual and collective action in community radio. When considering how volunteers benefit from their contribution to community radio, it is also vital to understand how they negotiate tensions between representing their own identity (which can be multi-faceted) and the collective identity of the community. The chapter discusses how these factors influence how each volunteer frames the issue and attempts to articulate an appropriate response (Entman,1993) through the production of culturally appropriate community radio programmes. As with the last two chapters I will consider these articulations through the lens of Du Gay's (2013) circuit of culture, which has been argued as key for analysing cultural texts and I argue can be recognised as reflecting the key principles of community radio.

Outlining shared themes from all three stations, the chapter concludes that volunteers frame notions of community and solutions to issues they face in relation to their own identity (in terms of ethnicity, class, age and religion) and their lived experience (Gray, 2003). It also suggests their motivation stems from wanting to engage and support those they connect with in the station and the wider community. This supports Medhurst's (2000: 21-26) ideas, who argues, identities are not just about individual current circumstances, but also personal biographies and perception. He warns against over theorising culture without considering where class intersects and argues personal experience can add another layer to how individuals frame identity. Hall, (1990:223) whilst considering his own cultural identity as a Caribbean man living in the UK, argued there are two ways to consider cultural identity. The first can be explained as a collective identity with shared cultural codes and historical experience, which people have in common. This leads to a shared sense of self and contributes to the way those from diaspora communities frame their lives and experience, transcending any superficial differences they may have. The second view Hall argues, focuses on what individuals become when their different experiences intersect with these shared cultural codes and histories and therefore, cultural identity begins to shift and change

(ibid) as we will discuss in the last section of the chapter. To add to considerations of class and cultural identity, during my research it was also relevant to consider religious identities. Possamai-Inesedy (2016: 113-124) argues that consumer culture has impacted on religious identities and as people are free to choose whether they adopt a religious identity, they are also free to choose its position and role in their lives. Therefore, for some it will be a central tenet, whereas for others it will occupy a position on the fringes of their everyday practice.

The key ideas outlined above are useful for considering how volunteers conceptualise their community, frame community needs and their own contribution when articulating social gain. All of the volunteers interviewed can be considered as drawing on characteristics they associate with their identity as part a specific ethnic group or class and articulate a variety of cultural identities. These can be considered from both perspectives laid out by Hall (1990:223-224), as they are dependent on context. These identities are also informed by generations of family members who have preceded them and their own lived experience (Gray, 2003), which helps them identify with particular social groups. I will consider this in more detail during the chapter, but a shared theme demonstrated across the stations highlighted that although each volunteer may be working to serve a particular community, in most cases it is not necessarily a geographic community, but rather one which they inhabit by choice. They also in some cases explicitly suggest (implicitly in others) a sense of obligation to continue the work of their predecessors, who they view as having fewer opportunities, less access to information and fewer platforms to share that information or represent their cultural identity. I will begin by considering emotional labour and its relationship to articulations of social gain and how these can be considered reflective of a circuit of culture (Du Gay, 2013).

6.1. A labour of love (is blind)

Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2013: 161-164) building on Hochschild's (2003) ideas on emotional labour, describe it as the way in which people manage their feelings before publicly carrying out work. They compare emotional labour with affective labour, which they describe as a concept relating to non-cognitive feelings such as pleasure and pain. When considering their ideas in relation to Newstyle Radio, there have been a number of changes and issues,

which have resulted in an unstable environment as discussed in the last chapter. At Newstyle Radio, all of the volunteers interviewed expressed a desire to serve the community and were invested in the discourse and idea of Newstyle Radio as the first legal Black British community radio station in the UK. Their narratives described how the station had embraced and legitimised the work of the pirates from PCRL in representing Birmingham's African and Caribbean communities. They also appeared invested in the principles and ethos of the wider community centre in which the station is based, suggesting a desire to work for the benefit of these communities. However, those interviewed seemed conscious that the ability to do this effectively is currently being hampered by power struggles and financial issues which are taking the focus away from the objectives of the station. They frame the solution to these issues as continuing their work in the station until things get better, so they view themselves as volunteers 'holding the fort' (Participant 3, 2018), until such time as the infrastructure and a supportive culture is re-established to enable this important community support work to continue. Despite explicit commitments, the breakdown of the infrastructure and internal culture has led volunteers to question their individual motivations and role within the station, as volunteering at Newstyle has turned from a positive contribution to the community, which gives them pleasure, to a negative one, which leaves them frustrated and angry causing them emotional pain (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2013:161-164). However, when questioned further on how this frustration impacts their motivation to continue to volunteer, they return to their reasons for joining the station and how invested they are in the station discourse, focussing on the pleasure they got from their contribution when first joining the station. As the chapter will outline this can be recognised as a breakdown in the delivery of specific social gain criteria, but also specific points on the circuit of culture (Du Gay, 2013).

At Switch Radio, each volunteer discusses a central motivation as being part of the Switch community, where they feel valued and encouraged to participate for the benefit of each other and the team with which they work. These volunteers appear to benefit on two levels, internally through their interactions with other volunteers and externally from the responses they get from the community at events and through social networks, which is a continuing motivation for them to stay at Switch to help the team. This reflects Milan's (2008:31)

research outcomes, but I believe this can also be considered an articulation of social gain through volunteer's contribution and recognised as an action reflective of Du Gay's representation and production phases on the circuit of culture (2013). Volunteers suggest they have benefitted so much from their involvement with the station that even when they move on, they will find time to volunteer, as they have witnessed and felt the benefits for themselves and want the positive aspects of the station culture which have been built on helping each other and collaborating to continue as part of a continuing regeneration agenda. Those interviewed at Raaj FM suggest their motivations are based on building trust in the community and creating a space in which the wider (Sikh and non-Sikh) Punjabi community can be represented and connect with each other. They suggest that the focus is on helping each other internally and the geographic community, but an associated benefit is reaching out and assisting a transnational Punjabi audience by encouraging younger generations to use and retain the Punjabi language (despite religious belief) and encouraging those who currently don't. As the management team and volunteers range in age, they seem motivated to cater for their own age groups and their tastes, broadening the range of Punjabi identities they represent. Therefore, although they share the desire to serve peers in the community and gain pleasure from doing so, their focus and the way they manage their contribution differs, as it is specific to a demographic they share with a particular audience segment. Again, this can be considered as articulating discourses of social gain through providing representative programming and establishing links in the wider Punjabi community (key criterion of the social gain agenda) but is also reflective of the representation, identity and production points on Du Gay's circuit of culture (ibid). Drawing on personal motivations for volunteering, a number of themes around empowerment and confidence building were suggested as motivators in volunteer contributors, which are also key objectives of community radio outlined in chapter two.

For one interviewee returning to the familiar surroundings of Newstyle Radio after an accident which left her physically unable to work for three years (and lacking in confidence), she felt coming back to community radio helped her regain control of her life. This supports earlier

ideas by Arnaldo (2001) and Howley (2010), which suggest that community radio empowers people and enables them to have control of their own destinies.

> Luckily for me instead of sitting at home, twiddling my thumbs, going slowly mad, I have something that I can fall back on and its radio, and I love doing radio. I've always loved doing radio…. and it keeps me occupied and the community seem to enjoy it...people who I've known and I've grown up with, professionally grown up, they're still here
>
> (Participant 3, 2015)

A shared theme that continues to motivate volunteers across the case study stations, was the pleasure they gain from sharing their passion with the community and likeminded individuals, who respond by sharing their own experience. This again can be recognised as an articulation of the social gain criteria, as the desire to express and share opinions and knowledge is a key objective (criterion 2). They are also motivated by the opportunity to educate others about a particular subject, which may otherwise (were it not for community radio) be inaccessible to them, again demonstrating the third key objective of the social gain criteria.

> I went into it [community radio] thinking how can I get this world to love politics…. I have been able to share something that I have loved, studied, put four years of my life into in terms of my degree, worked through for say 15, possibly 20 years now in the community, as a community activist, though now I see my activism as slightly changed.
>
> (Participant 4, 2015)

> I've invested so much in Newstyle, [because] I can see the value of Newstyle for the African Caribbean community and that's why I worry so much I suppose about Newstyle. I think, because I've always been very proud of my culture and always wanted to pass that on to young people so I was very conscious of it being a service I was providing.
>
> (Participant 5, 2015)

> It's like awoken something in me because I didn't know I could do this. And I feel like I have a social responsibility now that that's my gift to bless other people. For me, it wasn't a selfish thing I wasn't like I'm gonna do radio. For me radio saved me, it made me think that I was responsible for other people, they were listening to me and it was my duty to make them feel all kinds of emotions.
>
> (Participant 13, 2015)

> I broadcast about all sorts of gigs……. especially the gigs in Birmingham ……. because people need to be out seeing the bands. You know we need these venues full, you know too many times we see empty venues and the bands become disillusioned.
>
> (Participant 18, 2015)

> In commercial radio, it's obvious they do it for the paycheque, but with Switch it's because people are passionate and care. Switch has done so much for me. Going out, meeting the community and realizing they are listening and you are having an impact and helping them is a great feeling. I love it!
>
> (Participant 21, 2015)

> I always wanted to be involved in radio somehow. I mean I was always the kid at school who brought the Walkman in and a pair of speakers, entertaining people playing music on the field and stuff……. I just always liked sharing music with people and that was what was behind it.
>
> (Participant 23, 2015)

All of the participants interviewed as part of the research process, apart from those working in paid positions (with the exception of one) produce and present shows, as well as performing their other duties. As such, they broadcast to the community and represent the station over the air, online (with the exception of one or two) and at events in the community. Their contributions can be recognised as articulating discourses of social gain by representing the community through producing and presenting their shows, but also establishing links in the wider community when at events. These articulations are interesting when considered through the circuit of culture (Du Gay et al's, 2013), as volunteers attempt to represent the community's broader identity through the production and consumption of programmes on multiple platforms. We will now consider how positive and negative feelings and motivations are managed when representing and serving their respective communities as part of a collective station discourse.

6.2. Representing and articulating communities

Newstyle Radio identifies itself as being reflective of multicultural Birmingham, whilst at the same time focussing predominantly on serving African and Caribbean communities living in the city (Newstyle Radio, 2015 [online]). When interviewing Newstyle's volunteers about how they represent their community and its identities, they describe their audience as being African and Caribbean people and those who share this heritage but most of those volunteering in the station are of Jamaican descent. I will discuss the role of multiple identities, how these are articulated by volunteers and how they impact articulations of social gain in more detail later in the chapter. In this particular station the wider heritage of most volunteers is mixed or can be traced to Caribbean islands or countries in Africa. However, in terms of representing the collective communities, each volunteer interviewed initially referred to their community (but not themselves) in terms of colour of their skin, rather than nationality. When questioned further about this, they explicitly suggested that black people, wherever they originate or despite how mixed their ethnicity, make up a large part of the population in

Britain, but are still not represented fairly in the country's mainstream media. They view their contribution to the station as going some way to re-dressing the balance.

> That's one of the things that I wanted to see change. I wanted to see more black people working in radio. I wanted to see more black people on the screen, so that's why I think I wanted to become an actress, so there would be another black presence because some of the black people that we have had on as a presence, I think that some people feel that they're untouchable, but I'm as common as they get love, so…[laughter] it doesn't change me
>
> (Participant 3, 2015)

This suggests that people of African and Caribbean origin choose to represent themselves as a collective community or as Lawler (2014:8-9) puts it inclusively negotiating their own identity from the social categories available to them. A number of volunteers interviewed explicitly discussed the tensions when negotiating both identities and discussed their perception and experience of being automatically slotted into what they termed a 'black box'. In explaining the term (black box) volunteers' believe mainstream media organisations in the UK have an unofficial quota of black presenters and programmes (to keep regulators happy) and are unwilling to give space to more than they have to. Therefore, to potentially gain employment you need to fit into the black box, playing black music or discussing aspects of black cultures to compete with other black presenters (regardless of ethnicity), but then you become pigeon holed and it is assumed you can't do anything else, so you can't get out of the black box. They argue this is symptomatic of the wider lack of opportunities for people of colour, but when discussing their work in radio, volunteers suggested they were not given the opportunity to break out of the black box into mainstream media once in it. Volunteers framed the issue as a lack of diversity in mainstream radio and suggest despite a desire to represent their community through music programming, if they only participate in black music radio they are concerned about re-enforcing stereotypes. They believe the black box is the main obstacle to representing the diversity of African and Caribbean ethnicities through mainstream media, which clusters people (who originate from over 70 countries) together, recognising them only by the colour of their skin, thus re-enforcing quotas and reducing the ability of people of African and Caribbean ethnicities to escape the 'black box'.

> People try to put you in a black box, I wouldn't say that I don't want to be in a black box, but I don't want to be limited to that box. It's just sometimes…the mainstream, they like….. you've got one black show, so that means you can't have anymore.

> That's where the real essence of being put in a black box is and you don't see many other black radio presenters doing anything other than black shows really.
>
> (Participant 4, 2015)

The volunteers and the management suggested the solution to this issue was not to limit themselves or each other through their programming despite the community focus and to challenge some of the stereotypes of black communities by conducting themselves professionally. Again considering this through Du Gay et al's (2013) circuit of culture lens, it suggests Newstyle's volunteers main concern is representing the diversity of identities in African, Caribbean and mixed race communities through producing culturally appropriate programming for consumption outside of their own community but are limited to do so.

> I'm of this universe, you know, so I can't be limited. I don't accept the limitations that society puts on me, unless I've got to fill in some form to get where I'm going, but even then I try and get out of it.
>
> (Participant 11, 2015)

This desire to provide programming for diverse African and Caribbean Island communities and those who share this heritage is not only part of the station's key commitments, but also central to the work of some of the volunteer producers. However, another key tension in the smooth delivery of social gain for both African and Caribbean communities through one station is an overarching island dynamic, in which those of Jamaican heritage are in the majority with less originating from smaller islands or African countries. It has been suggested by non-Jamaicans that as Jamaica is the largest island in the Caribbean those who originate from the island believe they are superior to other islanders. Jamaican heritage permeates not only the majority of identities of the presenters (which we will discuss in more detail later), but also dominates the programming, which creates tension between volunteers, some of whom (specifically non-Jamaicans) feel they are overlooked and given less airtime than others. They believe this is unlikely to change under the current conditions and so become resigned to the idea of having less airtime. An example of this was articulated by one of the presenters interviewed, who as a first generation African described his struggle to be accepted by his fellow presenters who he describes as Caribbean. He suggests initially these peers (who he believed he would have more in common with than white Europeans) would not accept he

was from an African country because they perceived Africans to be unintelligent and so tried to re-claim him as Caribbean, suggesting his family may originate from Africa, but they must have settled in the Caribbean before he moved to the UK. This demonstrates a breakdown in articulating discourses of social gain in relation to African communities and suggests Caribbean volunteers view the community as Caribbean, as opposed to African and Caribbean. In terms of Du Gay et al's circuit of culture (2013), it also suggests their articulations represent a Caribbean representation of African identity as opposed to an African one, thus producing an alternative representation. This can be recognised as a clear tension in the representation and identity phases of production as there is the potential for African community members to feel misrepresented.

This is not exclusive to Newstyle Radio, but rather a reflection of long-standing debates between Caribbean and African communities around issues of identity. Hall's (1996:223-227) ideas about cultural identity come in useful at this point, as he discusses a clear desire to be recognised as one community (Hall's first consideration) as particularly in a UK context African and Caribbean people are discussed as a mono-culture with shared cultural codes (often reduced to skin colour), as opposed to multiple (which I will return to in more detail later in the chapter). Returning to the black box analogy however, this recognition of shared lack of opportunity has been articulated as useful in fighting for fairer representation across a predominantly white media landscape and as representations of African, Caribbean and mixed heritage identities are scarce, it was suggested any addition through the production of culturally appropriate programming would be welcome. However, Hall's second consideration argues on deeper inspection although there are some similarities there are also significant differences as African and Caribbean cultural practices differ, along with personal experience and history. In this case Hall argues the focus shifts to what one 'wants to become' and identity adapts accordingly.

It would appear Caribbean volunteers are keen for African identity to be absorbed in a Caribbean representation, despite clearly wanting the diversity of black communities to be recognised across mainstream media (in terms of ethnicity) as a longer-term goal. Volunteers

suggest, in the context of community radio this is much more achievable, but there is a risk of only being associated with texts which reproduce the station's ideas of cultural identities and practices. Aspinall's research in 2008, which scrutinized the 1996 and 2001 census', outlined the terminology used to classify black and mixed race communities living in the UK, was considered (by those surveyed) to be too restrictive and no longer useful in describing the diversity of black and mixed race people living residing in the country (Aspinall, 2008). However, as discussed in early literature (in chapter one) the large influx of people from British colonies post war in the 1940s, 50s and 60's resulted in large numbers from the Caribbean settling in Birmingham, with Jamaicans in the majority (Taylor, 1993). When Newstyle Radio applied for its licence, those in the upper echelons of the organisation were of Caribbean origin and mostly Jamaican. This led to the licence outlining the station as serving Afro-Caribbean (a term no longer used by the station) communities living in Birmingham, which at that time was the terminology used to refer to first and second generation Caribbeans, whose parents and grandparents originated from Africa.

In terms of ratios, in the station 7 out of 11 volunteers interviewed identified their heritage as Jamaican or mixed British Caribbean (but emphasising Jamaican) with only one Trinidadian, one African and the other white British. Although this by no means represents the whole station, those with non-Jamaican heritage alluded to an inadvertent sense of superiority from those with Jamaican heritage. This was suggested as stemming from the fact Jamaica is the largest of the Caribbean islands and Jamaican volunteers were in the majority at the station. Those non-Jamaicans suggested it would be possible for outsiders to interpret this superiority as a racist discourse, but were very keen to re-iterate that is not how they themselves perceive it, but just as part of a well-known discourse constructed by Jamaicans as they come from the largest of the Caribbean islands.

> There has always been a running joke between people from the Caribbean, about Jamaica being the big island and all the others are smaller islands and we still have those little jokes.
>
> (Participant 5, 2015)

This was re-iterated further by volunteers as an internal on-going problem, but also one which dominates debate in wider Caribbean communities. For the Caribbean volunteers and others

interviewed at Newstyle, they suggested this debate and others around issues of African identity and Afro-Caribbean identity needed to be put to one side, whilst wider black communities (whatever their heritage or ethnicity) take on the challenge of achieving fair representation for all black communities in Britain.

> We need to recognize that the community who came over when they did, they did all they could with the knowledge and the skills they had then [to achieve fair representation], but now this is a new era and a lot of work needs to be done because a lot of the stuff that had gone before …… just doesn't exist anymore.
>
> (Participant 4, 2015)

Although it was suggested that fair representation of black communities was a shared goal and a motivator for continuing contribution, there were volunteers at Newstyle who viewed this as an out-dated objective and believed the station should actually be reconsidering who their audience and the geographical community are now and how to represent them in light of immigration and the changing diversity of African and other communities in Birmingham.

> Community isn't just about the Caribbean community especially where we're situated. When you look at the Dudley Road itself, it's changed so much, we have the Somalians and we have Eastern Europeans and they're all part of the community. What we've failed to do is to encompass them into the station, so it comes back to this thing where, while they're still seeing themselves as a Caribbean radio station, they're missing out on 96% of the population because they're just tapping into the Caribbean side, they're not thinking about the other communities as well…… In the original proposal it was never just Jamaican, it was Afro Caribbean. I think it was just the old school mentality and wanting to keep hold of that identity rather than realizing Newstyle can evolve, but still keep hold of that identity as well.
>
> (Participant 5, 2015)

There are also those in the station who believe that as African communities in the city are growing, the station should continue to focus on African and Caribbean communities but include more Africans to increase representation of changing community identities before tackling the wider geographic community.

> Now it's different and now especially with the migration of the Nigerian community into Birmingham it's like, you know, there's a lot of them and a lot of the Nigerians are doing their business. You've got the Somalians that came [here] and I think what a lot of the Caribbean people started realising is that [us] Africans are different people, they're different tribes, they're different tribal people, they're different countries in Africa because all of them thought we was like one country, but it's a continent!
>
> (Participant 7, 2015)

It is clear that the challenges Newstyle Radio face in terms of representing their identified

community and articulating discourses of social gain which reflect Du Gay et al's circuit of culture (2013) stem from tensions between articulating representations of multiple African and Caribbean identities through the station to African and Caribbean audiences and one singular black community to other non-African or Caribbean audiences.

When considering Switch Radio, the station attempts to represent the different communities in the north east of the city. They are not identified as serving a particular ethnic demographic, but instead aim to foster a sense of community and provide solutions to low aspiration and skill levels in wards in the north east of the city, which are considered deprived (Switch Radio, 2015 [online]). The volunteers at Switch consider their community to be families (of varied ages), manual workers or those on low incomes and the unemployed. In conceptualising social gain, volunteers suggest it is these community members they attempt to represent, produce programming for and train in the context of their activities in the station. Each member of the community acknowledges that the area is categorised as deprived by external agencies (IMD, 2015) and appear to accept this categorisation of their location and discuss differences between the working class and the suggested underclass that live in the area. Haylett (2000:70) described the problematic complexities of the term underclass at the turn of the millennium when considering representations of the working class. She outlined the underclass as referring to specific social groups such as the long-term unemployed, single parents or those engaged in criminal activity, or those who inhabit all of these groups. Interestingly, fifteen years on from these discussions in the context of Switch Radio, which is located in an area that has benefitted from substantial regeneration, volunteers suggested their target audience were people who inhabit some of these social groupings, but not tendentiously.

Instead, volunteers suggest that whilst these social groups exist and live in the areas they broadcast to, which are considered economically deprived, they should not be considered as an underclass or their identity represented as such. Switch's volunteers' perceptions of the underclass are those who inhabit these groups, but have no wish to improve their circumstances through engaging with positive initiatives in their community, or other

opportunities presented to them. When discussing the label of deprivation in more detail, the overarching suggestion by volunteers was they felt the mainstream media focus on the underclass that inhabit north east Birmingham as opposed to the working class. For the volunteers at Switch, they feel representing community identities in these terms is misleading and misrepresents working class families living in deprived areas as an underclass, whilst omitting the people outside of these extreme stereotypes or suggesting they can and do change their circumstances. They argue their own contributions and that of others articulating social gain through their activities in the station are evidence of this misconception. Switch's volunteers believe the majority living in the community actually want to strengthen community links, improve their environment and the prospects of those around them and believe this can be achieved by volunteering, learning and sharing new skills. They frame the main issues as circumstances and a lack of opportunities to gain skills outside of formal training structures, along with the categorisation of deprived as contributing to community members becoming disengaged. Each volunteer interviewed suggested the solution to this was to reach out to these groups and offer support through mentoring, or even just assist them in discovering and accessing initiatives and events happening around them that they can benefit from.

This mentoring and desire to engage more community members and address the misrepresentations of identity through programming and initiatives which connect them with other community initiatives can be recognised as articulating key social gain criterion (see introduction) which can be viewed as reflective of Du Gay et al's circuit of culture (2013). They argue by doing this Switch Radio is continuing the work of regenerating the community (conducted by the original station), by connecting different wards through broadcasting and giving people a chance to make their lives better through training and access to information relevant to their local area. There was also an implicit suggestion this would enable the area and its residents to reclaim the label of a working class (as opposed to an underclass) community.

> The major issues that affects our area are poor aspiration, which feeds into poor achievement, which then leads into poor employment prospects…There could be something great going on in Smiths Wood that someone in Shard End thinks that's great, I'll get my kids down to that, but they wouldn't know about it unless someone

> tells them about it. So that's what we try to do, to bring these wards together through programming.
>
> (Participant 20, 2015)

> There is a lack of opportunities for kids now. I mean when I was at school and when I left there were youth clubs and places you could go to learn stuff but there aren't many places like that. Those young people, who struggle with formal training or college, can come here and learn something new like research skills. You know, it's life skills like communication, for those who don't mix with older people they can do that here.
>
> (Participant 24, 2015)

This was echoed by one of the volunteer producers who had come to the station because it was local and he viewed it as an easy option to gain experience to support his University course. However, once he became involved in the station, he felt the benefits first hand in terms of confidence building and learning new skills and connected with the community, which motivated him to continue and to offer the same to his listeners and other volunteers joining the station.

> I didn't think that Switch would be so forthcoming about getting me involved and when I did I got really into the whole premise of community radio. So I got into the whole helping out the community vibe and pretty soon after I started I got into fundraising and going out talking to people and doing little vox pops and enjoyed getting to grips with the listeners and that was one of the things that kept me there.
>
> (Participant 23, 2015)

This idea of connecting the community and engaging with listeners and passing on skills was an objective of all the volunteers interviewed at Switch Radio. Collectively and individually, they articulated a sense of obligation to mentor at least one person from the community as they had benefitted from this type of support themselves and so felt compelled to do the same. The positive feedback they receive from the community particularly at events where Switch is present, reinforces this idea of cascading skills and that they are fulfilling their key commitments and social gain obligations. They suggest when meeting community members (who they identify as being like them) who listen to the station and engage with the issues or programmes they broadcast, it demonstrates the value of the station and the programmes they produce. In their feedback, the community often discuss the reasons they lack skills and express missed opportunities and their own desires to improve their circumstances if they had another chance. Volunteers believe that passing on the same time they have had invested in

them, will help them overcome issues of confidence, which longer term could help them address gaps in their skills and in turn improve their aspiration, quality of life and the wider community.

> Coming from Ward End, I know what it's like to not feel safe in your own area and I thought the area was rubbish but now I know what's happening, I want other people to know it too. There are so many volunteer groups and improving schools and that's what I want people to focus on. You can't help where you live, it's not easy to move for people from my background and I take that attitude everywhere with me. Make the best of where you are.
>
> (Participant 21, 2015)

However, when questioned further about negative press reports about northeast Birmingham and the stereotypes mentioned earlier used to represent an underclass, there was an implicit suggestion that most volunteers acknowledge that an underclass does exist in the area. They believe those categorised as such, should also be given the opportunity to change this categorisation. Volunteers suggest engaging with the community and taking advantage of opportunities on offer and improved environmental conditions, as a potential solution for community members (in northeast Birmingham) to move away from this categorisation. Although all of the volunteers interviewed at the station identified themselves as working class, their lived experience means they inhabit a class status that positions them on the margins of both working class in terms of family history and the location in which they live, but middle class in terms of education, occupation and in some cases economic wealth. In terms of a circuit of culture (Du Gay et al, 2013), this will present an alternative understanding of the diversity of working class identities and broaden the range of culturally appropriate programming.

Medhurst (2000:19-33) outlines the complexities of identifying class and discusses aspects, which need to be considered such as personal history, tradition and the discourse that has been constructed around individual heritage. He argues that although we may inhabit different class realms through activity, class is not objective, but instead should be ascertained by gauging how an individual perceives and feels about themselves and how they identify their position in the class structure. Out of eight volunteers interviewed, only one could fall into a welfare dependent social grouping and this was a fairly recent change in his circumstances (5 years ago), as a result of his previous occupation (as a self-employed plasterer) contributing

to a long-term medical condition, which affects his lungs. Other volunteers held what would be considered as middle class professions including an Accountant, Biomedical Researcher and a Business Development Manager or were attending University. However, all of them considered themselves to be working class and displayed a pride when discussing their history, but also their ability to move through social brackets, communicating with people who occupy various social groups.

> You can run a community group in Sheldon or Chelmsley Wood but you don't really understand it unless you've been there in the thick of it. How can you go to someone who has left school, no qualifications, no job, he's down and doesn't know what he's going to do? How can you relate to him? Well I grew up in Kingshurst, some of my best pals have been through that so I can relate to it. I worked in a factory myself just to get some money before University. You learn from that experience a lot and it builds a lot of character in you to be able to handle anything, because you've seen people go through all sorts of stuff. Some of the stuff I saw growing up was ridiculous but as you get older those experiences are really useful to draw on.
>
> (Participant 20, 2015)

Volunteers framed and articulated education and skills acquisition as a key solution to improving their own circumstances and suggest offering the same to their target audience presents a solution to continuing the regeneration of the wider community. However, this also suggests that volunteers at Switch Radio are measuring the possibilities for community members through their own lived experience (Gray, 2003) as they were able to take advantage of and build on opportunities presented to them. Therefore, the working class identity represented through Switch Radio is an aspirational identity, which attempts to address previous misrepresentations of people living in the area constructed by mainstream media producers.

Raaj FM's community is identified as Punjabi speakers and the station aims to serve them with broad content, which may be of interest to Punjabi speakers of all ages (Raaj FM, 2015 [online]). Although those interviewed at the station were keen to outline that their target audience should be considered broadly as Punjabi speakers, the discussions that followed suggested that different demographics were targeted at different parts of the day and through multiple platforms. As the management committee consists of Sikhs, religious values and programming are explicitly suggested through the key commitments of the station and the interactions between the management and volunteers. Religious features and programming

are broadcast at specific times of the day, which are seen as prime listening times for religious listeners who can't attend temples due to limited mobility, or ill health. However, the early religious programme and news from India are framed and articulated as setting the tone for the day and representing a core section of the community who identify as Sikhs.

> The morning programme is very important because in the morning you get the whole of the audience, right, and you keep them, you know, you hold that audience and then the other presenter it makes it easier for him because he's got that big listenership there already, right, then he's got to control that for the next one.
>
> (Participant 16, 2015)

When questioned further about how the station represents its identified community and who that community is, it became apparent that most of the Punjabi speakers included in the community also share religious beliefs and a key social gain criterion is achieved through the broadcasting of religious programming as Sikhs are an underrepresented community through mainstream radio.

> We're the only Punjabi station in Birmingham, you know. Okay, we've got the other stations, but ours is pure 100% Punjabi …… obviously the cultures quite big here, Sikh community……
>
> In the mornings [we have] a religious programme, so that's for an older generation and people going to work because normally most stations in the morning are playing music from seven till nine, but ours is totally opposite, the religious programme and then our breakfast starts at nine
>
> It's mostly I think the older generation [who listen then] because for the young ones our programmes are from ten till one at night, so the young audience for the college students, university, who are studying
>
> (Participant 14, 2015)

Returning to Du Gay et al (2013), there is a clear attempt in Raaj FM's early programming to represent older and religious Punjabi identities in a circuit of culture. However, this then overlaps with another which has been constructed to serve new identities listening to the station later in the morning.

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When describing the target audience, the Station Manager and the Studio Co-ordinator were very keen to point out that the station is not based on religion alone, but instead focuses on representing the Punjabi language, which does not discriminate between religion or nationality. In fact maintaining Punjabi language skills was framed as a key issue for the community and key to maintaining a connection with the Punjab region. Those interviewed

reflected on the value of bringing volunteers into the station whose Punjabi is not fluent and allowing them to practice the language on air. They outline the benefits for the presenter but also the audience, particularly focussing on second and third generation Punjabi speakers who use a type of lingua franca with other generations that is Punjabi in style, but with English words and inflections. Volunteers and management suggest hearing this is important as it represents a high percentage of the local audience's children who they are keen to establish as part of the identified community.

> When [….] came here he started on the one am to four am programmes, two years and slowly his Punjabi [improved]…. he's doing very well and if he doesn't know the word he'll ask the audience he'll say okay what's the meaning of this?
>
> (Participant 14, 2015)

This was also followed by a story about the Studio Co-ordinator's teenage son, who presents a sports show on the station and who has (according to community members) become a role model for other young British born Punjabi speakers, whose parents are encouraging them to improve their language skills. This can be recognised as articulating social gain criterion as the station is broadcasting for another underrepresented community (young British Punjabis) but also educating them through programming and training and establishing links in the wider community between young and old and strengthening them. These can also be recognised as reflective of Du Gay et al's points on the circuit of culture (2013).

Although it would be possible for the station's content (which includes religious, local information and language programmes) to potentially fragment the audience, the management team and volunteers argue by broadcasting in Punjabi and using scheduling practices that focus around specific dayparts, audiences adopt scheduled listening practices. This practice is often used in BBC and commercial stations as highlighted by McLeish (2005:14-15). However, interviewees suggest Raaj FM are able to embrace, include and target a much broader Punjabi speaking community (local, national and transnational) by using these practices. It is also interesting to consider that Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea's (2010) work eight years ago, highlighted issues of globalisation and changing cultures of consumption, as presenting new challenges for radio. They also outlined that a number of commercial radio managers were moving into community radio and this was changing

practices. Although this did not happen at Raaj FM, those interviewed suggest they are using community and commercial radio practices to operate online. They argue by scheduling around day-parts and branding the station (well-known commercial practices), in combination with fostering strategic partnerships and adopting multiple platforms and apps to broadcast content to a wider community (known community practices), the station is operating within commercial and community spheres to represent and provide programming for a transnational Punjabi speaking community.

They do this by clearly defining one community through shared language and focus on specific sections of the community at specific times, which helps them include more people and build multiple audiences. This can be demonstrated over the air through programming content, but also online where the community is much more global. Although this has been attempted by Newstyle who also attempt to represent numerous cultural identities within one community, by focussing on language as the shared code and considering when and where certain audiences may listen overcomes the obstacles presented when personal histories (Hall, 1996:225) or lived experience (Gray, 2003) intersect.

> I know there's some people will probably listen to it in the morning and they will probably turn it off, the one who are very strict, right. But, a lot of other people who turn off during the day because they can't listen to religious all day, so you will gain them. You will lose some as well.
>
> (Participant 16, 2015)

> We've got local, national and international partnerships with record labels and artist management companies in India...Sometimes we do a deal with them where we get first play because there is no Punjabi commercial station in the UK and the BBC can't do deals like that.
>
> (Participant 15, 2015)

The overarching suggestion was the station operates as a hybrid, displaying the representative principles of not for profit community radio, offering local information about issues such as recycling targets or NHS initiatives targeting the elderly Punjabi community in the West of Birmingham. These are clear articulations of social gain through programming and represent the identity of a large section of the Punjabi speaking community in Birmingham who are underserved by mainstream radio. These activities also articulate social

gain through establishing and strengthening links in the wider Punjabi (Sikh and non-Sikh) community and the resulting programmes are articulated within the realms of regulatory frameworks, which also reflects Du Gay et al's points (2013) as programmes are produced and consumed by the community. However, by also adopting commercial scheduling practices (over the air) and using digital platforms to offer these programmes on demand to a transnational audience and advertising to global communities, the station engages a wider transnational Punjabi community and can benefit from offering advertising space to a wider variety of companies who want access to this varied demographic. The profits from these funding streams are used to financially sustain the station and continue their work in the geographic community. However, it is made clear that the focus is producing culturally appropriate programming that represents Raaj FM's diverse Punjabi identities to be consumed by their community audiences. With this focus they can be considered as articulating several overlapping circuits of culture through their over the air and online programming and activity.

6.3. Developing skillsets and associated benefits

When discussing how and why each of those interviewed became involved with their respective stations, they gave a variety of reasons. However, all discussed their surprise at the level of work involved in managing, researching, producing or presenting programmes in the station.

> It's a lot of work. It's a lot of work and even though people think it's only…you're in here three hours sitting down doing a show. They don't see the amount of work that goes on behind the scenes. So, when we finish on Wednesday, Thursday we start planning the next week's programme
>
> (Participant 3, 2015)

> For me [community radio] it was a new challenge, something different which…. I'd never done media and media's massive. It is not small. You don't realise, you know. I never knew how popular it was
>
> (Participant 14, 2015)

> I was like ok, let me give this a go, let me rise to the challenge and I've been here ever since. It's like, awoken something in me, because I didn't know I could do that.
>
> (Participant 13, 2015)

As outlined in chapter two, Day (2009:81) suggests community radio's three directional flow of communication (presenter to listener to the wider community) is an integral value of this type of radio and the cascading of new skills to the wider community phase is where its true value lies. Van Vuuren (2001:101) suggested in her research that women played an important role in cascading skills off air and in the overall sustainability of each station because of their associated 'interlocking networks', such as friends and children and these were viewed as vital to the continuing growth of a station.

Whilst exploring Newstyle radio, I found evidence to support Van Vuuren's research (ibid), as it is actually female volunteers who have brought in and encouraged others to participate in the station enabling them to develop new skills, but also hone the skills they already have. The male interviewees some of whom have been involved in so called power struggles over their years at the station focus on their own desire to change things. However, the female participants tended to focus on how they could engage other community members through promoting wider opportunities or giving young people opportunities to help with their programmes. One example was a female volunteer who works with business communities in Birmingham whose show discusses financial issues. She outlines that originally she approached the ACMC with an agenda to promote the centre. However, after discovering the radio station, she realised she could have a much bigger impact in the community and attract more people into the Centre through the station. She suggested she was excited to learn new skills whilst sharing her knowledge, but also about the opportunity to promote black female role models to the wider community. Although the Chair was initially reluctant because the station sound focussed on African and Caribbean culture and music (rather than business) he agreed she could test the format out on air to gauge the response.

> I wanted to get people in to Newstyle because at the same time I wanted to market the place, so I wanted to invite the local MPs, invite the CEO of, you know, the chambers. I wanted to bring those calibre [sic] of people into New Style to not just speak to us as a community, but also to learn what we were trying to do in terms of the building, in terms of New Style.
>
> (Participant 8, 2015)

This was echoed by another female presenter who after becoming involved with the station,

felt it was important be more inclusive and aware of the variety of ages potentially listening in one household. Therefore, she felt it was important to include them all at particular times during the year such as the school holidays. As well as articulating bringing young people into the station and allowing them to take over the show and learn new skills as a key discourse of social gain, she also expressed a desire to open the doors to the wider community to find out more about radio and grow the community.

> I don't have particular guests, I could interview anybody and I think that's really important. For example last week somebody phoned me and he said I've got an exclusive for you, he's got a brand new album. I thought, yeah, just open the doors, come on, let's have a spontaneous interview and we did. I don't differ, I'll interview anyone and I always say to people, you're welcome to come through those doors and don't be a stranger. You know, once you've come on, doesn't mean you can't come on again, so you know that door's always open.
>
> (Participant 13, 2015)

> This is where I started. This is where I got my break. We should be able to have training here, we should do…… unfortunately we don't. That is a shame because this is a wonderful building and it should be buzzing. We should be listening to what the community's saying and what they want and I think over the last year or so, those kinds of things have fell by the wayside.
>
> (Participant 3, 2015)

Although male volunteers also discussed their desire to support and encourage the community and other volunteers to participate in the station, they considered how they would address this from a management position. This implicitly suggests male participants view themselves as learning strategic skills and overseeing, rather than implementing change in the station. Female volunteers however, discussed the importance of engaging and encouraging the community through practically implementing ideas for engagement and inviting community members in. However, female participants never discussed themselves as having or learning strategic management skills, only in terms of how to engage the community and what they had actually done. This suggests that despite volunteers learning skills which assist engagement and wider community development through the station, there are gender disparities in terms of how these are conceived, overseen and implemented practically. In this case the male volunteers are discussing strategy, whilst the female volunteers are practically engaging and developing community members through action, assisting with representing identities through a supportive culture which encourages

production and indirectly impacts consumption bringing new listeners to the station and creating a circuit of culture (Du Gay, 2013).

Switch Radio volunteers discussed the benefits they themselves had experienced by being trained by fellow volunteers. They framed the main issues as successfully developing skills through the station and argue it is dependent on who is delivering the training. Although most training guidelines were constructed and articulated through management, interviewees suggest being trained by fellow volunteers they knew had gone through the same process, and are passionate about the station and the community was key to building confidence. All the interviewees discussed gaining production skills, social media and technical skills, but also a deeper understanding of their community through radio training. When being interviewed each volunteer focussed much more on the associated benefits of their involvement with the station specifically growing in confidence and self-esteem and feeling valued and appreciated for their contribution.

> Being valued as part of the Switch community, motivates me and it makes me proud.
>
> (Participant 24, 2015)

> I was paired up with a woman called [….] and for about 6 weeks I was shadowing her. The way they do the training is they put you with someone and you get to know them and you feel comfortable about making mistakes and she really did ease me into it. So the first week she was showing me the desk and the 2nd week it was Myriad and stuff but they made sure I was completely confident before I went on air and then if something did go wrong, I had [….] with me to sort it all out. So now I have offered to do the same thing with new people coming in so now people will be shadowing me over the next couple of months.
>
> (Participant 21, 2015)

This sense of feeling comfortable and part of the Switch community is an important theme across all volunteers interviewed at the station and as outlined through the testimonies below as the strategic management team are trusted, volunteers feel welcome to participate in strategy and implementation. As the Committee and management team are both male and female, there is an equal gender mix contributing to constructing and articulating discourses of social gain and implementing these through training.

> When I started I wouldn't say [I was] confident. I'd say comfortable. I was obviously nervous, but I knew that if I messed up or I was struggling, I knew [….] would be there, so I knew he'd be able to tell when I was struggling or I didn't want to speak.
>
> (Participant 19, 2015)

> The first time I was in there it was with […. and ….]. I was just in with them and the following week they said right we're going to get you working. I said a few words but that was it. They trained me on the desk. [….] chucked me in at the deep end and he eventually saved me and I eventually got it out [what I was trying to say] and I suppose most radio people are the same. You do a little bit and then you want to do a little bit more and a little bit more. I was still shy but I just cracked on. That was over the space of about 4 months.
>
> (Participant 23, 2015)

This desire to help new volunteers feel at ease and included as part of the station community before undertaking training was framed as an essential solution to building confidence and aspiration, but also as a natural articulation of the principles of community radio outlined by the *Community Radio Order* (2010) (See introduction). These ideas will be discussed in further detail later in the chapter, when discussing individual identities in the station. However, when considering the impact of this approach on volunteer relationships within the station, it is clear it has a lasting impact and motivates volunteers to reach beyond the station cascading that support to other members of the community and beyond.

At Raaj FM there was an explicit sense of pride articulated about station volunteers and their developing skills, particularly those who following their involvement with the station had gone on to succeed in larger arenas through their access to multiple platforms such as Raaj's YouTube channel. This activity exposed them to the station's national and international partner organisations such as Star TV.

> We must have had a thousand [volunteers] since we started, you know, people come in, we train them…we had a presenter which we started from here which they're on TV now. I think we had maybe about five, I think around about five or six who are on the TV……. and …they still do the programme here as well…….
>
> (Participant 16, 2015)

However, most volunteers when awarded opportunities beyond the station cannot continue their involvement with Raaj FM as their workload increases. In this case, the management of the station believe it reflects well on them, demonstrating they have successfully articulated

discourses of social gain outlined in their key commitments through training, but also helped the wider Punjabi community in Birmingham understand the identities and aspirations of young people in the community, so they share a sense of pride.

> We want them to progress. We want them to go further and then obviously wherever they are, no matter where they go they start from Raaj FM, they always will say we started from Raaj FM it's because of Raaj FM we got this opportunity on the TV now, so it does make you feel good.
>
> (Participant 16, 2015)

This sense of pride was also articulated by members of the management team when reflecting on their own experiences of learning new skills and articulating discourses of social gain effectively through their roles. When questioned further they frame this learning as successfully enabling them to develop strategic management skills for themselves through the station and building a supportive environment and working culture.

> I had to learn it all myself [community liaison] as more people got to know me who I was, [….] took me round introduce, you know, [he said] you'll be dealing with him, so he introduced me outside, he taught me the ropes. Then the rest I picked up. I make mistakes, but you learn from them, you know.
>
> (Participant 14, 2015)

> I studied ICT, but in between I, kind of, started a part time job here… When I done my ICT degree in that degree there's different modules, such as, project management, there's business and marketing, so I picked up from that and also this part time job, my other job is I'm a Director at Remarkable Events and Marketing, which is an events and marketing company, so I use a lot of skills from there and bring them on here.
>
> (Participant 15, 2015)

Those interviewed at Raaj FM suggest the station as an environment in which management and volunteers can learn and test out new skills in a supportive environment. When they have successfully learnt the skills required of their roles, if they chose to move on, there is little animosity, instead they are encouraged to remember Raaj FM and stay in touch with the station. These accomplishments are viewed as reflecting well on the station and contribute to building a good reputation in the community. However, the management structure and those discussed as volunteer successes were all male and despite having female producers and presenters, it was not possible to interview them on this subject, to ascertain if they attempted to cascade the skills they had learnt to the wider community. It is clear that Van Vuuren's (2001) idea of interlocking networks was substantiated by all three stations, but it was not

possible to establish whether these were all due to the involvement of women in the station.

6.4. Articulating multiple identities in a collective community

Post-war immigration and the movement of migrants and refugees into Birmingham have contributed to its changing demographic (ONS, 2011). However, the focus of this research has been to consider how each of the case study community stations aim to serve the communities they identify through the key commitments which are considered to articulate social gain. For some this is a community based on markers of culture such as ethnicity, language or religion as outlined by Bauman (1999:88). However, for other stations their community is identified by geographical location, which outlines the community as deprived (IMD, 2015) and by markers of class. In undertaking this research, it became clear early in the process that the identities of those engaging with the stations impacted their understanding and articulation of social gain as they framed the issues and needs of the community in relation to their own. It also became clear, as I will outline below, that the identities of the individuals interviewed and observed and how these inform their actions in the station was much more complex than first imagined. In most cases there were several competing characteristics and markers being drawn on at once when asked about their experience and ideas and how these inform their understanding of issues faced by the community and their proposed solutions to these issues. These identities also fed into perceptions of representing the community through culturally appropriate programmes and the output they think the community consumes, all key aspects of the circuit of culture (Du Gay et al, 2013)

Hall (1987:45) discusses identity and a sense of self, as temporary and often framed as a politics of difference defining what makes us different from each other. He also argues when identifying with communities individuals make arbitrary choices, which bind them to one community, setting them apart from others. Therefore in choosing markers of identity, as his later work suggests, individuals choose to temporarily or partially identify with a particular group (Hall, 1996:2). With this in mind, the difficulty of articulating identity in a city such as Birmingham, which is often termed as multi-ethnic and multi-faith (Barrow Cadbury Trust,

2017:30-32) can be clearly viewed as complex. In the context of this research the case study stations and their volunteers inhabit an urban space in which they choose to share a single identity over the air, galvanising the community through shared cultural codes suggesting very little difference between them (Hall, 1990:223-224). However, as discussed in earlier chapters, this overlooks Gray's (2003) concept of the power and role of lived experience of volunteers including those managing and volunteering at the stations when they don't reside in the geographical community. Instead these individuals can be considered to inhabit these particular communities by choice and articulate aspects of their identity, which suit the context of the community they inhabit. An example of this can be considered when constructing a station sound (Hausman, et al, 2010:2-3) for the community and attempting to articulate the historical discourse of the station. In this case those who constructed and articulated key commitments live outside the geographical community and can be viewed as articulating individual identities internally when in the station and a collective identity externally when on air. When questioned about these identities however, and how they perceive themselves each person articulated multiple identities, which were context specific. Hawkins (2016:19) argues that for large parts of the world, ethnic boundaries are blurred in terms of identity. However, she also argues for environments considered to be multi-ethnic the boundaries remain strong and what is considered cultural within these boundaries is controlled and regulated as these are the most recognisable markers of ethnicity. Applying this to a community radio environment would suggest that although a volunteer may have specific markers of ethnicity and articulate them in the production environment, it is the station policies and internal culture which shape the boundaries in which the volunteer can articulate these aspects of their identity.

An example of this was enacted whilst interviewing management and volunteers at Newstyle Radio, when first generation immigrants when questioned about their identity and answered by outlining where they were born first. This led to an answer of either Jamaica, Trinidad or Africa (as opposed to a specific country), but as the majority of these interviewees came to the UK when they were young and either went to school or college here and have been here for over 20 years, they also felt very British and perceived this as feeding into their identity.

Each articulated an immigrant identity, but one in which they had benefitted from opportunities awarded to them since living in Britain and felt very proud of that. However, for one interviewee he was also very keen to reiterate he had not conformed or turned his back on his cultural roots to fit in in Britain, nor had he forgotten his wider cultural heritage, but instead now has cultural markers of both nationalities blended in his identity and values.

> I don't see myself as any kind of Uncle Tom in the slightest. I've been very critical of [the system] but then again paradoxically, that's being very English because it's very English to be very radical.
>
> (Participant 2, 2015)

When questioned about the term Uncle Tom, he explained it as referring to black people taking on the characteristics and behaviours of a white person and forgetting their roots. His desire not to be viewed in this manner but also to be recognised as intelligent drives his contribution in the station and his eagerness to ensure programming at Newstyle Radio includes more than just specific genres of music from the Caribbean, but also represents and produces programming for well educated and intellectually engaged Caribbean audiences in a circuit of culture (Du Gay et al, 2013).

Much more complex was the way the second and third generation volunteers perceived their identities. Those whose parents were Jamaican, but had been born and brought up in Britain, mostly referred to themselves as British Caribbean, but admitted to feeling like their identity is constructed from a blend of both cultures and nationalities. Where this was the case, the word fusion was used when articulating their identity and considering whether they felt more British or more Caribbean. Furthermore, distinctions were also made between Birmingham and Wolverhampton to describe where interviewees consider home to be and this appeared to be another layer, which also informed their internal identity.

> I am of Caribbean heritage, but I'm not Caribbean, so I hate being called African and Caribbean because I'm not. I am English. I am Black English [chuckle].
>
> (Participant 3, 2015)

> My parents are from Jamaica and it is a part of my identity, but I recognize that I am a fusion. I am very, very British and it is definitely a fusion of the culture of the

> Caribbean that my parents and grandparents and my extended family have all brought here, then the British culture. So I definitely see myself as Caribbean British.
>
> (Participant 4, 2015)

> I was born in Britain, I've lived in Smethwick all my life, you know, I suppose in Birmingham, so technically I class myself as a Brummie and then I've got Jamaican heritage, so I would say it's all three of them.
>
> (Participant 5, 2015)

> One of my parents is British and one is Jamaican, he came here when he was about 10. I'm both to be fair, I celebrate both and flit between the two, so for example today is Jamaican independence day, so I'm feeling very Jamaican today (laughs), but I also feel British. I always say, you know when you're ticking, I always tick British Caribbean and I like that. I've kind of like got two islands mixed in one.
>
> (Participant 13, 2015)

There were those who whilst understanding the many identities they inhabit, refuse to be categorised as one. They believe this would reinforce the 'black box' analogy discussed earlier in the chapter and suggest if most volunteers are trying to escape the 'black box', it could jeopardise the task of black communities (whatever their heritage) coming together through Newstyle to address the wider issue of a lack of representation in main stream media.

> It's like, Am I a Peckhamite? Am I a Londoner? Am I British? Am I European? …. No, I don't see any difference between London and Birmingham. People are people wherever you go in the world
>
> (Participant 11, 2015)

The only people who discussed their identity prioritising skin colour, was a white, British volunteer interviewed. She believed the station's audience had not realised she was white as when they contact the station, they discuss issues of race with her as if she is part of the black community and understands their perspective.

> It is very noticeable that when they say our community station, they are not including white people in the community. It is very obvious in that sense that there is a divide between black and white and I think they would be horrified to hear that if they heard me say that, but I couldn't possibly say my community station because it isn't. I work on their community station
>
> (Participant 12, 2015)

This suggests that within the context of Newstyle Radio how people articulate their identity should be considered with identity politics in mind and I would also argue, emotional labour provides a useful lens. The evidence suggests that each individual whilst working at the

station undertakes emotional labour (as described by Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2013: 161-164) managing their own feelings to articulate a unified Caribbean and African identity before they go on air to carry out their public work and articulate discourses of social gain through programming. In this context, the unified identity is central to the station sound (Hausman, et al, 2010:2-3), which represents the community and can be recognised as articulating social gain objectives (in terms of representing an underrepresented community and educating them through programming). These articulations can also be analysed through the lens of Du Gay et al's (2013) circuit of culture, as programming represents the ethnic identities of the community through the production of programming, which is consumed by African and Caribbean (and British mixed) community audiences. Volunteers suggest that externally to the community there is little conflict between Black, British, African or Caribbean identities and Newstyle radio is a station run by and for African and Caribbean people (and those whose heritage derives from these), who attempt to reflect the multicultural nature of Birmingham, but give a wider black audience in Birmingham a voice. This ordering of characteristics could be argued as a political articulation of identity based on difference. Whilst considering production and the internal culture and how these are reflective of a circuit of culture (Du Gay et al, 2013), it is obvious that representing identities is a key aspect and this is contingent on the ethnicity of those regulating. At the moment and historically this has been Jamaican. However, the proposed new management team are of Caribbean, African and British Caribbean ethnicities. Therefore, this will change the dynamic and should result in more diverse representations of broader identities, more programming content and eventually more listeners from all communities.

According to Hall's (1987:45) early work (which reflected on his own identity) to identify oneself by colour is to engage in a political articulation of identity, which outlines extreme polarities of difference. Volunteers suggest this is the identity they wish to represent in the mainstream media. However, internally only two people initially identified themselves by colour, and this was a white volunteer and the person who trained her and this was only when discussing each other. For others, when considering their peers, questions of identity became much more complex and were answered (usually) first starting with their nationality, then their

cultural heritage and then by their interests, such as business, music or musical genre. Interestingly there was no discussion of class, but there were clear distinctions in terms of private or public education and economic wealth. However, in the context of the station this is not highlighted as an aspect of identity, worthy of articulation, but this does not mean this aspect is not articulated in different circles. At Newstyle Radio the suggestion is differences in cultural identities may cause conflict internally as African and Caribbean volunteers and staff have different histories and lived experiences depending on whether or not they migrated to Britain or were born and brought up in Britain as part of a diaspora. This will naturally inform how they frame issues in the community and their approaches and ideas about potential solutions to solving these issues through their contribution to the station. However, participants interviewed suggest they emotionally managed internal tensions to articulate a cohesive African and Caribbean identity when articulating social gain externally through the station. However, this is clearly a regulated version from the perspective of the Jamaican Chair.

At Switch Radio, as discussed earlier each volunteer interviewed identified themselves as working class, even though their level of education and economic status could suggest they are actually middle class. When questioned further about their identity, it became clear that each interviewee (in their experience) had assumptions made about them because of the geographic location they'd grown up in, their age or their taste in music and this had frustrated them as individuals. This framed their desire to be less judgemental about others, but also to help some of those living in the community develop communication and other skills to counter the assumptions made about them.

> I would probably be one of the disadvantaged children, had I gone to University now under the new characterizations. A lot of people are really quick to slate areas like Chelmsley Wood, Hodge Hill. Castle Vale had a hideous reputation for a long time and people are quick to shout that about…. The area has a lot going for it, you have a lot going for you, don't be dragged down by what you think you're supposed to be like because of where you are.
>
> (Participant 20, 2015)

Long (2008: 255 - 256), in discussing the aesthetics of class and working-class culture, outlined a number of artistic projects and educational initiatives, which positioned and described working class culture through a romanticised lens. He discusses the work of

Williams (1958, 1968) and his ideas of working class culture as a way of life. Long considers the simplistic nature of suggesting that a common culture is shared and instead suggests culture needs to be considered as constructed. These ideas can be considered in relation to Switch Radio, as each of the volunteers interviewed occupy positions on the periphery of class status and therefore construct an alternative discourse of working class culture in which opportunity is seized. All of the volunteers interviewed could be positioned within the categories used by census as White British, so there was no distinction made by anyone in terms of skin colour when questioned about identity. Instead each volunteer first chose to identify themselves in terms of where they live, their level of education or their music preferences.

> Coming from Ward End, I am the target audience. I was born half deaf. I had this operation and got my hearing back and liked music because I could hear suddenly, then it turned from music to radio. I was about 16 and I'd just started college, so I filled in an application form [to volunteer at Switch].
>
> (Participant 21, 2015)

> I am about 100 yards away from Switch [in Castle Vale] so I can walk here. I am pure heavy metal and I think every radio station should have a metal show.
>
> (Participant 18, 2015)

> I live in Aldridge [but] me and [….] had worked in radio at college. We did a radio show together there and I'm watching him do it and because I wasn't doing any radio at the time I was thinking I miss this.
>
> (Participant 19, 2015)

> I'm a mature student and I was always interested in radio. From a working class background, you don't really see people, well you didn't then when I was 16, see people I was used to living around doing those sorts of jobs. So I went to college, messed about dropped out after a year, worked for 9 years and then decided to go back into education and finally studied radio and media. Castle Vale has got a bad reputation like where I'm from in Chelmsley [Wood]
>
> (Participant 23, 2015)

> [My] educational background is in Biomedical Sciences, PhD in medicine and [I'm] still working as Post-doctoral fellow. In terms of radio background, been into it for a very long time as a hobby.
>
> (Participant 20, 2015)

A factor which was highlighted as an issue for the communities of northeast Birmingham and consequently Switch's audience by the former Station Manager (when conducting research to broaden their format), was the fact that people in these areas identify themselves as being

from a particular street or a particular area such as Castle Vale, Ward End or Chelmsley Wood as demonstrated above. The Station Manager suggested this as a key factor in young people from those areas not accessing information or initiatives in the wider northeast of the city, as they consider these as outside their community. To address this where possible, the station focus on the representing identities and production phases by using presenters from these areas and featuring events and initiatives that cover all areas in the north east of Birmingham. All of the volunteer programme producers identified themselves on this basis first and then by their educational background as either college or University students studying radio. Interviewees from the management team identified themselves by professional background first and then either as a radio or music lover, specifying a particular genre such as student or community radio and metal or rock and roll music. There was an implicit suggestion this is due to their understanding and recognition that they belong to other social communities, more specifically on or offline communities, or particular subcultural music groups such as 'metalheads' or 'rockabillies'.

When questioned further about the issue of deprivation and whether this categorisation impacts on identity, or if they consider themselves to be deprived, each interviewee suggested it is this categorisation and the assumptions that go along with it which drives them to volunteer. They suggest their participation at the station and engagement with the community as a solution to the issue of stereotypes constructed and associated with deprived areas, where people don't expect to find volunteers helping others in the community or expect nice people to live.

> People talk about it like it's a really scummy area and it's not, I know some really nice people here. Like I've got a local historian who comes in once a month and does an educational programme where he talks about local history in one of the wards [we serve]. It's not really stuff they need to know but I think they should.
>
> (Participant 23, 2015)

There was an implicit pride articulated by this particular volunteer about the local music scene and local history, which he regularly promotes on his show. He suggested if more people were educated about the history of their area and the people who lived in it, they could counter each negative story with a positive one and this would go some way to shedding the

assumptions that those living in deprived areas are all lazy and stupid. Whilst there were clear distinctions made in terms of identity linked to where each interviewee lived, levels of education are also clearly important in this context as every volunteer apart from one discussed their level of education as part of their identity. All of those who identified themselves in this way also identified as working class. They also perceive themselves to be a part of one of the social groups categorised as living in a deprived area and do not articulate any tension in class categorisation or suggest they may be considered as middle class in terms of economic wealth, by the wider community. Although explicitly there is no tension suggested, each volunteer discusses notions of working class status as shifting and clear expectations on those considered to be socially mobile as a result of education in this context. Therefore, individual ideas of class, social mobility and music taste need to be considered as informing articulations of social gain in this station. In terms of how this impacts articulations and internal station culture, when analysed through the circuit of culture (Du Gay et al, 2013), the programming produced by volunteers can be considered to represent the diverse identities of those living in deprived areas externally. However, returning to Hall (1987) suggests that the identity boundaries are blurred as the management team have varied levels of education and live in different areas so when representing the community's identities, there are competing notions of class. However, representing diverse working class identities is encouraged along with promoting access to available opportunities within a wider geographic area and encouraging those from that wider geographic area to volunteer at the station.

Volunteers interviewed at Raaj FM when first questioned about their identity all identified themselves as Punjabi first and there was no distinction made between first generation Indian Punjabis or British Punjabis. However, there were distinctions made between religious communities (specifically Sikh and Muslim communities), the Asian community and each individual's age and position in their family.

> [Our audience], they're like Asian, you know, the Punjabi community, yes, because we're…well, I can say about 90 or 95% is Punjabi, totally Punjabi. Like, some presenter who's totally 100% Punjabi, right, but you know the young ones who are born here, so they're like half and half really, you know. They wouldn't be able to do a show 100% in Punjabi, but the audience is as well because they're their audience, especially the young one, because the young one do the show because they can't

> 100% speak Punjabi and they don't understand 100%, so the young ones who's listening they're the same.
>
> (Participant 16, 2015)

Although when articulating and representing an external community identity through programming everyone is categorised as Punjabi, distinctions were made and discussed in terms of age and authenticity by the management team internally. An example of this was discussed around listening patterns, with the suggestion that older Punjabis (considered authentic) listen during the day for particular community content whereas younger (less authentic) Punjabis are listening later in the evening.

> I think, you know, the British born I think they are more like [listening during] evening, right, when they're done with their homework and they're listening, ten till one our programme is more for the young ones because, you know, for many year[s] we found out that's when the young ones are listening most, you know……..and they're doing some of their work and they're listening. But, during the day I'd say they're more like Punjabi, the real Punjabi community during the day, between especially eleven and four.
>
> (Participant 16, 2015)

In terms of articulating religious identities, Hall (2004:1) argues that to understand how religious identity is constructed and articulated, it is vital to consider shifting cultural practices in relation to the nation they are articulated in and to do this effectively requires multi-sited ethnography. Although this research did not employ multi-sited ethnography and instead focussed on how social gain is understood and articulated in British community radio, in the case of Raaj FM as their online presence is such a prominent aspect of their station identity and culture and is articulated as connecting a wider (and engaging a younger) Punjabi audience, it was impossible to overlook. When considering consumer culture and its impact on religious identities as discussed earlier, according to Possamai-Inesedy (2016: 113-124) these identities can be considered at risk of demise as a result of globalisation and consumer culture. However, returning to Hall's research (2004:7-8) she argues we need to consider contradictory cultural influences in the case of younger Sikh identities. When interviewing participants at Raaj FM about ethnic and religious identities and how these inform articulations of social gain they felt it was important to clarify that respect for diverse Punjabi identities and cultural practices (including religious practices) was key, as for some it plays a

small part in their lives but for others drives their action. Despite this, it was suggested it is a central tenet in the internal culture of the station.

> Being like I'm the oldest here, so they respect me quite a lot all the presenters. I mean, in the community the older one they will call [Uncle] because they think if they call the name they think it won't be very respectful …you know?
>
> (Participant 16, 2015)

This respect for elders was discussed as a key consideration in the programming and production culture. They also suggest despite age and authenticity through place of birth or geographic location, Raaj FM's volunteers and audience are part of a global connected Punjabi community with shared cultural codes, despite the nation in which they reside and as such they like to be kept up to date with what is happening in the wider community in other countries.

> Well, they just want to know what's going on generally, not [just] in UK, like, back at home as well because, you know, even being here we still connected with…because our family's there we're connected with them, you know, people want to know what's going on there as well, which is very important to them. And, another thing which we do, we have like programmes on there, even people in India don't know, so they want to…you know, that's what they wanted.
>
> (Participant 16, 2015)

It is clear that religious and Punjabi identities will inform volunteer articulations of social gain and this will differ dependent on whether the volunteer is born in Punjab or Britain. There will also be a different approach taken when producing and consuming content for the station's over the air output, or online output for a transnational Punjabi audience. When producing programming for these platforms, language or an understanding of Sikh religious practices will be the only aspect connecting these audiences. In this context volunteers discuss using community radio as a tool for expressing and articulating useful information to the wider Punjabi Sikh community and as a solution to issues around the demise of religious identities faced by the community as a result of globalisation and consumerism. Through producing content which represents diverse Punjabi identities and is consumed over the air and online, the station is reflective of several different circuits of culture (Du Gay et al, 2013) that overlap in an attempt to bring these groups together.

This chapter has considered volunteer perspectives, specifically how personal investment in community radio, the skills and associated benefits acquired through community radio training

and issues of identity all impact articulations of social gain in the context of each station and can be considered reflective of the circuit of culture (ibid). Participants interviewed across all three stations frame community radio as a solution to issues faced by the community in relation to their own lived experience (Gray, 2003). Despite internal conflict or issues which arise as a result of changing dynamics when new volunteers join the station and others move on, those interviewed suggest community radio volunteers undertake emotional labour (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2013:161-164) managing their personal feelings to articulate a unified community identity through station programming. However, when internal station cultures break down and become distressing, volunteers return to their initial motivations for becoming involved and consider the lack of access and misrepresentation of their community in other radio sectors to motivate them. Volunteers also suggest that when representing African and Caribbean communities, there is a tension between articulating the diversity of ethnicities through specific programming and becoming stuck in a so called 'black box' where in a predominantly white media landscape representation is limited to a political identity based on skin colour (Hall, 1987). They frame the main issue as current mainstream representations not being diverse enough. This is also noted by the second case study station that feel they have previously been misrepresented as an underclass due to the area being labelled as deprived. In wanting to address this, volunteers are motivated to encourage and help others in the community to improve their skills and aspirations through training and access to other community initiatives. Volunteers from the third case study station frame the main issues in their community as a diminishing of Sikh and wider Punajbi identity as a result of contradictory cultural influences for younger people in the diaspora. The solution articulated is to produce programming which enables first generation Punjabis to articulate religious identities through programming and younger members of the diaspora to articulate their identity through language programming which is broadcast to a transnational Punjabi audience who respond and help each other learn and retain language skills.

Those interviewed articulate multiple identities, which are context dependent. Internally in Newstyle Radio most identities prioritise nationality first in a range of British Caribbean, British Jamaican, Caribbean, African or British Nigerian. However, there were also a range of

professional identities and religious identities but these were last to be claimed. In the second station a working class, aspirational identity was prioritised along with level of education and various subcultural identities such as ‘metalhead’ etc. In the third station religious identity was prioritised along with Punjabi identities, but British identity was not discussed in detail and only mentioned when talking about those born in Britain learning the language. It is clear that volunteers in each of the case study stations believe their programmes successfully demonstrate social gain and are a solution to issues arising from mainstream representations of community identities by those who do not inhabit these communities. The discussions also suggest that each volunteer believes their contribution can be recognised as reflecting key points in Du Gay et al’s (2013) circuit of culture including representation, identity, production and consumption of programmes within the realms of contextual and wider regulation. However, it is also clear that community radio volunteers undertake important emotional labour in pursuit of articulating social gain. According to those interviewed internally each station has its issues which means navigating and negotiating relationships with each other, the community and in some case regulators whilst they re-think, re-calibrate and re-articulate social gain. As this chapter has discussed the role of volunteers and issues which facilitate and impede their articulations of social gain, I will now move on to conclude my findings.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

This research set out to explore how discourses of social gain laid out in all community radio licenses, are constructed and articulated by each person involved in enacting the policy in practice in community radio stations in Birmingham. By using the policy as a starting point, the research also sought to explore the following four research questions:

1. **How do community radio principles and practices differ to those of other radio sectors?**
2. **How do organisational structures impact the delivery of social gain?**
3. **How do different community characteristics impact the articulation of social gain?**
4. **How have changing political, economic, social and technological factors impacted community radio production and the articulation of social gain since the sector's inception?**

This thesis argues that each community radio station explored during this research articulated social gain in different ways, which were contextually dependent and based on how each person contributing to the station framed issues faced by their community and possible solutions in which they could play a role. When articulating discourses of social gain, each station can be understood as reflective of the key themes outlined by Du Gay et al's model of a circuit of culture. Furthermore, the thesis also argues there are a number of important factors, which facilitate and impede these articulations and can be understood as part of a wider issue around the changing political economy of radio. In many ways the use of online platforms to stream and promote radio has contributed to identifying larger and multiple local, national and transnational audiences. However, not all community stations have the resources available to enter the digital realm and teach radio production and wider digital media literacy skills required to operate in a more connected world. Instead the case study

stations often rely on volunteers to train each other when becoming involved in a station. For some stations engaging volunteers with digital literacy and business skills and encouraging them to learn radio production skills whilst sharing their own knowledge in the station requires particular structures and individuals who can facilitate this.

Using an oral history approach to interviewing, the research also uncovered a rich tapestry of what Gray (2003) refers to as the lived experiences of those articulating social gain through community radio. The testimonies gathered from those working in the sector provide a snapshot of how each individual framed key issues in their identified community (Goffman,1986, Entman, 1993) and articulated (Howley, 2010) solutions to these through their practice in the station. The work also outlines each station as constructing several circuits of culture through programming and suggests in doing so community radio is attempting to keep its principles of representing community identities, providing a voice to the voiceless and articulating social gain at its core in a neo-liberal context. The key points the circuit of culture correlate with these wider principles of community radio, and therefore are useful for understanding the practices used in a community radio environment in more detail. Each of these articulations can then be understood as contributing to collective contemporary discourses of community, ethnicity, religion, class and social gain in the context of each station.

7.1. Negotiating the tensions between articulating discourses of social gain through policies and practice in community radio

Birmingham has a strong tradition in cultural studies research, having been the location of the former Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, but also the site of the first local education authorities willing to teach English as a second language to migrant communities settling in the city (Taylor, 1993). This legacy provides a keen source of pride for those still residing in the city in which their families chose to settle. Birmingham's diversity has been documented through multiple censuses (2001, 2011) and by research agencies investigating local environments (Barrow Cadbury Trust, 2008, 2017, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2011). It has also been outlined as playing host to some of the most deprived communities in the UK (IMD, 2011, 2015), some of which are the locations of the case study

stations on which this research is focused. This thesis adds to that body of research, presenting a snapshot of 21st century characteristics of diversity, deprivation and community in the everyday perceptions and lives of three communities in the UK's second city. It outlines the objectives, motivations and production cultures and values of what are considered to be amateurs and enthusiasts working in community radio.

Birmingham has also previously been the location of much sociological research into the movement of communities through the city, including studies such as Rex and Moore's (1967) research into 'white flight' and more recently studies on how to engage minority communities in participating in local policy making (Ethnos, 2008). Birmingham is home to a number of diaspora communities and those of mixed ethnicities and heritage, and the radio stations used as case studies here represent some of these communities. In west Birmingham, Newstyle Radio aims to serve African and Caribbean communities, whilst reflecting the multicultural landscape of Birmingham (Newstyle Radio, 2016). Whereas Switch Radio (in the north east of Birmingham), focus on broadcasting local information to some of the most deprived wards in the city (Switch Radio, 2016). The final case study station Raaj FM in the north west of the city, serves Punjabi communities locally, nationally and internationally over the air and online, through a mixture of programming tailored to their audiences' interests (Raaj FM, 2016).

The core findings are derived from interviews conducted with an oral history approach. The purpose of this method was twofold to enable interviewees the space and freedom to relay their own history and engagement with the sector, the station and their community, thus giving a voice to people not usually afforded a platform but also to capture their lived experience (Gray, 2003). The objective was to give a broad picture of how social gain is framed and articulated through key stages from policy to practice. However, I felt it was important to begin by interviewing a former policy maker who contributed to the construction of the policy to understand the context in which it was initially conceived as a set of criteria. I also interviewed those responsible for conceptualising the policy in the context of their community as a set of key commitments, along with those responsible for managing its

translation into practice during the licensing process and the individuals who currently articulate social gain through community radio programming. A secondary method adopted was observation, which enabled me to see the operational practices of interviewees in radio studios, whilst producing and broadcasting programmes which they believe articulate social gain. This established how their ideas were translated into action and how these actions were ordered in terms of priority. During this stage of the research, the observations uncovered implicit discursive meanings of community radio as an extension of public service informing local and global cultures of production and professionalism, through conduct and practice. The data sourced through observations suggests that notions of community radio as amateur are misplaced and a clear understanding of radio production practices and structured training is needed to transform each volunteer's ideas into programming that demonstrates social gain.

The research uncovered that (as was originally intended) each station constructed and articulated discourses of social gain through a set of key commitments based on the specific needs of their respective communities and even though they share a city, what each community needs is very different. For Newstyle Radio this was framed as a need to include (and legitimise) the pirate broadcasters in Birmingham, who even though attempting to serve African and Caribbean communities, were illegal and so could not address misrepresentations of these communities without supporting negative stereotypes. For Switch Radio, discourses of social gain were constructed as part of a regeneration agenda and framed as a means to address issues of deprivation within their community. Finally, for Raaj FM, discourses of social gain were constructed to promote the retention of the Punjabi language and cultural practices, whilst bringing together young and old in the community to consider themselves part of a transnational community of Punjabis.

The research outlines that since 2004, the articulation of social gain objectives has been impacted by a number of political, economic, social and technological factors that have seen the political economy of radio change. As each station has evolved, the complexity of this continues to jeopardise each station's sustainability. These variables include changing

political landscapes, a move away from traditionalist communitarian values, as discussed by Dwyer (2010:17-25), which were historically espoused through the British Labour and Liberal parties, to a focus on neo-liberalist principles embraced by the Conservative Government of the 1970s and cemented into the UK's political and economic approaches to policy. As community radio has evolved and become established as a third tier of radio in the UK, politics and economics have shifted to encourage neo-liberalist values, as well as practices, which ideologically focus on the individual, as opposed to the community. Along with an economic downturn, this has led to tension between those championing community radio (as a vehicle for engaging communities to address local issues and encourage social cohesion) and those responsible for legislation. These legislators have re-prioritised the funds available through agencies, which originally formed the economic structures that underpinned community radio. The economic downturn of late 2007 and early 2008, led to a global recession and subsequent austerity measures being introduced in the UK. This resulted in local and community services being cut to save money, along with rising unemployment, which led to additional social problems. Conversely a rise in volunteering from 2008 (Cabinet Office, 2016 [online]) has seen more people active in their communities, but with numbers stabilizing over the last two years, engaging community radio volunteers has become (in the interviewees' opinions) more important but more challenging than ever.

As the UN assessed the outcomes of its Millennium Development Goals project in 2015, they found the number of people living in extreme poverty in developing countries had been reduced, but suggested for sustained development to be achieved the global community must continue to work together (CAFOD, 2016, [online]). At the same time, political, economic and social factors such as a change in government, a recession and cuts to welfare and local services, have seen a comparable rise in people living in extreme poverty in so called developed economies including the UK. At the time of writing the UN has lambasted the UK for being in denial about levels of deprivation and poverty in some of its communities (UN News, 2018 [online]). The community radio stations at the centre of this research, view their job as supporting their communities to improve their circumstances, environments and aspirations. They believe achieving fair representation and fair access to opportunities, whilst

retaining a sense of identity and reconstructing a sense of community is central to their contributions. They attempt to empower the local and (in some cases) the transnational community, by providing a platform for their voices to be heard, which they believe can improve skills, aspiration and the wider environment. This is what they consider to be the main benefits of social gain and suggest community radio is the most pervasive vehicle to achieve this.

However, the findings suggest that the social gain policy was conceived as a response to the commercialisation of Independent Local Radio (ILR), as it was felt community radio could address some of the gaps left by a loosening of the sector's social objectives. The policy was designed with what Dwyer (2010) describes as a liberal communitarian approach. Although termed 'left wing, liberal' by the policy's champion (Participant 2), he outlined the objective of the policy was to be as flexible as possible, enabling communities to interpret and articulate it in the context of their own environment and based on addressing the key issues they framed as need. However, under pressure from commercial organizations invested in ILR, the policy became more prescriptive (and thus more restrictive) when it was ratified as part of the licensing process. Despite criticism, in the case study stations social gain was used as originally intended, enabling each of the communities researched to frame issues which needed addressing in their communities and implement strategies to address them through radio. Each of the case study stations used social gain to justify moving from a Restricted Service License (RSL), to a more substantial full time service with a clearly defined, but broader conceptualization of their community. It was these broader discourses of community that offered the opportunity for social gain to benefit more people. However, as the wider communities have changed so have the issues, which impact their lives.

In the west of the city, Newstyle Radio used the social gain criteria to define and represent African and Caribbean communities in Birmingham, who up to the point of licensing, felt they had only truly been represented through a local pirate station called PCRL. For them the point of the station was not only to address the lack of music played on BBC and commercial stations from Caribbean regions (such as calypso, reggae, raga, soca, dancehall and gospel)

and thus serve these communities, it was also to cover issues relevant to the communities living in Birmingham, through speech based programming focusing on African and Caribbean culture and history. Although the pirate stations in the city had become prominent, they were unlicensed and therefore illegal. Through the legal licensing of the first black community radio station in the UK (as it was called by Ofcom), Newstyle's committee sought to legitimize this type of content and effectively decriminalize the activities of pirate broadcasters in Birmingham. Instead they intended to use radio as a tool for representation, education and as a vehicle for the broadcasting genres of music which were underrepresented on mainstream radio stations, thus validating the communities who represent a large portion of Birmingham's population (ONS, 2011).

For Switch Radio, discourses of social gain were constructed to reflect a continuing regeneration agenda. When the station applied for a full-time license, the focus was placed on educating the community through training in radio production, which as I have argued in previous work (Grimes and Stevenson, 2012) can also improve literacy and numeracy skills, confidence and levels of aspiration. Switch's demonstration of social gain, was foregrounded by a number of successful trials (RSLs) and training programmes carried out in Castle Vale and as part of a community regeneration discourse. The objective was to train community members living in any of the local wards (as designated by the local city council) enabling them to broadcast content relevant to the wider north east area of the city, connecting these wards and ultimately strengthening and encouraging mobility between them and beyond. It was hoped as a result this would build levels of aspiration and thus continue the regeneration objectives in the wider deprived communities of northeast Birmingham strengthening links between them.

Raaj FM used the social gain criteria to construct discourses, which position the station as a conduit for bringing together generations of Punjabis living in the north west of Birmingham and the Black Country and connecting them with a transnational Punjabi community. This community had historically been divided by a legacy of partition between India and Pakistan in the Punjab region, which also divided them by religion (Khan, 2007). With the station

moving to broadcasting outside of the Gurdwara (Sikh temple), scheduling religious programming in an early morning slot and including music programming enabled Raaj FM to broaden their remit and embrace the wider Punjabi community in the city. This enabled the Sikh community to enjoy the same coverage of religious festivals as the Muslim communities in the area, who were already served through Radio XL. This new mix of programming, however, according to volunteers and management was broad enough to benefit all Punjabi speakers in the local community (regardless of religion) by providing local information and content relevant the Punjabi diaspora. The objective of the station is not only training and educating the community through radio production, but also training in Punjabi language and culture through speech programming and a mixture of traditional folk and contemporary music programming (such as bhangra), originating from both India and the UK. The learning and retention of the Punjabi language, cultural practices and representation of Sikh festivals have become a key social gain discourse of the station serving the Punjabi diaspora, as well as providing relevant content for these audiences who are currently underserved by mainstream radio.

Although community needs are very different the unifying factor across all three stations is their desire to serve communities using radio and although their production environments are organized differently, there were clear themes that emerged during the research.
In all of the case study stations, participants acknowledged the importance of leadership (Vecchio, 2000:148), whether this was in a formal role as Station Manager, or as part of a wider management team. Each station identified one social actor (Parker and Stanworth, 2014:156) who galvanizes the team and has the ability to articulate a dual discourse. This discourse must have two strands speaking of policy to committee members and management and purpose to volunteers. This dual discourse assists in the process of rearticulating social gain as communicative action within the framework of community radio legislation. Although there are often difficulties recruiting volunteers in so called ‘back room’ roles, there is little difficulty attracting volunteers to go on air, but they are not always from the local community and often come from outside the area, having heard the station and wanting to participate in it. Where this is the case the role of a social actor is vital for including these volunteers in the

community and articulating a discourse of purpose to them, so they are motivated to serve the community instead of pursuing their own agenda.

Interviewees suggest there is still great affection for community radio and volunteers (from both within the community and those who become part of it) develop a desire to deliver social gain for the benefit of the community when they understand the discourse of purpose. However, they suggest sustaining this is becoming more challenging, as the original policy was designed to be financially supported by regeneration funds and other funding streams, which are no longer available since the onset of the recession in late 2007. Since that time each of the stations has been forced to reconsider what they do and how they do it and attempted to streamline the practices of the station so it can operate on limited budgets and resources. This has relied on the social actors in each station to articulate a continued discourse of purpose to volunteers, which embeds bonding social capital (Putnam, 2001), so there are enough volunteers willing to keep the station functioning. However, this action can only be performed for a limited time and requires a level of knowledge and skill, which if not in equal balance with passion, enthusiasm and respect for volunteers, can lead to dwindling levels of participation. It is also important that the stations regularly re-assess their community and the key commitments of their station, as suggested by the Commonwealth Educational Media Centre for Asia (CEMCA, 2013) in the Community Radio Continuous Improvement Kit and supported by UNESCO, to ensure they are still serving the community.

Conversely, as there has been a decrease in available financial support, there have been advances in technology which have led to changes in consumption and the practices used to access community radio, including live streaming and on demand mechanisms, which have increased the connection between the station and community through social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram. These tools have enabled community radio stations to potentially reach larger and fragmented audiences and connect with strategic partners further afield, which has seen alternative discourses of expanded community evolve through bridging capital (Putnam, 2001). As a result, volunteer aspirations and connections have increased supporting Howley's (2010: 343) vision of democracy from below.

Consequently, digital literacy practices adopted in pockets in the case study stations, offer the potential to serve transnational as well as local community audiences (as demonstrated through Raaj FM), but rely on stations having digital literacy skills and training volunteers to use them. This is only possible if a station has a structured training programme which includes a social media strategy as suggested in the *Community Radio Toolkit* (2015) or if a volunteer comes to the station with those skills and trains other volunteers. Whilst this has been an issue for all of the stations, some have been better than others at engaging volunteers with digital literacy skills, who are willing to train others or manage a digital policy across the station. These digital literacy skills not only enable the station to have a wider reach, but also have the potential to open up alternative funding streams, through advertising, cultivating strategic online partnerships and potentially selling content online. The research uncovered this was more feasible where there was clear leadership and a wider discourse of purpose being articulated in the station. However, where these structures were not in place, these skills were only demonstrated in isolated pockets, which limits the stations reach for particular shows and the capacity to engage a wider community.

Another key aspect for consideration in the effective articulation of social gain through programming and practices in community radio stations is the management structure, which sets the tone in terms of levels of commitment to volunteering, the community and the station and programming priorities within it. The evidence gathered suggests that a number of qualities are needed within a management team for social gain to be articulated to volunteers and delivered effectively. These include aspects of bonding and bridging social capital (Putnam, 2001) including trust, respect, encouragement, support, a collaborative approach and a healthy relationship with an identified social actor. However, these qualities need to be underpinned by a solid infrastructure, clear processes and at least one person in the team with technical knowledge of radio production. Without these aspects, the volunteers begin to lose respect for the management structure and the station becomes an unstable environment, where volunteers feel disenfranchised and powerless and so pursue their own agendas instead of working towards a collective discourse. Conversely, where these key structures are in place and a social actor is present in that structure, social gain can be articulated more

effectively as a collective, coherent discourse, which benefits the community. In this case, volunteers can recognize clear parameters in which they are expected to work, there are clear channels of communication and they feel supported and most importantly valued. The social actor in this environment can be a formal or informal leader (Committee member, Station Manager, or fellow Volunteer Producer), but they must be present for the volunteers and station to understand and articulate discourses of social gain (outlined as key commitments) effectively.

When interviewing volunteers about their motivations, they differed in each of the case study stations. However, a common theme was feeling connected and closer to the community through the feedback they get from audiences. This not only reassures them of their performance, but positions them as providing a service to their communities by representing them realistically. At Newstyle Radio evidence suggests representing the community is challenging, as there are internal conflicts between community priorities and wider political issues which need addressing. For example, British Caribbeans working in the station believe Newstyle is a platform for the community to climb out of what they term ‘the black box’ and gain wider representation across mainstream media. They believe the station should not only broadcast programming which serves black communities regardless of ethnicity, but should be a training ground for those who could go on to work in the mainstream media. They believe this is the key to achieving fairer representation for black communities and would lead to a more reflective picture of the diversity of black British ethnicities across mainstream radio. However, for first generation African and Caribbean community members negotiating their status as migrants in a host community, there are tensions around the balance of priorities and programming, which they feel favours Jamaicans over every other nationality. They believe that although Jamaicans were once the largest Caribbean community in Birmingham, the dynamic is now changing and so programming should be reflective of the diversity of African and Caribbean migrant communities in the city, as well as those who are British born with African or Caribbean heritage.

This means the station cannot truly share in a collective shared goal or articulate social gain

effectively, without first reconsidering its key commitments to encompass both British African and Caribbean home communities, using the station to address issues around the representation of black British communities in mainstream radio and migrant African and Caribbean communities using the station to represent migrant communities negotiating their place in a host community. As the social actor present in the station has no power or freedom to effect change across the wider community centre in which the station is based, he is trying to put together a team who can address this in the station. He believes the good will of the volunteers is keeping the station on air and he owes it to them to address these internal conflicts, so together they can articulate a discourse of purpose that volunteers feel serves the community.

At Switch Radio volunteers articulate their position as part of a collective and understand the discourse of purpose and what is expected of them as part of a collective, which represents the community, by highlighting initiatives happening across council designated wards in the wider area. Through their own experience and connection to the local area, they believe that the mainstream media represent the working classes of northeast Birmingham as an underclass, which they believe is misrepresenting the majority who actually lack access to opportunities and relevant local information. Volunteers in this station identify themselves as working class and acknowledge the area in which they live and broadcast is deprived. However, they believe stereotypes, which focus on the aesthetics of an underclass such as social groupings (long term unemployed, single parent status, benefit dependent) and statistics around petty crime, are used when reporting about the area. They believe this leads to assumptions that the majority of the working class in the community choose these circumstances and have no desire to change them.

The committee, management and other volunteers believe they themselves epitomize the potential of community radio to improve skills, levels of confidence and aspiration, effectively changing individual circumstances. They believe by continuing to share skills and information, they enable and empower people to reclaim the label working class and use it with pride. They suggest that by training community members themselves and making them aware of

other initiatives where they can access further training and link with other community members in different wards, they are continuing to regenerate the wider area and passing on some of the time and effort invested by other volunteers during their own training. The notion of volunteers cascading skills is suggested as vital, because the impact of training delivered by someone who understands the environment, has experience of living in a community labelled as deprived and has been through the process is key to strengthening aspiration to access further opportunities or training outside the community.

At the last of the case study stations, Raaj FM, evidence shows that serving the Punjabi speaking community is made easier by having a management structure, which is varied in age and approach. Each member of the management team takes responsibility for a segment of the schedule and has clearly defined roles and ideas about how to reach particular sections of the audience. The schedule is designed to move from catering for an older audience in the morning, through to middle-aged audiences later in the day and finally to younger audiences in the evening and overnight. As well as recognizing how their own programmes are relevant for a specific section of the target audience, volunteers articulate an understanding of other demographics within the audience and are passionate that all age groups are represented through the station. They suggest religious programming and Punjabi news is important for the community as those Punjabi speakers who are Sikh are not specifically catered for elsewhere and it is important for younger Sikhs to understand and recognize that their religion is an important aspect of transnational Punjabi culture and therefore should be retained. They also suggest that although the station broadcasts mainly in the Punjabi language, it is not exclusive to Sikhs or those fluent in the language and a large proportion of the younger audience whilst listening to the station learn and improve their Punjabi language skills, along with some of the volunteer presenters. Although support in the community with visa issues and fundraising efforts are viewed as articulating social gain locally in a tangible way, the learning of language and the connecting of the local Punjabi speaking community with a wider transnational community through online platforms is also viewed as demonstrating social gain.

From the interview data gathered, evidence suggests that those working in each station are dealing with a number of conflicts internally which make the external articulation of social gain as a collective challenging. Internally in Newstyle Radio there are issues with representing the diversity of African and Caribbean communities through programming slots as there are more Jamaicans and British Jamaicans and they dominate the shape and structure of the station programming. However, this could be as a result of the external conflict, which is articulated as attempting to consolidate rather than reflect the diversity of black communities, to achieve fairer representation across mainstream radio. For Switch Radio, internally they attempt to broaden the horizons of volunteers by highlighting opportunities in the wider city, in an attempt to build the confidence and aspiration of the community and those volunteering at the station. This is an attempt to address the external issue of misrepresentations of working classes in the area, but also to reclaim that status differentiating between the working classes and the underclass. Raaj FM attempt to represent cultural traditions and unite older and younger people from the community internally through the station. However, externally the station is attempting to unite first and second-generation Punjabis living in Birmingham, the wider UK and overseas to retain the language, cultural traditions (including religion) and music, whilst encouraging younger generations to maintain a strong sense of how these aspects inform their identities and will continue to do so wherever they migrate to in the world.

As the political landscape in the UK has changed since social gain was conceived and social, economic and technological factors have impacted the wider political economy of radio, community radio stations have attempted to keep up with these changes. In response to this, the Community Radio Toolkit was updated to incorporate new information on social media policies and tools, but the theme of access versus quality remained as the debate lingers on. As the practices of community radio are intended to facilitate the principles of the sector, I was keen to observe how the case study stations had adapted their practices since originally gaining their licences and as a clear discourse of professionalism was observed during each studio observation, it is appropriate to discuss how the findings outlined above relate to the practical themes of the debate and discuss how they facilitate or impede the articulation of social gain.

7.2. Articulating discourses of social gain through community radio processes

Each interviewee discussed how learning radio production skills had given them a new skillset and confidence. Together these factors made them feel valued as part of the community and part of the station. In two of the case study stations, volunteers clearly articulated the value of their developing relationships with other volunteers in the station and how this made them feel like a collective working together. They outline having all been through the same training processes and learned from their own mistakes contributes to their feeling collegiate and empathetic. In discussing the quality of the process of getting on air with volunteers, they suggested it was made easier by being scheduled when starting out with a co-presenter, who was more experienced and could support them if they made mistakes. Alternatively, volunteers discussed being scheduled in slots where they were confident there would be a smaller audience, in the evening or overnight, which offered security whilst developing their skills and made them less nervous about making mistakes. However, this was not the case in all of the case study stations and there were examples explicitly articulated by presenters where they felt allegiances with other presenters, as they had assisted them when they went on air with little experience and without formal training.

Instead they suggest the formal training structures implemented by former members of the station had broken down and this had impacted the collegiate atmosphere and sharing of technical skills which had also broken down. This has clearly impacted the quality of process for these volunteers, as their enthusiasm, self-esteem and willingness to share any new skills with other volunteers is being eroded. This appears to be fuelling an atmosphere and environment, which is fractious contributing to anger and frustration as volunteers feel they are becoming isolated. This suggests that for discourses of social gain to be articulated effectively and the quality of processes to be felt (regardless of the community being served), each station needs clear structured training programmes. These can be formal or informal in nature, but should be conducted by someone who is ideally from the community (or understands it), has been through the process of learning and can support and encourage each volunteer whilst they learn. This suggests the most successful forms of training are

conducted or closely supported by other volunteers.

7.3. Articulating discourses of social gain through community radio output

The interviews and observations conducted, detailed how each of those working in the stations view their contribution and the wider station output as serving the community and articulating social gain. Across all of the stations, there was clear value attached to the music played by each station, which is not represented on BBC, or local commercial radio stations. For two of the stations these were genres of music associated with their identified community's varied ethnicities, including genres such as reggae, soca, calypso, bhangra and traditional Punjabi folk music. However, for the station defining the northeast of the city as its community, this included sub genres of rock, punk, goth and EDM, which volunteers outlined as still being popular but (along with the other genres), missing from mainstream radio playlists. The unifying theme across all interviewees when questioned about music policies as an articulation of social gain was their view that changing local commercial radio practices, which have narrowed playlists had excluded popular genres. Their show or the wider station music policies were a way to show communities in the city they were valued.

As outlined earlier in chapter two, this is the result of commercial radio objectives to maximize profits from advertisers being prioritized over content (Beaman 2006, Street, 2009). During interviews and observations breakfast and or drive times shows were articulated as being flagship shows for each station, as with commercial radio stations (Keith, 2004:106-107). It was suggested they set the tone for the day and have the potential to mark stations out as being different from their local competitors. Therefore, it was felt these should be consistent and provide relevant daily and local news and information, but in some stations breakfast and drive time presenters were rotated. Although this is suggested in the community radio toolkit as best practice for including more members of the community (Community Radio Toolkit, 2015), the reality is volunteers often cannot commit to a whole week in one slot, due to work or family commitments.

Speech content which is relevant to the community, particularly debate and the inclusion of local businesses and services were suggested across all stations as being vital for the community and outlined as shows which engage the community most, in terms of interaction through phone calls, and social media platforms. The discourse of professionalism that was articulated in each station was consistently aspirational with a desire to improve, with all of those interviewed comparing their output with commercial and public service broadcasters in the local area. There was a strong belief expressed that if you performed well and sounded like a professional radio presenter, it was possible where the stations had close relationships with a professional broadcaster, for volunteers to gain employment with them but a danger you would be pigeon holed into particular types of shows.

However, where the infrastructure had broken down and there had been little investment in maintaining equipment or training on how to use it effectively, there were more oversights made during programmes. These included missing the news on the hour, or the advert blocks and also timings were slack with dead air, where volunteers thought other members of the station didn't care or the audience weren't actively listening. This caused frustration amongst volunteers, as they felt it damaged the collective discourse of professionalism articulated by the station's sound (Hausman et al, 2010:2-3). However, where volunteers knew managers were monitoring programming regularly, they knew this would only happen temporarily, as it would be picked up and dealt with appropriately (through further training and monitoring or the removal of the volunteer). Where volunteers felt the management were not technically knowledgeable enough about radio production to pick up on these issues and deal with them appropriately, it was the management (rather than the other volunteer) who was blamed for any impact caused to the discourse of professionalism by these mistakes.

7.4. Articulating discourses of social gain through community radio's impact in the community

From the research carried out, it is difficult to ascertain the impact of the programmes broadcast in the community, as only community members volunteering at the stations were interviewed, so only their opinions were documented. However, during observations the

interactions witnessed during broadcasts between volunteers and listeners through phone calls or social media platforms including Twitter, Facebook and Instagram, suggest there are devoted community audiences, which in two of the three stations can be recognised as transnational. Newstyle Radio have listeners in the wider UK and Ireland, but also in the Caribbean, USA, France and New Zealand who regularly interact with shows via e-mail and social networking platforms whilst listening online. However, the breakfast and mid morning shows take more phone calls, due to having someone available to answer the phones. For those producing and presenting their own shows, interaction with the audience comes mostly through Facebook, and Twitter as presenters can do this between links, when playing two or more songs back to back. Whilst observing Raaj FM presenters in studio, audience members from Turkey, India and Russia contacted the station through tweeting presenters and messaging through Facebook. Although whilst listening to community shows it was possible to hear listeners calling in to ask questions of guests, as it was not possible to observe the shows where guests were taking questions in English, it was difficult to establish who was calling in, or what impact the show had on them. Whereas most of the interactions witnessed in studio at Switch Radio were from the wider Birmingham area, those contacting the shows were all from the local north east of the city and contacted presenters through Twitter, Facebook or Instagram and no phone calls were witnessed whilst at Switch. Across all three stations where volunteer and audience interaction were observed during live shows, the comments from listeners were positive, praising the presenters and the content, whilst positioning the station as an important part of their lives and encouraging them to continue doing what they are doing.

7.5. Suggested further research

Although social gain originally enabled communities to develop skills and produce culturally and contextually representative content through a licensed community radio station, the restrictive nature of the surrounding licensing framework and the changing political economy of radio, has limited the potential for continued meaningful articulations of social gain through community radio. Therefore, it is suggested that a re-imagining of social gain as two strands is needed to fulfil its potential in local communities and benefit them in a tangible way. I also

suggest that national and transnational communities can be served whilst connecting to a geographical area through the station. However, financial stability is key to enabling stations to effectively engage volunteers with digital literacy skills who can help to move stations forward to survive the changing political economy of radio.

The findings from this study suggest the need for further research in the following areas: Firstly, re-visiting community radio organisations through different theoretical and conceptual lenses to explore community radio could produce alternative results. For example, considering community radio as a panopticon (Foucault, 1977) and means of surveillance could yield interesting insights into local media policies and communities. Alternatively considering community radio through the lens of health studies to investigate the value of social interaction on the mental health and wellbeing of communities, as well as exploring levels of bonding and bridging capital (discussed by Putnam, 2001) in stations and how these can be used to connect local, national and transnational communities contributing to community development and aspiration, could also assist in re-imagining the value of social gain.

Secondly, despite the best efforts of the community radio toolkit, the focus of most research remains on the process and output, whilst there is very little research to substantiate impact as the ability of stations to resource this type of audience research is limited. Therefore, lobbying government to financially support an audience study to establish impact could support previous calls for research into community radio audiences (Gordon, 2009, Hallett and Wilson, 2010, King, 2015) and the sector's value in the British radio landscape. This could lead to a loosening of restrictions around finance and enable stations to explore alternative funding streams through strategic partnerships available through digital platforms that could assist with financial sustainability. This type of activity could put the emphasis more on where funds are then spent to benefit local communities.

Finally, a comparable study that investigates the changing political economy of the British radio landscape could assist in re-positioning community radio as an extension of public

service provision, as well as a platform for representing communities and focus on offering community development training as well as media literacy. This could add to the work of the BBC in terms of broadening the vision of public service, but placate other sectors and audiences deepening the impact of community radio in the UK.

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