THE CREATION OF CREATIVITY IN RADIO
HOW DOES RADIO AS AN INDUSTRY DEFINE, PRACTICE AND NEGOTIATE CREATIVITY?

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ABSTRACT

The Creation of Creativity in Radio: How does radio as an industry define, practice and negotiate creativity?

This dissertation explores the way that creativity manifests within the everyday labour of practitioners at radio stations in the United Kingdom. In the United Kingdom, the radio industry is framed in policy as a creative industry by the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) (1998; 2001; 2015). However, understanding and defining creativity is complex and exploring the creativity of radio specifically is an under-researched area within radio studies. This research synthesises debates around creativity and radio to consider how radio as an industry defines, practices and negotiates creativity.

This study responds to the challenge of researching creativity by introducing a combined and multi-level methodological approach to study creativity within the radio industry. Using interviews, autobiographical analysis, and an exploration of work and policy documents I explore individual, workplace, organisational and industry framings of radio's creativity in community, commercial and public service (BBC) radio in the United Kingdom. To analyse this data, I draw on theoretical frameworks from both creative industries and radio research to explore the way that creativity manifests within the specificities of radio work and production.

Exploring radio practitioners in a variety of roles, I argue that to some extent radio workers can be framed as creative workers. However, these individuals also face distinct elements of

work that are unique to roles in the radio industry, and this has implications for understanding creativity in a specific radio context. These workers use certain phrases when articulating their notions of creativity in radio, and these align with the paradox of radio that results from the routinised production of new, but familiar outputs. Therefore, radio's creativity manifests in a particular way through the practices and processes that individuals undertake when making radio. These practices are shaped by the wider radio environment which influences the conceptual space that radio practitioners have to be creative. I suggest that the nature of radio's creativity can only be understood as tied to the specificities of the radio workplace, radio practice and the wider radio environment. Using this notion opens up possibilities for future research to further advance academic understandings of radio's creativity.

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation explores the way that creativity manifests within the everyday labour of practitioners at radio stations in the United Kingdom. To do this, qualitative data was collected using a combined methodological approach, gathering contextual information through station documentation and radio policy analysis. This data is analysed alongside individual accounts of radio work and practice that were collected through interviews and autobiographical accounts of radio work from UK radio practitioners. I argue that radio's creativity manifests through the practices and processes that individual radio practitioners undertake while making radio. These practices are shaped by the wider radio environment, which influences the conceptual space that radio practitioners have to be creative. I suggest that the nature of radio's creativity can only be understood as tied to the specificities of the radio workplace, practice and the wider radio environment.

The project emerges out of a passion I have had for radio since I was a child. When I was ten years old, I saved my pocket money to buy a radio. Listening to my local station whilst getting ready for school, I decided that a job in radio would be perfect, as you could make a living through talking. Since then my enthusiasm persisted, although working at a hospital radio station, and studying for an undergraduate degree in radio theory and practice, I soon learned that radio work requires more than simply talking. Whilst undertaking an MA in Creative Industries and Cultural Policy, I found myself questioning radio's alignment in creative industries discourse, and specifically its role as a creative industry, and it is from this that this research has evolved.

The Archers, *Serial* and *Welcome to Night Vale* are all examples of 'creative' radio that are used by people in conversations about my research, and by radio practitioners

themselves. Before introducing academic research and scholarship on the topic of creativity this already highlights several anecdotal conceptions surrounding what it is and is not. As a radio drama, *The Archers* can be associated with acting, which could be acknowledged as a creative practice. *Serial* and *Welcome to Night Vale* are both podcasts that have experimented with the possibilities and format of radio. *Serial* tells "one story – a true story – over the course of a season" [1], and the listener embarks on a journey, following a journalist who is investigating a murder in America. Somewhat similar to the popular Netflix series *Making a Murderer, Serial* tells a gripping story wholly through sound. While these examples raise, in their own right, some valid discussions surrounding the nature of creativity in radio, they are also normative and/or self-evidential framings of it. These examples also evidence a perception of creativity within radio as a final output or product, which is one view of creativity that exists in academic literature. However, these texts, and the framing of creativity as output, sit outside the focus of this research, which pays attention to the industrial context of radio practitioners and their production processes.

Creativity as a concept is a key focus of creative industries literature. While it is acknowledged as desirable (McGuigan, 2010: 323), it is also recognised that there remains a lack of clarity surrounding the concept (e.g. Bakhshi, Freeman and Higgs, 2013: 06). Therefore, creativity is explored in a wide range of fields and is framed by literature in multiple ways. Discussions about creativity in academic literature predate attempts to understand the concept in policy documents, where a focus on the notion of creativity in UK policy emerged in 1997, a bi-product of the newly elected Labour government. It is at this point that the term 'creative industries' entered policy discourse (Jones et al, 2015: 754), through a change from the previous term 'cultural industries' (Hesmondhalgh, 2002). The radio industry in the United Kingdom, primarily comprising of public service (BBC),

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[1] https://serialpodcast.org/about

commercial and community radio, has consistently been positioned by policy as a creative industry (e.g. DCMS, 1998; 2001; 2015). This presents an opportunity to question the ways radio's creativity fits with sectoral, government and academic formulations around this category and the expectations of it.

Radio as a medium is unique and has been categorised and explored by the academic field of radio studies. Radio is different to other forms of media, because it is a blind medium (Crisell, 1994: 03), where speech is a primary signifier (Shingler and Wieringa, 1998: 30). Beyond this, radio has a number of conventions that shape the practice of those in the radio industry, for example the formatting of content (Hendy, 2000: 95). These demands present a paradox that both requires and restricts creativity, which is described by Barnard (2000: 184) through radio's need to be "fresh yet familiar, the same but different". As a result, creativity in radio must be understood as aligned with the specificities of radio which are created through these formulaic and formatted qualities of the contemporary medium and its output, and the funding, organisation and regulation of the radio industry.

This research seeks to address a gap between radio and creative industries literature by exploring these nuances of radio's creativity. The intention of this dissertation is not to present a concrete definition of creativity, instead it discusses a number of different ways that we can begin to frame the creativity of the radio industry. This can be evidenced through the practice of individual workers who exist within and negotiate their workplace and industry environment. This research is guided by the central question: *How does radio as an industry define, practice and negotiate creativity?* and revolves around an exploration of the industry, which is institutional in that it exists within boundaries such as regulation. I follow Crompton's (2013) definition of the radio industry as incorporating broadcasting stations, networks and transmitting through AM, FM and satellite. Crompton explicitly highlights that this excludes wholly online broadcasters. Whilst acknowledging that alternative radio

broadcasting models and practices exist, such as, online radio and podcasting, this study omits discussions of these as they exist and enable practitioners to work outside of the influence of gatekeepers such as regulatory bodies in the United Kingdom. The role regulation plays in shaping radio practice is a key focus of this thesis. Therefore, I focus on participants from community, public service (BBC) and commercial radio stations, and analyse the environment that frames their work. In order to collect data about the radio industry and radio's creativity, I used a multi-method, and multi-level approach. These levels encompass several aspects of radio; such as the investigation of the radio industry and radio station environment by exploring station documentation and radio policy. This included analysis of job descriptions, station formats and regulatory body guidance. I also explored the individual radio practitioner's experience by undertaking in-depth interviews, analysing autobiographies, and initially observing particular practitioners at work. I thematically interrogated the data collected aligning the narratives of radio work that were gathered through my research with theoretical discussions surrounding the nature of creativity and work in the creative industries.

The theoretical frameworks that tie to discussions of creativity, radio and the creative industries are discussed in the first two chapters of this dissertation. Chapter one looks specifically at literature that explores the nature of radio, and radio's creativity. Synthesising ideas from these studies, I argue that it is more productive to look at discussions of radio work which point towards its creativity in synonymous ways. I also highlight that radio studies often uses the word creativity, without questioning its meaning and chapter two responds to this by exploring the concept of creativity as articulated in creative industries literature. Through this, I acknowledge the complex, and unspecific, nature of the concept, highlighting a number of ways that it has been defined and explored. I start by surveying the ideology of the creative genius and discuss the transition in more recent work that accounts

for the skills, knowledge and traits of individual creatives. I then survey literature that frames creativity as an output before looking at what it means to be creative, through discussions of creative practice, processes, work and labour. Finally, this chapter accounts for discussions about the context in which creativity exists.

Where creativity can be recognised as unspecific, chapter three introduces a methodological approach that can be used to research creativity in the radio industry and answer my primary research question. Through this, I introduce a multi-level, and multi-method approach which uses data and autobiographical analysis, interviews and observations to explore the individual radio workers, the stations that they work for, and the wider radio industry context in which they exist.

My research findings are presented in four chapters, which each look at different thematic discussions of radio's creativity. Chapter four pays specific attention to the individuals that work in the radio industry. I highlight what it means to be a radio worker and argue that while work in the radio industries is varied, with both paid and voluntary employment, there are a number of common features that align with discussions of work in the creative industries. These features include the requirement for multi-skilled workers, the presence of precarity and/or flexibility, and the blurring of boundaries between a work, life balance which results in self-commodification and a romanticised portrayal of work.

To investigate the way that these individuals understand their own creativity chapter five presents a number of nuances of radio's creativity that were offered and used by the participants in this research. First, I highlight that through output considerations creativity in radio can be understood as the development of original, new or different content. I then explore discussions about the space for creativity, where I argue that phrases such as autonomy and freedom are productive. The romanticisation of creativity was also evident through my discussions with radio practitioners, where the craft and skill of radio was

acknowledged. This idea is centered around the perception of radio work as personality driven, providing another avenue for individuals to express their views about the uniqueness of their work.

In chapter six, I look more specifically at what it means to make radio. For the purpose of this dissertation, 'making' radio refers to the production practices which result in the creation of radio content. I examine the everydayness of radio work, unpacking the practices and processes that radio practitioners undertake. Through this I consider the conventions of radio work and outline the moments of creativity that occur. However, I argue that in order to make content that is recognisable as creative, individual practitioners must negotiate these conventions and fit within the boundaries of the medium.

Finally, in chapter seven I bring attention to the expectations and borders that frame the work of radio practitioners. The purpose of this chapter is to highlight that individual understandings and experiences of radio work and creativity must be considered in relation to, and as existing within a specific environment. I explore the formal and informal influences and expectations that radio practitioners negotiate, and look specifically at a number of these including the remit of their role, the role of the manager, and the specificities of radio's organisational contexts such as radio formats, and the funding and regulation of the industry. Through these considerations, I argue that radio's creativity must be considered within these boundaries of practice.

I conclude that to some extent radio workers can be framed as creative workers. However, these individuals also face distinct elements of work that are unique to roles in the radio industry and this has implications for understanding creativity in a specific radio context. Therefore, it is significant that these workers use certain phrases when articulating their notions of creativity in radio and these align with the paradox of radio that results from the routinised production of new, but familiar outputs. Consequently, radio's creativity

manifests in a particular way through the practices and processes that individuals undertake when making radio. These practices are shaped by the wider radio environment which influences the space that radio practitioners have to be creative. I suggest that the nature of radio's creativity can only be understood as tied to the specificities of the radio workplace, radio practice and the wider radio environment. This research begins to bridge the gap between two fields of research, and the approach used provides a direction for future research of radio's creativity.

CHAPTER ONE
THE CREATIVITY OF RADIO?

This chapter focuses on academic literature from the field of radio studies that discusses radio and its creativity to consider how academics studying radio have framed it as a creative practice. Through this I outline a gap in literature that exists, which I address through this dissertation. Explicitly considering creativity in the radio industry, Wilby and Conroy (1994: 19) highlight that while creativity within the radio industry is important, "it has remained a loosely defined quality but one that is recognised on the principle that 'we know it when we hear it'". Within radio literature, the notion of creativity is often discussed in alignment with ideas of radio output (e.g. Street, 2014; Verma, 2012), for example a drama or documentary broadcast. However, the purpose of this dissertation, is to move beyond output considerations of creativity and investigate how radio practitioners understand, articulate, and negotiate the creativity of their work. I suggest that exploring the specificities of radio's creativity necessitates an acknowledgement that the demands and conventions of radio present a complex paradox that both requires and restricts it. This is summarised by Barnard (2000: 184) who notes:

> …the central paradox of contemporary radio broadcasting: the need to routinely recreate the same programming on a day-to-day basis, making programming sound fresh yet familiar, the same but different.

This chapter explores these tensions, turning to literature that discusses the routine nature of radio production. Through this, I begin to question where the opportunities for creativity to manifest are and highlight literature that reflects on this too. Firstly, I survey the literature that outlines the nature of radio, which I use later in this chapter to reflect on the manifestation of creativity within this industry. I continue with an exploration of the wider environment within which the medium of radio is created. More specifically, I synthesise

literature that discusses the UK radio industry and the contextual factors that influence it. Through my research, I highlight that these factors shape the conceptual space that individual practitioners have to be creative. Literature that outlines this environment is, therefore, beneficial to take into account. Finally, I look more explicitly at literature that investigates the roles of individuals who work and volunteer within this industry and discuss some key production practices that they undertake. As the following chapters will establish, the notion of creativity in radio must be understood as aligned with the roles of individual radio practitioners, and their responsibilities which are influenced by the specific sector and station that they work within. Therefore, this chapter summarises these areas of literature.

Focusing on these areas of radio studies, this chapter demonstrates that while discussions of radio's creativity do exist within academic literature, they often use the word 'creativity' without questioning its meaning. Therefore, a gap in academic literature exists that this dissertation will address, bridging the literature explored in this chapter with academic conceptualisations of creativity, and the framing of the concept that exists within the radio industry.

1.1 What is 'Radio'?

The radio industry in the UK consists of various broadcasting models and stations, but I will first survey existing academic literature that explores the qualities and values of radio. It is important to understand the nature of radio before seeking to reflect on the way that creativity manifests within it. This is key, because throughout this dissertation I argue that to understand creativity we must acknowledge it as aligned with, and shaped by, the nature of radio. Seeking to define radio is not a straightforward task due to its changing and adaptable nature (Wall, 2019; Fleming, 2010; Shingler and Wieringa, 1998; Tacchi, 2000; Hilmes, 2002; Barnard, 2000: 12). Radio is a flexible and versatile medium (Shingler and Wieringa,

1998: ix), and for Fleming (2010: 02) it is this "adaptability and ability to reinvent itself, to inspire listeners loyalty, that make it such a fascinating medium to study".

The changing nature of radio results from its wider environment, where it responds to certain factors including politics, economics, technology, and culture (Shingler and Wieringa, 1998: 1-3; Hilmes, 2002). Referring specifically to technology, Fleming (2010: 01) notes the radio industry's response to "technological advances and shifts in society", and the rise of internet radio is argued by Lasar (2016: xii) to have "redefined the very concept of radio", as it now incorporates technologies, applications, and social practices. The phrase 'radio' itself is therefore encoded with multiple meanings as recognised by Dubber (2013: 13), who states that the term radio "is complex and multifaceted". Contributing to this debate, Tacchi (2000: 292) asserts that "radio is what history says it is: it has no essence since it has already taken, and continues to take, different forms. Radio is what it is at a given time, in a given context of use and meaningfulness". Lacey (2018: 110) reaffirms this through her claim that "there is no singular thing called radio…. This single word, radio, is called upon to describe any number of different things – material, virtual, institutional, aesthetic, experiential". This presents a challenge for radio scholars when seeking to define radio.

In response to the challenge of defining radio due to its adaptable nature, theorists categorise radio in multiple ways. Dubber (2013: 13), for example, believes that the term radio means "institutions, practices, a means of transmission or a physical object". As an alternative way to categorise radio, Moylan (2013: 09) describes it as incorporating four distinct senses:

> as a *medium* in relation to its technological properties; as an *institution* (e.g. public service broadcaster, commercial radio station or community radio station; but also as defined by policy frameworks); as a media *text* considered through analysis of the formal characteristics of radio content; and as a social phenomenon inviting public responses from the radio *audience*.

She continues to explain that radio scholarship often combines these 'senses' of radio within research. In chapter four I demonstrate that practitioners articulate their creativity in a way that responds in part to the nature of radio itself. These categorisations of radio are productive, but I want to turn to literature that more explicitly seeks to understand the essence of radio, by which I am referring to radio's consistent qualities and values.

One way to recognise radio is through its distinction from other forms of media such as television and print (Lacey, 2018: 115; Hendy, 2000: 05). As Crisell (1994: 03) explains:

> What strikes everyone, broadcasters and listeners alike, as significant about radio is that it is a blind medium. We cannot see its messages, they consist only of noise and silence, and it is from the sole fact of its blindness that all radio's other distinctive qualities- the nature of its languages, its jokes, the way in which its audiences use it- ultimately derive.

As a blind medium, radio broadcasts consist of sound and silence; most commonly music and speech (Starkey, 2004: 01). Speech is recognised in literature as the primary signifier of radio (Tolson, 2006: 07; Shingler and Wieringa, 1998: 30; Wilby and Conroy, 1994: 28). This creates a unique type of consumption for the radio listener, due to its lack of visuals, which require greater levels of audience participation (Crisell, 1994; Shingler and Wieringa, 1998: 30). This also has implications for practitioners in this industry who must provide contextual cues when presenting a programme or creating output to overcome the lack of visual clues that the radio listener receives (Crisell, 1994).

Whilst opposed to the notion of radio as a 'blind medium' Wall (2019: 381) calls for an approach to radio studies that considers both its form and the experience of consumption. Due to its blind nature, the experience of consumption is unique and radio has a specific role in the lives of its listeners, and it is argued by Wilby and Conroy (1994: 26) that radio is distinct from other media due to the relationship that it creates between the product and the consumer. The listener, for example, can consume the radio whilst undertaking other activities, something that is not possible when engaging with television or print media

(Hendy, 2000: 02). Radio is also described as a 'secondary medium' due to its portability (Fleming, 2010: 20 – 21; Wilby and Conroy, 1994: 32), meaning that it can be consumed wherever an individual is. This not only sets radio apart from other media but is also argued to be a factor that will secure its future in a changing digital landscape (Fleming, 2010: 20-21). Norberg (1996: xi) contributes to this perception of radio and suggests that it can act as "a soundtrack accompaniment to our lives". However, he argues that this does not make it a background medium as it acts as a "personal companion". Wall (2019: 381) builds on this assertion, where he highlights that radio should not be framed as marginal and should instead be recognised through its centrality "within complex media systems and its integration into everyday life". Furthermore, he suggests that the value of radio not only comes from its ability to enhance the lives of listeners but also to establish an individual relationship with them, a perspective that is also shared by Wilby and Conroy (1994: 127). Therefore, theorists acknowledge that radio can partly be defined by its intimate and personal nature (Crisell, 1994; Berry, 2006; Fleming, 2010; Norberg, 1996; Wilby and Conroy, 1994; Douglas, 1999). More specifically, while drawing similarities between podcasting and radio, Berry (2006: 148) highlights that radio is an individual listening activity which allows the listener to form a friendship with it. The radio presenter's practice is shaped by this, because they construct their speech in a way that speaks to members of their audience individually, rather than speaking as if to a crowd (Crisell, 1994; Scannell, 1991). The work of Crisell (1994: 65) expands on this point, where he reflects that music without human intervention seems impersonal, and so it is speech that creates this sense of radio's personable nature. This is why Fleming (2010: 85) highlights that listeners respond to the voices of presenters and newsreaders.

Radio also keeps its audience company (Hendy, 2000: 02). Referencing the Radio Advertising Bureau's (RAB) research into radio consumption of 15-24 year old 'digital

natives', Fleming (2010: 20) contributes to this. She notes that whilst this demographic has grown up with digital technology and the internet, 72% still consider radio to be part of their daily routine (Radio Advertising Bureau, 2007: 03 in Fleming, 2010: 20). Furthermore, Fleming (2010: 20) explains that these individuals still align with what she argues to be the traditional strengths of radio, keeping them company and acting as a friend.

Norberg (1996: xi) also posits that "radio's role in our culture is unique". He explains that radio has evolved into a lifestyle medium, where listeners now engage with stations, rather than specific programmes based on their perception of the service offered by their chosen station (Norberg, 1996: 04-06). When choosing a station, he argues that listeners want something that acts as a "cultural mirror" for the way that they define themselves, reflecting their tastes and values (Norberg, 1996: 06). This is supported by Wilby and Conroy (1994: 127), who highlight that radio's programmed content must 'connect' with listeners own social and cultural experience. Furthermore, they argue that connecting with listeners is key to a station's survival, where a requirement is that "sufficient numbers of listeners take it 'into their hearts' and feel that its output genuinely relates to their own experiences, values and self-image" (Wilby and Conroy, 1994: 33). Reflecting on the way that practitioners seek to achieve this requirement of radio, Scannell (1991) and Shingler and Wieringa (1998: 34) highlight that the radio presenter will use tactics such as adopting the language of their target audience. Shingler and Wieringa (1998: 32) also suggest that the "(perceived) needs and interests of a station's listenership" are used by producers to select topics for discussion.

In this section I have discussed the nature of radio, summarising literature that explores the elements of radio that make it recognisable as a medium, despite its changing and evolving nature. In particular, these features include its 'blindness', and its role as a secondary medium. Radio also plays a unique role in the lives of its audience, and through

this discussion I have begun to point to the way that radio's consistent qualities and values shape the practice of radio practitioners.

1.2 The Radio Industry

In this chapter so far, I have surveyed literature that reflects on the nature of radio. This section builds on this discussion to explore the wider environment within which the medium of radio is created. I survey the contextual and environmental factors that individual practitioners must negotiate, which consequently shapes the space that they have to be creative. The radio industry incorporates a variety of broadcasting models and scholars such as Hendy (2000: 14) propose that we must account for all broadcasting models when depicting the radio industry as a whole. He suggests that this incorporates five models: state radio, underground radio, community radio, public-service radio and commercial radio. Specifically, within this dissertation, I follow Crompton's (2013) definition of the radio industry as incorporating broadcasting stations across UK community, commercial, and public service (BBC) radio broadcasting models. Crompton (2013) explicitly asserts that this excludes wholly online broadcasters, and consequently my study omits discussions of these stations as they exist outside of the influence of gatekeepers such as regulatory bodies in the UK.

As highlighted earlier, an attempt to characterise radio through its structure is problematic, due to its changing nature (Wall, 2019; Fleming, 2010; Shingler and Wieringa, 1998; Tacchi, 2000; Hilmes, 2002; Barnard, 2000: 12), for example, in terms of "how it is owned, produced, distributed and consumed" (Hendy, 2000: 09). As Hendy (2000: 24) acknowledges, radio consists of "different layers" due to the different broadcasting models that it encapsulates. However, using community radio as an example, he states that "highly localized community stations, are not separate and static entities". Through this assertion he

recognises some similarities that exist across all broadcasting models and individual stations. Therefore, while my discussion in the following section will demonstrate differences between descriptions of these broadcasting models, I will explore similar features of the radio environment that frames them.

My discussion of the radio industry adopts the approach of Hendy (2000: 09), focusing particularly on literature that outlines the typology of radio, with an aim "not so much to establish the existing patterns of radio, but to establish the dynamic forces which are shaping the medium…". A typological approach, as Hendy argues, is productive to consider the "context within which radio is produced". In response, my research method adopts a political economic approach to the exploration of radio, and I discuss this in-depth in chapter three. Radio literature that uses this approach investigates external factors that shape the radio industry, such as funding, ownership and regulation (other phrases with the same implications often being used) (Cottle, 2003: 07; Barnard, 2000: 11; Hendy, 2000: 24). The organisation of the radio industry is a key consideration when seeking to understand the medium of radio. The contexts of the medium and radio production, which include commerce, politics and technology, shape the content that is broadcast (Fleming, 2010: 01; Hilmes, 2002; Hendy, 2000: 09; Shingler and Wieringa, 1998: 1-3).

I build on this assertion throughout the dissertation to question the space that these factors provide for creativity, as individual practitioners must exist within, and negotiate, the requirements of these contexts. I will now explore some of these external environmental factors: regulation, funding and ownership. More specifically, I summarise distinctions between the three broadcasting models that this research focuses on: commercial, community and public service.

1.2.1 Funding and Ownership

I begin my exploration of the radio environment by synthesising literature that explores the funding and ownership of the UK radio industry. While two separate areas, I combine them in one section because in practice the boundaries between these areas are often blurred. As highlighted by Starkey (2004: 04), the ownership of a station impacts broadcasted content because, aside from an individual unlicensed (pirate) broadcaster, most other radio stations are in some way "owned and controlled by someone other than the 'on air' talent", who has invested money in the development of the station.

In the context of the media industry more generally, Golding and Murdock (1991: 15) note that "whoever owns the media controls its content", and it is, therefore, critical to account for the ownership of the radio industry. Cottle (2003: 04) contributes to this notion, explaining that organisations are often owned by large corporations, governmental, and other administrative powers. He highlights that the content produced by these companies often emphasises their ideas, beliefs, and values. This is problematic as it can result in the voices of marginalized groups in society being overlooked. Providing a counterpoint, theorists such as Von Glaserfeld (1995) stress that audiences are still able to construct their own meanings by drawing on their cultural contexts and knowledge. Audience interpretation of radio content, however, sits beyond the remit of this research.

Reflecting specifically on the ownership of the radio industry, consolidated ownership is one particular focus within radio studies (Costa E Silva, 2018; Stiernstedt, 2014; Doyle, 2002; Hendy, 2000; Chambers, 2009; Lister et al 2010; Flew, 2012). Exploring the increase in radio consolidation, Stiernstedt (2014: 292) reflects that commercialisation and privatisation has increased in the last thirty years. This was partially facilitated by a shift in policy which transitioned away from content regulation towards competition policies, which aimed to increase economic gain and create new markets (Flew, 2012). As a result, radio

broadcasting in Europe and the United States is increasingly controlled by a few large multinational corporations (Stiernstedt, 2014: 292).

The implications of increased consolidation are considered by theorists such as Doyle (2002: 13-29). She argues that a concentration of media ownership can decrease the access that listeners have to diverse and pluralistic provision. As an example, the localness requirements of particular stations, and notions of localism in general, are suggested to be transformed as a result of concentrated ownership (Lister et al, 2010: 30; Chambers, 2009: 33). Hendy (2000: 39) highlights that stations may create a sense of localism through local news and jingles whilst producing content elsewhere. Despite this, Lister et al (2010: 30) note that the commercial radio industry has successfully argued for "…relaxation of the rules governing how many stations in the same market may be owned by a single company". Doyle (2002: 06) provides a justification for this, explaining that where ownership is restricted the duplication of resources is a risk "which prevents the industry from capitalizing on all potential economies of scale". Through this Doyle (2002) asserts that a company with a vast portfolio of radio stations is likely to create different broadcasts and station types in order to avoid internal competition.

From an alternative perspective, consolidation is discussed in a positive way by literature that recognises that it can facilitate the sharing of content and resources (Lister et al, 2010: 29; Doyle, 2002: 30; Hendy, 2000: 39). Companies that own multiple stations can therefore cut costs (Hendy, 2000: 36). Furthermore, Lister et al (2010: 29) suggest that it also enables networking, programme sharing and "the ability to share technical overheads and administration costs", which they explain, "… can make a significant difference to the otherwise marginal profitability of the average local station". Literature also proposes that consolidation can decrease competition, this is argued to be important in an increasingly competitive marketplace through new strategies that enable efficiency and scale economies

(Costa E Silva, 2018: 144). Through an application of Steiner's (1952) study of competition in the radio industry, Chambers (2009: 34) suggests that this happens as stations can target different audiences, which makes diversity of content more prominent in consolidated stations. The work of Berry and Waldfogel (1999) contributes to this, where they apply the theory of spatial pre-emption, to suggest that this happens because consolidated stations will seek to stop competing against each other by providing a different service. Wirth (2002: 36), however, highlights that this does not mean that stations will not compete "against other radio station groups in existing formats". Therefore, within the radio landscape, he argues that, as a whole, the replication of existing formats and limited diversity may still be present.

Considering creativity in relation to this, it is beneficial to refer to Hendy (2000: 28). He posits that where stations have an economic focus, the resulting consolidation of management, technology, and programming is problematic for creativity as it restricts the level of freedom that practitioners have. Doyle (2002: 13) provides a contrary view, explaining that larger organisations are more likely to innovate in product development than other, smaller companies.

Alongside increased commercialisation and privatisation, it is also important to explore the influence of funding and finance on the radio industry, as this also frames, and consequently shapes, the radio industry. According to Stiernstedt (2014: 292) in the last 30 years "economic pressures on production have become intensified", particularly in commercial radio which has seen a demand for increased profits. This, he argues, has resulted from new media forms which have "intensified the competition for audiences and advertisers". Hendy (2000: 14) demonstrates the importance of accounting for station finance due to his assertion that funding is related to motivation, explaining that "motivation in this sense means discerning the goals of the broadcasters at an institutional level". These goals, he notes, can relate to economic, political, or cultural factors.

To establish a station finance is required to purchase equipment and facilitate and comply with government regulation (Donthu and Rust, 1994: 01). Therefore, as Donthu and Rust (1994: 01) note, even small-scale stations require significant financial investment when seeking to establish themselves. They also recognise that "radio has a high ratio of fixed to variable costs", and once a station has launched, they face ongoing costs that are associated with radio production. Exploring the cost of running a station, Hendy (2000: 36) outlines some 'overhead' costs including building, transmission, engineering, staff, management, administration and marketing. Production and distribution costs however, as acknowledged by Donthu and Rust (1994) remain fixed, regardless of audience size. As a result, stations seek to increase audience size to generate income. Steiner (1952: 198) notes that this is critical as high listening figures justify their production costs.

Reflecting on the implications of finance in the radio industry, Keith (2004: 66) offers a critique of radio, arguing that radio's "obsessive preoccupation with making money…has resulted in a serious shortage of high-quality, innovative programming". He believes that this creates "too much 'sameness" where the station manager uses programming formats that guarantee income. Similarly, Hendy (2000: 92) suggests that money is one of two main factors that act as constraints on the work of the radio producer. Specifically, he argues that this is because the production of radio content is shaped by the amount of money and time that these individuals must negotiate as part of their role. This consideration of the relationship between creativity and commerce is unpacked in-depth in the next chapter, connecting it with creative work more generally.

1.2.2 Regulation

In addition to the funding and ownership of the radio industry, another key factor that shapes the work of practitioners, and consequently the space that they have to be creative is its

regulation. Regulation, as I will explore, is inherently linked to ownership. This forms the focus of this section, where I first review discussions of media industry regulation more generally, before looking more specifically at radio regulation in the UK. Exploring regulation in America, Louw (2001: 74) highlights that the Federal Radio Commission was created in 1927. He argues that the approach taken by this body resulted in the American media industry prioritising commercial interest. Comparing this approach to the UK and other Commonwealth countries, he explains that they developed a duel media system. This system allowed "a state-owned media to operate alongside privately-owned media" (Louw, 2001: 72), which he suggests encouraged "voices other than commercially-driven operations". When exploring regulation, Hendy (2000: 12) notes that we must account for the fact that it is often "shaped by the political and cultural values of governments". Academic literature surrounding the purpose of radio regulation is therefore outlined in the remainder of this chapter section.

Regulation within the radio industry developed in response to the limited frequencies that were available for radio stations to broadcast on (Fleming, 2010: 180; Chignell, 2009: 141), ensuring that signals from different stations did not interfere with each other (Hendy, 2000: 11). In more recent years, as highlighted by Westphal (2002: 481), regulation of UK media primarily exists to enhance social and cultural diversity. In the radio industry, regulation therefore ensures that it reflects national culture, increases choice, ensures standards and serves public goals (Hendy, 2000: 12). Doyle (2002: 12) emphasises that regulation increases choice as it promotes both internal and external pluralism. This results in a diversity of content produced by individual stations and encourages a range of suppliers and a multiplicity of ownership across the radio landscape.

Having established these as the primary purposes of radio regulation, I now look more specifically at the UK's regulatory bodies. Until 2017 the two regulatory bodies for the

UK radio industry were the Office of Communications (OfCom) and The BBC Trust (Fleming, 2010: 180). The BBC Trust was developed in 2006 as part of the BBC's Royal Charter (Fleming, 2010: 180), and using a Reach, Quality, Impact and Value for Money Performance Framework, monitored the services of the BBC (Ramsey, 2017: 90). This Trust was independent and separate from the BBC Executive and Management, which suggests that it was able to exist without internal influence. Its remit was to "represent the interest of licence payers to make sure the BBC delivers value for money, and monitor each service's contribution to delivering the overall BBC Public Purposes" (Fleming, 2010: 180). In 2017, regulation changed when the BBC Trust was replaced by the OfCom (Ramsey, 2017: 89), a regulator that had previously only monitored commercial and community radio.

OfCom was established in the 2003 Communications Act, replacing separate regulators for "telecommunications, commercial television, radio and spectrum management" (Hardy, 2008: 87). Prior to the creation of OfCom, Hardy (2008: 87) highlights that during the 1980s and 1990s the new Labour government had

> … opposed the dominance of purely commercial values in the media, defended public service broadcasting, challenged growing concentration of media ownership and called for measures to support a greater diversity of media outlets.

Since its creation, and until 2017, OfCom had responsibility for licensing both commercial television and radio services, which includes analogue and digital stations, restricted service licenses and community radio (OfCom, 2008 in Fleming, 2010; Lister et al, 2010: 28). In 2017, OfCom also took over regulatory duties from the BBC Trust, enabling them to more directly regulate BBC Radio stations too (Ramsey, 2017: 89). OfCom is funded through a combination of government grant-in-aid and industry fees and this dual funding is important to note. While Hendy (2000: 12) proposes that government values shape regulation, Fleming (2010: 180) suggests that while answering to the Government, OfCom is still independent from it.

The role of OfCom is to set out rules and standards for all broadcasters in the Broadcasting Code (2019c). This helps restrict harm and offence and protect people under the age of eighteen from inappropriate material. Additionally, in order for stations to gain a license to broadcast they must create a format (Lister et al, 2010: 202). This sets out the conditions that their station will fulfil, acting as an agreement with OfCom. Where these rules and agreements exist the work of the individual radio practitioner is shaped. As Lacey (2002) argues, producers must ensure that their content adheres to guideline to avoid fines or other issues that may arise. Therefore, regulation shapes radio practice, providing boundaries that the practitioner must work within. This has implications for the space that they have to be creative within their role. Commercial radio in particular, as discussed by Hendy (2000:43), has sought to be freed from what they call the 'micro-management of their programming. This results, in part, from the "lengthy process in order to change the format of their station", change that they may want to make due to "perceived changes in audience demand" (Hendy, 2000: 43). However, specifically aligning with discussions of creativity, OfCom claims to allow "broadcasters an appropriate amount of creative freedom" (Fleming, 2010: 180). The funding, ownership and regulation of the radio industry shapes each of the broadcasting models that I research in this dissertation. I therefore continue my exploration of radio literature by examining the specificities of these factors in relation to the three broadcasting models in turn.

1.2.3 Commercial Radio

In this chapter so far, I have considered some key factors that shape the production of content in the radio industry. The remainder of this section aligns these with commercial, public service and community radio in turn. I provide a brief discussion of these models, and I

expand on this in later chapters by presenting the ways that the research participants identify the distinctive features of their respective broadcasting models.

As recognised by Hendy (2000: 19), the global radio environment is primarily pluralist, with public-service and commercial radio co-existing. The commercial sector, he argues, is expanding, and Barnard (2000: 49) supports this view, stating that commercial radio is "the most dominant form of sound broadcasting in the world". Commercial radio, initially called independent radio, was established in 1973 in Britain in response to the financial success of pirate radio and an "argument for a more responsive, and culturally rooted, radio" (Wall, 2000: 181). In the UK specifically it now competes for the audiences of BBC local, regional and national services (Lister et al, 2010: 28). Despite aiming at a similar audience, Chignell (2009: 188) explains that commercial radio is institutionally different to other forms of radio.

Key characteristics of commercial radio are private ownership and the aim to make a profit (Chignell, 2009: 114; Starkey, 2004: 02; Hendy, 2000: 18). Specifically, commercial radio generates income through advertising revenue (Wall, 2000: 181) by selling their listenership to these companies (Chignell, 2009: 25). While advertising income is available to both community and commercial radio it has a particular impact on the practices of commercial radio. As Keith (2004: 65) explains radio "is a form of show business…" as it entertains the public and sells this audience to attract advertisers simultaneously. To generate further profit, Chignell (2009) states that the commercial radio sector also seeks to cut costs. This is often achieved through the process of consolidation that I discussed earlier in this chapter. At this point it is worth noting that there remains a lack of research into commercial radio, as the field of radio studies remains dominated by a focus on public service and community radio broadcasting models.

1.2.4 Public Service - BBC Radio

Having provided an overview of the commercial radio industry I will now focus on public service radio, which is another broadcasting model explored in this dissertation. Founded in 1922, the BBC is Britain's public service broadcaster (Lister et al, 2010: 25), and is argued by Barnard (2000) to have a reputation as a reliable and respectable organisation. As Hendy (2000: 23) highlights, they describe themselves as the 'world's leading international broadcaster'. According to Hendy (2000: 18), they are an example of public service radio as it is "a chartered organization, publicly funded but independent from direct political control as well as commercial pressures". Lewis and Booth (1989: 58) note that when the BBC was established it held an 'ideal' that it "did not aim for profit". Instead, since it was founded the BBC has been funded by a license fee (Lister et al, 2010: 25; Starkey, 2004: 05; Wedell and Crookes, 1991). The amount charged is set by the government (Starkey, 2004: 05) and paid by the public (Chignell, 2009: 141). While the government decide this figure, the BBC is recognised as an independent body (Starkey 2004: 05). Supporting this, Louw (2001: 45) highlights that the BBC can exist "beyond pressures of the business sector" and while they must justify their license fee, they aim to ignore commercial considerations (Scannell, 1992: 319). As a result, Louw (2001: 45) believes that they can focus on the quality of their programming, rather than producing "the most cost-effective programming". However, exploring public service broadcasting more generally, Vanhaeght and Donders (2017: 07) argue that in recent years they have "adopted a consumerist logic, often conceptualizing users as consumers and not as citizens". This suggests a shift in public service broadcasting strategies.

In a study that highlights the differences between public service and commercial broadcasting, Hultén and Brants (1992: 118) presents three strategies that public service media incorporates. First, he argues that they undertake 'adaption' where they use similar

methods to commercial media. They also undertake 'purification', where they focus on the core of public service programming, which commercial stations do not seek to do. Finally, he suggests that they utilise 'compensation' where they build on their strengths, for example, the minority appeal, that commercial media cannot offer.

To justify their fee, the BBC make their service available to anyone (Scannell, 1992: 319) and market themselves in a way that achieves a large audience (Starkey, 2004: 104). As Fleming (2002: 52) explains, one way they do this is by promoting the quality and diversity of choice that they offer through their services. These services span across a variety of stations including local, national and digital provision (Lister et al, 2010: 25), which includes a wide range of "political, religious, social, cultural, sporting events and entertainments" (Scannell, 1992: 321). Technological developments have also enabled increased audience provision, such as interaction with audiences through social media (Vanhaeght and Donders, 2017). Referencing research by OfCom, Ramsey (2017: 09) identifies that in 2017 BBC radio services had 54.4 per cent share of listening hours across all UK radio. While the BBC is argued to exist beyond economic pressures, Louw (2002: 45) still states that they exist within some controls. These controls result from their regulation, which is primarily outlined in the Royal Charter that they operate under (Lister et al, 2010: 25).

1.2.5 Community Radio

The third broadcasting model that is incorporated in this research is community radio. This section will summarise literature surrounding the factors that shape this specific model. Community radio developed in response to the dominance of national broadcasters (Coyer, 2006: 129). As Hendy (2000: 16) argues, the mainstream operations of these broadcasters could not meet audience needs. Community radio is smaller in scale than mainstream local radio and consequently has a closer connection with its community (Lewis, 2002). Despite

this, exploring the history of this broadcasting model, Lister et al (2010: 33) explain that it was only established as a distinct sector of the UK radio industry in 2004 after 25 years of campaigns.

Seeking to define community radio Coyer (2006: 129), highlights that there is no single regulatory or academic definition, but emphasises that it revolves around geographical or interest-based communities. The notion of community takes a central focus and Tabing (2005: 09) highlights that community radio is "in the community, for the community, about the community and by the community". Community radio aims to empower and build the community that it broadcasts to (Gaynor and O'Brien, 2011: 438). This is in part achieved through broadcasts, and these stations are obliged to focus on the needs and interests of their audience as a result of their regulation (Newton, 1995: 79). As a result, the output of community radio is described by Fleming (2010: 69-70) as a service, that meets the requirements of the community. Furthermore, Freedman (2008: 148) argues that local radio creates a shared public life, for example, by addressing the problems that the community faces in their broadcasts (Newton, 1995: 70). In addition to the content of broadcasts, it is also recognised that community stations provide an external service for their community, for example, through events within the community (Mhiripiri, 2011: 109; Gaynor and O'Brien, 2011: 436). In her research of community radio in India, Backhaus (2019: 263) notes that through this distinct relationship with the community, benefits such as a sense of ownership and agency occur. For example, within her research, women in particular gained a sense of increased agency through their participation and engagement with their local community radio station. This provides one example that demonstrates the significant role that community radio has for the community to which it broadcasts.

This broadcasting model has a unique structure in terms of its ownership, control and funding (Gaynor and O'Brien 2011: 438-439). Community radio is licensed and regulated by

OfCom (Lister et al, 2010: 33) and this regulation has a specific impact on the operation of these stations. As an example, community radio has an agreement with OfCom that they must be financially established as not-for-profit (Coyer, 2006: 129; Ofcom, 2015). This means that profits generated cannot benefit the shareholders (Hendy, 2000: 16; OfCom, 2015). Additionally, in the Community Radio Order (Gov.uk, 2004) and the Broadcasting Act (1990), and modified by the Community Radio (Amendment) Orders of 2010 and 2015 (Gov.uk, 2010; 2015), the sources and income of community radio are strictly regulated. As an example, these broadcasting orders state "each station is allowed a 'fixed revenue allowance of £15,000 per financial year from paid for on-air advertising and sponsorship" (OfCom, 2015: 02). To provide a point of comparison, research from Radiocentre (2017) shows that in 2016 commercial radio took £645.8 million in advertising revenue.

Community radio is also distinct from its counterparts as it relies heavily (OfCom, 2015), if not wholly, on the contribution of volunteers not employees, which sets it apart due to its participatory nature (Backhaus, 2019: 253; Forde, 2015). The role of volunteers is important within community radio, and Coyer (2006: 129) notes that its cultural value is demonstrated through programming that is "made for and by a local audience", additionally highlighting that this creates opportunities for members of the local community. These individuals are able to play a role in the production, distribution and ownership of these stations and the content that they produce (Backhaus, 2019: 253). They can also be involved at every level from production to management (Carpentier et al, 2003). The research of O'Brien (2017) into community radio's governance requirements highlights that it is organisationally unique with different governance requirements to alternative forms of media. By interviewing community radio practitioners, her research suggests that a collective shared ethos of community radio creates a shared sense of purpose among the community radio workforce at a particular station, and thus avoids potential divisions.

1.3 Radio Workers & Practice

The first half of this chapter has unpacked the nature of radio as a medium, and reviewed literature about the UK radio industry. The remainder of this chapter will build on this, exploring work that frames the specificities of creativity within the context of the radio industry. The radio industry employs radio workers, and these workers form a key focus of this research. Consequently, throughout this dissertation I present the narratives that this research has gathered. At this point, I explore literature that focuses on these workers, outlining the different roles that exist within the radio workforce, and introducing arguments that begin to reflect on the opportunities that these individuals have to be creative. Throughout this discussion I will also explore elements of radio practice that these individuals undertake. My use of the word practice aligns with what Hendy (2000: 12) terms the "production activity" of radio. This activity is the work that individual practitioners undertake within the process of making radio output. More specifically, he highlights a distinction between broadcasting and production activity, explaining that "broadcasting involves the control of radio schedules and the actual transmission process, effectively creating the form of programming", while production activity "creates the actual audio content of these broadcasts".

The radio industry workforce is diverse, and due to the range of broadcasting models in the UK, incorporates both paid employees who work for commercial and public service stations, and individuals who volunteer for community radio stations. Referring to a report by Skillset (2007) Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea (2010: 43) highlight that the UK radio workforce is bigger than terrestrial TV, with over 22,000 workers. Exploring the split of workers between broadcasting models they explain that while discounting freelance and new workers in the industry, research by Skillset (2007) highlights that 22,400 people worked in the UK

radio industry in 2007. More specifically, 48% were employed by the BBC, 43% by commercial radio and 2000 individuals had roles in community and voluntary radio.

Reflecting on the unique character of the radio medium, Keith (2004: 49) outlines the broad mix of roles required by radio companies. This includes on-air personalities, secretaries, sales personnel and technicians. Through this he specifically argues that "few other businesses can claim such an amalgam of employees". Whilst this wide variety of roles are required by radio companies, I want to specifically explore roles that I will discuss throughout this dissertation: the radio presenter and producer, managers, broadcast journalists and documentary producers.

1.3.1 The Radio Presenter

In literature, the radio presenter is referred to with different names such as DJs (Stiernstedt, 2014), radio personalities or announcers (MacFarland, 1997). Trewin (2003: 03), whilst speaking about both TV and radio presenting, highlights that the duties of the presenter vary greatly, making a definition of this role difficult to create. As explored by Wilby and Conroy (1994: 147), radio practitioners themselves see a distinction between the roles that are encapsulated by these different titles, for example, talk radio presenters see themselves as different to the role of the DJ, whose role they argue mostly revolves around controlling music output. This research uses the term presenter as this phrase, they suggest, can be more generically applied to "all who talk on air while controlling output of a radio station throughout a programme". The presenter has a number of roles, including creating station identity and building a relationship with the listener (Chignell, 2009: 22). The presenter must also maintain a continuous flow of output by undertaking activities such as introducing records and recorded packages, undertaking live interviews and providing the listener with time checks (Wilby and Conroy, 1994: 147).

I now look more specifically at their role as the personality of the station. This is recognised in academic literature but was also importantly described by the participants of this study as one way that they can be creative within their role. Within the format of popular radio, Wilby and Conroy (1994: 147) explain that mainstream programmes are often named after their presenter, and across European and American radio models it is recognised that these individuals play a critical role in relation to the programme's success (Stiernstedt, 2014: 290). Spangardt, Ruth and Schramm (2016: 69-70) acknowledge that presenters have unique personalities "which they use to distinguish themselves from one another – particularly those who present on competing radio stations", and so the presenter affords the station with a competitive advantage. This, Stiernstedt (2014: 301) highlights, is particularly important in a changing media environment where digital technologies are increasing competition for audiences.

Wolfenden (2014), discussing the work of Horton and Wohl (1956: 217), alludes to the concept of radio presenters as 'personas', a constructed character or performance manufactured to align with the production format. However, Wolfenden (2014) proposes a shift towards the preferred term 'presenter', particularly where notions of ordinariness, everydayness and authenticity are now key concepts aligned with contemporary conceptions of their role (Bonner, 2011; Tolson, 2006; Stiernstedt, 2014). Academics such as Stiernstedt (2014: 297) also note the implications these constructs may have on radio practice, for example, the display of a sense of normalcy both through presentation style and content. The characteristics of this style can be evidenced in multiple forms; being personal, direct and informal, and including anecdotes from their private life. This inclusion of both constructed and authentic aspects of the presenter's personality presents somewhat of a paradox, where they are given 'personality training'. This also blurs the distinctions between their personal life and their work as a presenter (Stiernstedt, 2014: 302).

Radio literature notes that an additional key element of the radio presenter's role is to establish and maintain a relationship with the audience for their station (Spangardt, Ruth and Schramm, 2016: 71; Fleming, 2006; Wilby and Conroy, 1994). This has advantages for the station as they can promote their other offerings (Crisell, 1994; Spangardt, Ruth and Schramm, 2016: 71). With the need to engage an audience being a key element of the presenter's role, the practices they undertake are shaped by this. Karpf (2013: 66) who explores the relationship that listeners have with the voice of the presenter, and the voice techniques they can employ, notes "broadcasters, through their very voices, can act as a hedge against chaos", bringing a sense of normalcy and 'home' to the listener. Therefore, Fleming (2010: 85) explains that their job is "more than simply talking between the music" and what they say, and the way that they say it, helps to build a relationship with the listener and reinforce the stations brand. To achieve this, Scannell (1991) posits that monologues should be considered as dialogues, where the presenter is having a conversation with their listener. To achieve this, presenters often construct their own notion of the 'listener' (Wall, 2006; Wolfenden, 2014). Researching the role of the radio presenter within the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Wolfenden (2014: 05) seeks to understand the presenter's perception and awareness of their audience. She observes that they articulate themselves as connected to their audience through a shared sense of common ground. Furthermore, she suggests that they create archetypes that they use to understand and describe their audience, for example, adopting a practice of speaking to somebody in their kitchen or driving in their car (Wolfenden, 2014: 14). Where presenters are in a studio on their own, this ability to perceive their audience is key. Wolfenden (2014: 07) argues that the creative agency of the presenter, to conceive their audience and establish a relationship with them is critical. Building on my earlier discussion of regulation, Wolfenden (2014: 296) notes that while these individuals have creative agency, their work is still shaped by the internal requirements

and expectations of their station. She explains that this manifests, for example, through guides on how to talk or generate audiences, and updates from their station on the formats and programmes that are the focus of the station's current strategy. Furthermore, Karpf (2013: 67) highlights that presentation styles emerge gradually, through cultural and network trends. Where these requirements exist Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea (2010: 59) recognise a tension for individuals who work with the 'creative side of radio'. These individuals, they argue, must have "the time and conditions to be innovate [whilst] meeting the needs of their employers who expect them to deliver their work". One particular practice that shapes the work of the radio presenter is the scripting of radio content, and I now turn to literature to explore this practice in more depth.

As Crisell (1994) highlights, the scripting of speech is a prominent characteristic of radio practice, particularly in commercial radio. The creation of a script in radio is one example of practice that demonstrates the routinised production of radio content that radio practitioners undertake. This must be considered to understand the space that is afforded for them to be creative and negotiate their role. Exploring the content of radio scripts, McLeish and Link (2016: 213) explain that they often include information about the way items will be introduced, the number of time checks and the way that the programme is pitched to ensure consistency. I revisit this type of scripting later in this chapter within a discussion of formatting and scheduling. Scripts also include written content that the presenter will read out on air, and it is this type of scripting that forms the focus of several debates in radio studies. Wilby and Conroy (1994: 129) believe that this type of scripting can have a negative impact as it detracts from the spontaneity of the radio presenter. Alongside this, Crisell (1994: 44) suggests that the act of reading suggests absence and can make it difficult to build the relationship between the presenter and the listener. Where a sense of 'liveliness' is argued to be an important trait of radio (Tolson, 2006: 11-14; Chignell, 2009: 83-85) this is

problematic. Wilby and Conroy (1994: 129) build on this, explaining that if the rustling of paper can be heard, or the vocal intonation does not appear natural, a metaphorical barrier between the presenter and the listener is created. This is problematic due to my earlier assertion that a key role of the presenter is to build this relationship. Therefore, it is common practice to disguise the scripted nature of speech (Tolson, 2006: 11; Crisell, 1994: 44; Wilby and Conroy, 1994: 129). This is achieved, for example, by practising the delivery of spoken content (Wilby and Conroy, 1994: 129) and writing their words in a way that would sound natural if spoken (Hendy, 2000: 156; Wilby and Conroy, 1994: 129). Evidencing the adaptability of the radio presenter, research by Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernández-Campoy (2007) suggests that presenters, whilst perhaps creating a script beforehand, change their language in response to the individual listener that they are speaking. In general, however, according to Hendy (2000: 157) the practice of scripting reveals that a 'spontaneous style' lacks true spontaneity and is instead crafted. He notes that the construction of their speech is improvised whilst drawing upon a small selection of formulaic phrases. Therefore, while seeming informal, radio talk is "constructed and institutionally controlled… [where] these institutional tasks therefore set strict limits on the spontaneity and freedom of all talk radio". Through this controlled, yet informal speech, Stiernstedt (2014: 297) notes that presenters "both recognize and deny authenticity within their performances" which highlights a direct juxtaposition.

Conversely, McLeish and Link (2016: 78) present a positive stance, arguing that the radio script can act as a safety net for the presenter, reducing their stress. They also assert that the preparation occurring through the creation of a script "provides the opportunity for thinking more deeply and creatively, adding substance, expressing ourselves more accurately, and developing the well-crafted memorable phrase". Consequently, while the notion of scripting could on the surface be seemingly uncreative, they emphasise that the time that it

allows presenters to think about, reflect on, and adjust their craft enables them to be creative.

Exploring the scripting of radio content is one example of a practice that the radio presenter

undertakes. The radio presenter's role is also influenced by the relationship that they have

with other staff at their station, and I continue my discussion of the radio workforce by

outlining the role of the radio producer.

1.3.2 The Radio Producer

Within radio production, "the responsibility for shaping and crafting overall programming

falls to a series of programme teams" (Wilby and Conroy 1994: 95). While a complex

programme may require more preparation and thus a larger team (Beaman, 2006: 19), Wilby

and Conroy (1994) highlight that this team primarily consists of a presenter and a producer.

Having summarised the role of the radio presenter I now transition to examine key features of

the radio producer's role as it forms a central element of my research and consequent analysis

in the later chapters of this thesis.

The role of the radio producer is questioned and discussed in a broad way within

academic literature. Reflecting on the position of radio producers Bonini and Gandini (2015:

138) refer to them as "invisible workers of the invisible medium". Hendy (2000: 73)

contributes to this point with an analysis of discourses that are constructed by producers

themselves about their role. He suggests that these individuals are:

> notoriously reluctant to explain their craft… because they see it, not as a *science* of
> clearly enunciated rules, but as an intuitive *art* born of long experience leading to the
> creation of some unspoken set of 'professional' standards implicitly understood as
> common sense for those involved.

Furthermore, Hendy (2000: 71) describes these individuals as "the all-encompassing

programme makers of radio". Despite this broad description, he notes three main

requirements of their role: to produce actuality, narratives and liveness.

One specific role of the radio producer that I discuss within this dissertation is their need to create "ideas for programmes or items, people to interview, pieces of music or subjects for discussion" (McLeish, 1994: 249). Idea generation is one such articulation of creativity that the research participants within this study conveyed. Specifically, McLeish (1994: 249) highlights that when producers are trained there is a focus on the notion that "ideas are not the product of routine, they need fresh inputs to the mind.". This creation of ideas, McLeish and Link (2016: 332) argue to be creative, through the creation of something new and innovative. However, McLeish (1994: 249) explains that ideas are still framed, for example, by the audience for whom they are creating content. Hendy (2000: 71) contributes to this, noting that producers must align ideas with the anticipated needs of their station's listenership; this places constraints on the extent to which the producer can be creative. Although, McLeish and Link (2016: 332) argue that to create new ideas the producer must simultaneously exist beyond the confines of the broadcasting world.

Once an idea has been generated, they are "… only the starting point of the production process" (Hendy, 2000: 73), and must be shaped in order to make them take a 'workable form', turning an idea into a piece of good radio. In the context of commercial music radio production, Ahlkvist (2001: 342) argues that the cultural environment of the radio worker is key, where the programmers rationalised and standardised knowledge guides their work. My research suggests that this innate knowledge also guides the work of those practitioners beyond commercial music radio production. By creating ideas and turning them into a workable form the producer must seek to "reconcile the desirable with the possible" (McLeish, 1994: 250). These constraints that frame their practice begin to demonstrate a very specific context within which radios' creativity must exist.

1.3.3 Station Managers

The role of the station manager is also a key theme of this study. In particular, one research participant previously worked as a manager for a community radio station, and they reflected on this role throughout our discussion. While the role of the manager differs slightly at each station, and I explore the particularities of this in later chapters, I want to use this section to highlight some key features of the role that are presented in academic literature.

Keith (2004: 56) posits that "a primary objective of the station manager is to operate in a manner that generates the most profit, while maintaining a positive and productive attitude among station employees". Generating profit is particularly key at commercial stations. Within the wider radio staffing structure, it is also recognised that station managers often answer to a higher authority, for example, Keith (2004: 57) explains that, where stations are owned by other companies, the station manager must report back to them. He notes that this shapes their role as they must meet their company's expectations, whilst also working within a budget and managing finance. To fulfil the remit of their role, the manager must have an awareness of 'brand values' and 'mission statements' which influence the decisions they make (Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea, 2010: 54). Where decisions are shaped by these factors, the formal influences of the radio environment are evident. In chapter seven, I argue that these factors present conditions that the radio worker must negotiate. Providing a further frame for the role of the manager, research by Kostera and Obloj (2010) on Polish radio managers, highlights that beyond their own station requirements, managers are consistently analysing the work of their competition to ensure the maintained success of their own station within the radio marketplace. At the same time, the managers they interviewed consistently asserted the uniqueness of their station as setting them apart from other stations, and so the unique nature of their station and its programming must be maintained.

It is the role of the station manager to manage their employees (Keith, 2004: 57), or volunteers (Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea, 2010: 46), and this is a key focus of my discussion in chapter seven. To achieve this element of their role, the manager often formulates station policies, and they may provide employees with a manual or handbook that outlines the station requirements within which these individuals must work (Keith, 2004: 56). Exploring the relationship between management and employees, Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea (2010: 58-59) provide a valuable discussion that ties to notions of radio's creativity. Specifically, they explain that "radio attracts creative and sometimes innovative people". They highlight that these individuals push the boundaries of acceptable content which causes difficulties for their managers.

These managers must work to align the creative desires of the presenters and producers with the wider requirements of the station. My research findings suggest that a particularly unique type of relationship exists between the manager and other individuals, where managers are not explicitly described as restricting the practice of radio practitioners. The work of Wilby and Conroy (1994: 93) provide one possible rationale for this. Exploring BBC, independent (commercial) and community stations, they believe that where there are less staff "the gap between senior management within a station and the lowliest programme maker is not great as all staff are usually involved in the activities that bring them close to actual broadcasting" (Wilby and Conroy, 1994: 93). As a result, a "pioneering spirit" of staff at a successful station can be encouraged through this personnel structure. This alludes to the importance of examining radio workers' positioning within a staffing structure, in order to explore its resulting impact on creative work.

Whilst the literature surveyed so far tends to place the emphasis on workers as creatives, with managers overseeing this, the research of Setiadi, Aafaqi and Ali (2007) provides an alternative view. Through their research of the creative behaviours of Indonesian

Radio Station Managers, they argue that due to the increasingly competitive radio environment, managers must encourage and foster creativity in-order to compete. Therefore, the managers that they researched demonstrated their own creative qualities, particularly when presenting new ideas to their staff. They argue that this desire for creativity comes from an intrinsic motivation to be creative, and consequently these individuals equally encourage the creativity of their workers.

1.3.4 Documentary Producer

Alongside the production of live radio content, the creation of pre-recorded content such as documentaries and radio dramas is also an integral aspect of the radio industry. McLeish and Link (2016: 319) state that radio documentaries "… are exciting and creative areas of radio…", and John Grierson (in Hendy, 2016: 08) terms them a "creative interpretation of reality". This section builds on this assertion to synthesise literature that explores the documentary producer's role, and highlights moments for innovation and creativity in this area of radio work. According to theorists such as Chignell (2009: 83-85) pre-recorded content creates a greater distance between the listeners and the radio content than live radio production does. Wilby and Conroy (1994: 31) attribute this to features of pre-recorded content, such as the framing of the human voice, the contextualisation created through background sounds, and technical treatment, such as fading or distorting the sounds. Specifically, the radio documentary, as Hendy (2000: 76-77) highlights, investigates a particular subject matter which cannot be explored using scientific analysis.

With these traits of pre-recorded content production in mind, the documentary producer possesses a different role from that of the radio presenter, manager and programme producer. Starkey (2004: 36-37) explores the role of the documentary producer and the significance of the first stage of documentary development. This stage of production involves

the generation of ideas (a process that also occurs when developing a small radio package). One of the key methods to facilitate the generation of ideas would typically be achieved through informal discussion or formal meetings, a theme I will discuss in more detail later in chapter seven. Production frameworks shape the documentary producer's role, where factors such as the aesthetic style of the network (Hendy, 2016: 10), the remit of the station and the duration that they are given must all be accounted for.

A further production framework is explored by Noske-Turner (2012: 181) in her research of participatory radio documentary production in Australia. She states: "the producer role moves towards facilitation and amplification, technical, organizational and creative within the bounds of integrity for the meaning conveyed by participants". Researching the documentary *One Blood* she reflects on the relationship between participants and the producer, highlighting the importance of "collaborative and respectful media and research practices" (177), which can be achieved through a working relationship with documentary participants who can be given a level of control within the production of their stories and their mediated representations.

Having developed an idea, as Hendy (2000: 74) claims, the producers must ensure their embodiment through sound, which I will explore as one of the key conventions of radio that workers negotiate. Reflecting on the development of portable sound recorders, producers can collect real sounds which Hendy (2000: 74) suggests make "the aural experience of the listener more vivid, more three-dimensional, more colourful", thereby creating a sense of 'actuality'. Although, Street (2015: 31-32) challenges this notion to some extent, suggesting that sounds on radio are constructed, consequently blending "the real and the abstract, the factual and the mythic".

The recording techniques used by documentary producers are explored by Wilby and Conroy (1994: 123-124), who highlight that the positioning of the microphone orientates the

listener with the radio text. In this sense, effective microphone usage considers the location of the recording, the recording level, and the distance between the microphone and the speaker. However, they also note the possibilities of creative microphone usage. Individuals who seek to create what they term 'creative radio', do "not regard technology as merely a channel for the communicative performance in front of the microphone, but as a medium in the sense that clay is a medium for the artistic ceramicist". Techniques that can be used creatively include positioning the microphone in particular ways, in order to pick-up sounds that may otherwise be unheard (Wilby and Conroy, 1994: 124).

Once the content has been collected the documentary producer subsequently undertakes an editing process (Starkey, 2004: 209-212). Where the purpose of documentaries is described by theorists such as Starkey (2004: 207) as storytelling, Wilby and Conroy (1994: 170) explain that sound effects, music clips and background noises are compiled in a way that contributes to the story that is being told. McLeish and Link (2016: 44) argue that this process can be "for creative effect to produce new juxtapositions of speech, music, sound and silence". Through this they explicitly tie the editing process to notions of creativity.

Starkey (2004: 206) explores the framing of the radio documentary producers work, highlighting that they must "choose between a variety of conventions and styles in order to make documentaries which suit different contexts and target audiences". However, whilst he emphasises conventions of production which seemingly suggests a framing of radio work, he also recognises that documentary production has the potential to innovate (Starkey, 2004: 209). In particular he draws attention to the use of Soundscape Production: a "discrete genre [that] was the focus of the World Soundscape Project, which explored the impact of technology on naturally-occurring ambient sound" (Starkey, 2004: 212). Within this genre of production, Starkey notes that individuals experiment with sound, stretching the notion of realism, for example, by scraping objects to convey their texture aurally, or by collecting

sounds that would otherwise be unheard. While these are examples of innovative radio, his discussion of documentaries concludes by revisiting the need to consider the framing of documentary production work. Specifically, he highlights particular constrictions of this work including ethics, reporting restrictions, libel and copyright implications (Starkey, 2004: 218-226). This discussion of documentary production, therefore, evidences one way that academic literature recognises the environmental context in which radio work and, consequently, it's creativity is framed. While this section has provided an overview of the role of the documentary producer, the radio workforce is also changing and distinctions between roles are becoming blurred.

1.3.5 A Changing Radio Workforce

In this chapter so far, I have used academic literature to explore the nature of radio as a medium, looked more broadly at the radio industry, and outlined the specific roles that are a key focus of this dissertation. While these roles can be considered as distinct, there are also common features of radio work that workers across these roles all experience. This section will, therefore, reflect more generally on the nature of work within the radio industry.

Research of media industries work recognises a shift in employment, with increasing fragmentation, precariousness and insecurity (Deuze, 2007; Mayer, Banks and Caldwell, 2009). In the context of the radio industry, Starkey (2004: 05) highlights that whilst staff on permanent contracts may have the greatest level of job security, "…even large and relatively stable organizations such as the BBC can decide to make redundancies". Precarity is a trait of work that creative workers from across the creative industries experience, therefore, radio workers can be framed as creative workers and situated among debates about creative industries labour. Seeking to understand why radio producers accept their exploitative employment conditions, the research of Bonini and Gandini (2015: 85) is helpful.

Researching the precarious employment environment of the radio worker, they recognise four traits that make the radio producer unique. These traits are invisibility, passion, unbrandedness and solidarity. Using Jenkins' (1992) theories surrounding fandom, they claim that fandom motivates production workers who are seeking a career within the radio industry. This fandom results in an acceptance of the negative traits of their work, which includes exploitation and insecurity.

Due to the changing radio employment landscape, it is recognised in academic research that workers in radio are now expected, and required, to be multi-skilled (Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea, 2010: 42; Starkey, 2004: 05; Marjoribanks, 2003: 69; Carter and Coley, 2012: 57). Hendy (2000: 66-69) contributes to this notion, asserting that companies facilitate this by developing flexible structures, and requiring smaller teams of multi-skilled staff who can use technology that can be adapted to meet their needs. This can be framed as positive, providing flexibility and adaptability for all station staff (Wilby and Conroy, 1994: 94). Conversely, Hendy (2000: 66-69) argues that a rise in short-term contracts is a negative repercussion.

Multi-skilled work is further explored in literature arguing that distinctions between separate roles are now becoming blurred (Cottle, 2003: 135; Hendy, 2000). Muoio (2000: 152) and Hausman et al (2007: 13) attribute this to cost-cutting measures, where radio companies recruit fewer individuals. The individuals they do employ must consequently be highly skilled, and a priority is placed on creative ability which obliges staff to work creatively to justify their role. Carter and Coley (2012: 57) therefore recognise that radio workers are now required to be multi-skilled members of staff. Using the radio producer as a specific example, Hendy (2000: 70) highlights that they now undertake every role within the programme production process. As a result, they have a greater involvement with all areas of the production process, embodying roles including "researcher, director, producer, editor,

sound recordist…studio operator and presenter" (Hendy, 2000: 69-70). Hendy (2000: 70), therefore, highlights that producers often make a programme from start to finish, and this includes tasks such as generating ideas and sourcing content (McLeish, 1994: 249). By undertaking multiple tasks within their role, individual radio workers can be embedded within debates from creative industries literature surrounding creative labour. I began this chapter by exploring the radio industry and factors that frame it. Following this I discussed the workers that negotiate this industry, outlining their specific roles and the nature of radio industry employment. I now look more specifically at the station environment that frames their work by exploring principles of formatting, branding and identity.

1.4 Station Formatting, Branding and Identity

To understand the wider station environment that frames the work of the individual practitioner, it is productive to account for the formatting and branding that is used to create a station identity. These factors result in several structures and stylistic guidelines that must be adhered to when broadcast output is planned and created. A format is defined as "a way of organizing the total output of a radio station according to market segmentation of listeners" (Garner, 2003: 451). Hendy (2000: 95) summarises the three types of formatting that are used by the radio industry. The first, which I introduced earlier, is the overall station format that outlines the style of the station. The second is the specific template that is created for each individual show, which I explore shortly. Finally, Hendy (2000: 95) highlights that formatting also results from the scheduling of programmes which organises the order and length of broadcasts on a daily, weekly and annual basis. I explore each of these in turn, starting with a brief discussion of literature that mentions the latter.

Scheduling within the radio industry serves a purpose of creating "regularized patterns" of broadcasts (Hendy, 2000: 95), which is achieved through the imposition of

programming rules (Berland, 1990: 181; Greve, 1996: 39). Earlier, I identified that radio has been developed as a lifestyle medium, and Wilby and Conroy (1994: 194) relate this to scheduling by arguing that, to embed radio within the listeners' lifestyles, a schedule of programmes are created that fit with the work and leisure activities of their audience. Building on this notion, Hilmes (1997) terms radio scheduling a "social practice grounded in culture", where genres of radio were created for imagined communities with distinct day and evening outputs. For example, music radio genres are argued to form communities of listening (Krogh and Michelsen, 2019). Outlining two main types of scheduling, Wilby and Conroy (1994: 194) discuss sequence programming and strip programming. Sequence programming involves the broadcast of a particular type of programme at set times. This can vary from a magazine format to a news-based show or a radio drama. According to Wilby and Conroy, this type of programming is most commonly used by the BBC as it provides listeners with a clear entry and exit point for listening, enabling the listener to organise their daily routines around their radio listening preferences. Strip programming is an alternative type of scheduling that enables the stations to maximise its audience "by broadcasting a seamless flow of live output" (Wilby and Conroy, 1994: 194). Discussing this in more depth they explain that each programme runs for a set time and combines speech and/or music that transitions into the next programme. This results in continuous delivery of content.

The radio format also shapes the type of content that a station broadcasts, and this section revisits literature regarding this topic to further explore its purpose. The format evidences the agreement that stations in the UK have made with OfCom regarding their remit. It also outlines the "entirety of programming structure, content and form" (Hellman and Vilkko, 2017: 30). Furthermore, Hellman and Vilkko (2017: 30) explain that the type of format selected is often based "on the musical offering of a narrow playlist, and is designed deliberately according to the age, gender and attraction of the target group at which the

programming is aimed". Targeting a specific audience demographic is crucial where an increasing number of stations are seeking to gain attention from a limited audience (Keith, 2004: 84). By choosing a defined format, stations can brand themselves and create a particular identity. They may, for example, choose a mass appeal format or a 'subformat' that serves a niche audience through narrower programming (Ahlkvist, 2001: 343). This is referred to in literature as 'narrowcasting', as opposed to 'broadcasting' (Hendy, 2000: 31; Ahlkvist, 2001: 343). By defining themselves in a particular way through their format, stations create boundaries that frame the programming and content of broadcasted output.

Programming across the radio landscape is further limited due to the argument that stations "cluster… around a few recurring formats" (Hendy, 2000: 31), which are represented through the terms that stations use. As explored by Wall (2019: 383) from the 1920s the output of radio was "dominated by adapting the genres of other forms of public entertainment and information", with an aim to attract new listeners (Rothenbuhler and McCourt, 2002). Stations therefore employ phrases such as 'Talk Radio', 'Real Country Radio', 'Classic Rock' and 'More music-less talk' (Donthu and Rust, 1994: 02). Keith (2004: 84-98) provides a detailed exploration of some of the most frequently employed formats in radio, stating that they include Adult Contemporary, Contemporary Hit Radio, Country, Easy Listening/Smooth Jazz, Rock and Alternative, News, Talk and Sports, FM Talk, Classic/Oldie/Nostalgia, Urban Contemporary, Classical, Religious/Christian, Ethnic (Black and Hispanic), Full Service, Niche Formats and Radio Theatre. By using these terms, Donthu and Rust (1994: 02) highlight that stations can express "both the general format types they have chosen and their unique interpretations of those formats". These choices, they explain, are often derivative of their positioning statements which describe the image of the station and outline the station's difference from its competitors.

Alongside branding and identity creation, academic literature presents additional suggestions surrounding the purpose of formatting. It is argued that it provides standardisation and predictability of content (McCourt and Rothenbuhler, 1987: 106; Chignell, 2009: 125). This connects with the audience generation focus of radio by acting as a strategic tool which creates a "…listening community of its own" (Hellman and Vilkko, 2017: 30). Formats create predictable content, providing familiarity for the listener and fulfilling audience expectations. These expectations, Norberg (1996: 04) highlights, are often based on the stations previous broadcasts. Connecting with my earlier discussion of the radio presenter, Karpf (2013: 67-68) notes that the very voice of a presenter contributes to the sense of routine that is conveyed to the listener through a station's scheduling.

Reflecting on the role of formats in a commercial radio environment, Fornatale and Mills (1980: 61) provide an additional view, stating that "the purpose of…formats is to enable radio stations to deliver to advertisers a measured and defined group of consumers, known as a segment". McCourt and Rothenbuhler (1987: 106) explain that this provides reassurance for advertisers surrounding their financial investment, as they are guaranteed to reach their target audience. Chignell (2009: 25) proposes that "… the only criteria by which to judge a radio station is the number of listeners who are 'sold' to the advertisers", which illuminates the role of radio as a business.

When seeking to explore radio's creativity, it is important to note the existence of formatting as it has specific implications for the space that practitioners have to negotiate their role and be creative. Wilby and Conroy (1994: 64), for instance, highlight that branding a station through a format "might appear to create a straightjacket for each station – establishing a formula of music and speech such that virtually every note of music played or word uttered appears to reflect a pre-determined and described brand image". Furthermore, they suggest that "once a plan has become established, stations aim as much as possible to

keep it consistent" (Wilby and Conroy, 1994: 195). It is of note, however, that they continue to highlight that in reality branding in this way does not need to be framed as a constraint. Instead, they suggest that it provides 'guidelines' for presenters, shaping their choices but not constraining them. In contrast, Hendy (2000: 110) argues that the aim to create predictable content is problematic as it enforces "a powerful array of constraints upon the producer's room for creativity", consequently making production a routine activity. The producer's room for creativity is also influenced by the formatting of the specific programme that they create.

While a station as a whole will have a format and programming schedule, individual programmes are also planned to some extent and have a structure. Discussing the planning that is required to create a live broadcast, McLeish and Link (2016: 214-221) note that it involves making decisions about the different programme elements, including music, speech and features. Wilby and Conroy (1994: 203-204) also discuss three types of content that programmes can include: fixed-time items, such as advertisements, the news or weather report, that must always be broadcast at the same time. Other fixed-time items may be more specific to the type of station or show, for example, sports results, shipping movements or financial market trends (McLeish and Link, 2016: 214). Secondly, fixed duration items, which can include pre-recorded packages or music that runs for a set duration, and thirdly, flexible start times and durations; these are items that the presenter has reasonable control over and can finish promptly if needed. However, while their use of the phrase 'flexible' could be seen to align with notions of creativity, as I explore in chapter five, it is important to note that Wilby and Conroy (1994) point out that this flexibility is often within a minute or two.

The structure of a show often results from a 'production template', which Hendy (2000: 70) notes "can accommodate changing content within a recurring structure, and by the locking of programmes to regular transmission time slots…". This, he explains, is necessary

due to the "sheer magnitude of broadcast output, twenty-four hours a day for 365 days a year". The long-term sustainability of the station, therefore, requires a template to ensure cost and time efficiency. For Wilby and Conroy (1994: 203), structuring a programme in this way creates a style for the programme, consequently producing 'ground rules'. Where these ground rules are created, the scheduling of content results in what Hendy (2000: 94) terms the 'routinization of production'. He argues that this also results from the adoption of familiar production habits, and this combination, he notes, enables effortless production practices. Despite this, Beaman (2006: 58-59) believes that imagination and creativity is still required, whilst recognising that producers can easily "slip into those short-cut routines for the sake of time saving, simplicity and an easy life". Radio formatting and scheduling are a key focus in my discussion of radio's creativity in chapter six. I also explore the radio clock and the pre-scheduled playlist as these are specific elements of production that contribute to radio's formatting. I will discuss each of these in the next sections of this chapter.

1.4.1 The Radio Clock

The formatting of radio results from several factors that I have explored in this chapter, the overall station format, the weekly schedule and the programme format that is chosen. There are two additional factors to which my research draws attention. These shape radio's output and provide boundaries that the individual practitioner must negotiate; the use of a radio 'clock' and the creation of a pre-scheduled playlist. Recognising that scheduling of a station and the programming of particular shows are key to a station's overall success, Keith (2004: 106) notes that "with few exceptions stations use some kind of formula in the conveyance of their programming material". This formula often results in segmentation, which Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea (2010: 141) explain is the division of a programme into easily digestible parts. Radio practitioners often visualise this division of content by creating a 'clock-format'

for each hour of their show (Keith, 2004: 106-114; Hendy, 2000: 95-96; McLeish, 1994: 158; Crisell, 1994: 73). This format allows the practitioner to plot at specific times the elements that will be included within an hour of their programme. It provides a framework that ensures all required features, for example, radio adverts, have been included (Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea, 2010: 144). Keith (2004: 107) also highlights that news stations may instead create a 20-minute clock-format, as this is more appropriate for the amount and type of content that they broadcast.

Exploring the use of the clock-format in-depth, Keith (2004: 106) highlights that stations use it to differing extents. Some stations provide elaborate detail, while others outline a basic overview of their shows. Regardless of the level of detail, Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea (2010: 144) posit that the creation of a clock is beneficial for the presenter as they can refer to it throughout their show. Consequently, this enables them to "…spot when their timings are going adrift, and to do something about it". This is crucial because, as argued by Wilby and Conroy (1994: 208), "broadcasters are slaves to time".

In seeking to understand creativity in radio, it is important to reflect on the role of the radio clock as it presents a boundary that limits the freedom individuals have to negotiate the type and order of content featured in a broadcast. Keith (2004: 109) argues that they help "keep a station on a pre-ordained path and prevent wandering", and Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea (2010: 141) explain that they create an underlying structure for the programme that should consistently be used. This suggests limited space for flexibility or spontaneity. Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea (2010: 144), however, propose that while the schedule for an individual programme does provide a framework, it can be recognised as facilitating spontaneity as it allows the presenter or producer to include additional items, and know which element of planned content they can remove to enable this change.

1.4.2 The Music Playlist

In addition to the clock-format, radio broadcasts are also shaped through the music policies and playlists of particular stations; this is one frame of practice that the participants in this research described. Radio has an important relationship with the music industry, as Frith (2002: 41) asserts "radio is still the most important source of popular music discourse, defining genres and genre communities, shaping music history and nostalgia, determining what we mean by "popular" music in the first place". For individual stations, the music selected helps contribute to their identity and may be guided by the station format, and a number of formats specifically revolve around the music that a station plays (Krogh and Michelsen, 2019: 06). Wilby and Conroy (1994: 50) highlight that a production team is responsible for the overall music programming at a station. This centralisation of a music policy ensures consistency in the type of music that is broadcast across all programmes at a station (Hendy, 2000: 102), and helps one programme flow into the next (Wilby and Conroy, 1994: 50). Although, as Wall (2019: 384) asserts, "radio playlists still reflect marketing strategies". When selecting music Wilby and Conroy (1994: 50) outline three key principles that influence the need for a music policy. Music is expensive, music is not an easy way to fill the broadcast hours and, furthermore, they argue that the function of music within a radio programme is not to provide a break from speech. Therefore, they note that while music may be used when presenters are swapping over in the studio, or preparing a guest for an interview, this should not be regarded as its primary purpose.

Once a music policy for a station has been agreed, most stations create a 'playlist' which often includes a selection of songs, around forty, that they want to play within a particular period of time (Wilby and Conroy, 1994: 51). A simple purpose of a pre-scheduled music playlist is to facilitate time management control of the music that a station plays (Hendy, 2000: 168). The music that is included or excluded from a station's playlist can

determine the tastes of the audience. Barnard (2000: 13), therefore, terms its creation "gatekeeping in its purest form", and Ahlkvist (2001) reflects that music selection requires expertise. Long's (2007) analysis of John Peel highlights the role that the radio presenter has as a tastemaker for their station's audience. Contributing to this, Barber's (2010: 57) research demonstrates that music programmers exist within a discursive field which enables them to construct knowledge about how their music choices will connect with their station's listeners. Specifically exploring the smooth jazz radio format in America, his research argues that the use of audience research is key to the station's ability to meet their expectations and needs. Ahlkvist (2001: 347) argues that "…programmers must compromise their personal preferences in order to satisfy the less sophisticated taste of the majority of the station's listeners". This demonstrates the criticality of the listeners' response, to the point that it shapes practice.

Once a music policy and playlist has been generated, stations may use a computer system that pre-schedules the music for each programme. This scheduling achieves the overall station sound to keep listeners listening to one station (Wall, 2019: 384). This computer system serves several functions, which, as Wilby and Conroy (1994: 51) summarise, involves an individual inputting description related to fixed criteria such as duration, year and vocal type for each song. The system will also have programmed "specifications of the sound that the radio station wishes to feature at different times of day… [and] also accounts for variety and pace and style etc…". Stations often have three playlists, where "A list records get played once a programme, or even hourly on high rotation stations; B list records several times a day; and C list records may only get one or two plays per day" (Wall, 2019: 384). This results in a predictability of music for a station (Wall, 2019: 384), but means that the radio presenter and producer have limited control over the music that they broadcast as part of their show, particularly for day-time presenters. The work of Douglas

(1999: 347) explores this and argues that the pre-scheduled playlist has created 'the age of the mechanical DJ's'. She also highlights that this is further enforced by the scripting of speech, or the pre-selection of a topic of conversation by a producer who consequently dictates the role of the presenter. Providing a contrasting view, Hendy (2000: 170) suggests that the role of the presenter is still critical as audiences are interested in the way that the presenter frames the music through their spoken content. Furthermore, Keith (2004: 110) suggests that some stations may provide their presenter with greater control, and where a presenter is increasing ratings, the station may offer them increased input surrounding music selection. Despite this, he concludes "… even in these cases, playlists generally are provided and followed". The music policy of a station and the pre-scheduled playlist, are therefore, examples of elements of radio production that shape the work of individual practitioners, limiting the space that they have to negotiate their role.

1.5 Conclusion: The Creativity of Radio?

Chapter one has explored literature surrounding the radio industry; through this I have focused on how we might understand the existence and framing of creativity in this context. To move beyond considering creativity as 'output', I have looked at literature that highlights the roles of individuals working in radio, the production practices that they undertake, and the wider industry environment that shapes their work. I began this chapter by considering what radio is, noting that academic literature recognises the complex nature of radio's characteristics, most notably due to its changing and adaptable nature (Fleming, 2010; Shingler and Wieringna, 1998; Tacchi, 2000; Hilmes, 2002). Despite this I have demonstrated that there are several features that make radio recognisable as radio. This includes radio's distinction from other forms of media due to its blindness as a medium (Crisell, 1994), where speech is the primary signifier of its output, which forms a unique

relationship with its audience. These features of radio shape the work of the individual practitioner, for example the act of tailoring their speech to address their audience members individually. This provides an important point of exploration, as this creates a boundary that the radio practitioner must work within, which ultimately shapes the space that they have to be creative.

Following this, I summarised literature that discusses the nature of the UK radio industry, which is the focus of this research. This industry incorporates a number of broadcasting models, although I paid particular attention to commercial, community and public service broadcasting as these are the focus of this dissertation. Each broadcasting model, as I have demonstrated, is unique, yet they also exist within the same external environmental factors. Specifically, I explored funding, ownership and regulation, and outlined the ways that each of these factors shape this industry. Literature on this topic does not explicitly relate to creativity, but I have noted that environmental factors must be considered in any attempt to understand radio's creativity, as they provide a framework for practice which limits the freedom that practitioners have to negotiate their role.

Having outlined the nature of radio as a medium and as an industry, I explored literature that situates radio workers as an integral part of this. I summarised the roles that I explore in more depth towards the latter stages of this dissertation: the radio presenter, producer, manager and documentary producer. I paid particular attention to certain practices that these individuals undertake, practices that begin to illuminate the space for, and nature of creativity within the radio industry. In the discussion of radio workers and practice I have presented academic literature that explicitly refers to radio's creativity. However, this literature does not question the nature of this creativity, and the research in this dissertation addresses this absence of consideration.

Focusing on these areas of radio studies this chapter demonstrates that while discussions of radio's creativity do exist within academic literature, they often use the word 'creativity' without questioning its meaning. Furthermore, where this literature lacks engagement with radio as creative practice, this is surprising due to its presence in policy discourse as a creative industry. A gap in literature, therefore, exists that this dissertation responds to, drawing on academic discussions of radio and using these alongside the qualitative data that this research has collected. Through this, I explore radio practitioners' articulations of their practice as creative and the nature of creativity in the radio industry more generally. By focusing on both radio and creativity, this research sits at an intersection between radio studies and creative industries studies. Therefore, the next chapter synthesises academic literature to discuss the nature of creativity and the creative industries. I look more specifically at the concept of creativity and survey literature that presents several different framings of the concept.

CHAPTER TWO
CREATIVITY AND THE CREATIVE INDUSTRIES

This chapter explores academic literature from the field of creativity and creative industries research. In the previous chapter, I noted that creativity in the radio industry has remained a loosely defined concept (Wilby and Conroy, 1994: 19) and radio studies literature does not explicitly consider the meaning of creativity within this industry. I explored academic understandings of radio and discussions about the role of radio workers and the station and industry environments that they negotiate. This dissertation is positioned at an intersection between two fields of research, and this chapter looks more specifically at the concept of creativity and surveys literature that presents several framings of this notion. This is significant because radio has consistently been positioned in policy as a creative industry, for example, by the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport in their mapping of these industries. However, academic literature that explores the nature of creativity and creative industries has limited reference points, often focusing on creativity within areas such as fine art or jewellery design (Sawyer, 2006: 05). Consequently, radio is regularly excluded from, or marginalised in these academic discussions. This chapter responds by synthesising this literature and reflecting on the ways that these articulations of creativity align with the nature of radio as explored in chapter one. Through this I introduce several ways that radio's creativity may be recognised, and I explore these throughout this dissertation.

I begin by highlighting a number of ways that literature frames the concept of creativity, where I demonstrate that it is productive to frame it beyond a focus on the individual creative genius. Following this, I turn to creative industries literature to present a useful framing for the use of creativity that I adopt within this dissertation. In doing so, I

explore commercial, industry and workplace framings of creativity and briefly reflect on what this means for the individual in terms of their practice, processes and positioning within a network of relationships. Exploring these areas of creative industries studies demonstrates that a gap in literature exists, due to a lack of consideration regarding radio's creativity. It is this gap that this research responds to, and in chapters four to seven I combine the literature explored in this chapter and the previous one, with narratives from individual radio workers. Through this, I explore the way that the radio industry defines, practices and negotiates creativity.

2.1 Creativity

The first section of this chapter will summarise academic literature that explores the concept of creativity. These are important to outline as they demonstrate the varied conceptualisations that exist in current research. Consequently, this demonstrates the difficulty that occurs when seeking to define creativity and begins to evidence the gap in literature that this dissertation fills by researching creativity as aligned with the specificities of radio work.

Creativity is a focus of creative industry policy and, beyond a field of academic research, it is a focus of public interest and professional expertise (Pope, 2005: 25). In particular, it is noted that creativity is seen as desirable and a trait everyone should aim to possess (McGuigan, 2010: 323). As Bilton and Leary (2002: 49) explain, "creativity has become both the language and currency of today's knowledge economy". Therefore, they assert that creativity is desirable for organisations, industries and individuals. Consequently, they assert that it is unlikely that any of these would admit to being uncreative. Therefore, the importance and value of creativity is recognised. However, accounting for both academic and policy discussions, Bakhshi, Freeman and Higgs (2013: 06) suggest that there is a lack of clarity surrounding the concept of 'creativity' itself.

Studies of creativity have been problematised by theorists such as Sawyer (2006: 05) who explains that many limit their focus to "…those art forms most highly valued in the West". As a result, these studies accept culturally and historically specific values that construct a form of bias. For example, there is an emphasis on fine art painting "…rather than decorative painting, graphic arts, or animation". Radio is one area of the creative industries that is similarly absent or marginalised within studies of creativity. Recognising this tradition of research, Sawyer (2006) argues that we must discard this bias in order to explain the broad nature of creativity that exists across societies, cultures and historical time periods. However, in doing so there is a danger of broadening our focus too much, something that is acknowledged by McGuigan (2010: 323). He argues, that while creativity was previously attributed to a select few individuals, it has now become the case that everyone can, to some extent, be seen as creative. Additionally, he claims that "it is such a good thing that we can hardly say what it is", and this blurred boundary has diminished all specificity of the concept. This is significant because it presents a challenge that academic research of creativity must address, and this dissertation responds by gathering individualised articulations surrounding the tangible manifestation of creativity within the radio industry.

Creativity is now explored in a wide variety of academic fields. According to Hennessey and Amabile (2010), this includes explorations of: definitions and management, the creativity of products, the creativity of persons, neurological/ biological basis, affect, cognition and training, individual differences, individual differences in intelligence, gender differences, psychopathology, groups and teams, creativity in workplace groups, work group diversity, the social psychology of creativity and social environments. Each field of research, and the context in which they explore creativity, presents different framings and articulations of it. This is acknowledged by Bilton and Leary (2002: 49), who research the varied meanings of the concept in different contexts. Through this, they highlight that "in business,

managers and academics use "creativity" to indicate an organisation's capacity for innovation, flexibility and autonomy", whereas "in education, creativity has spread beyond its original context of arts based subjects and is used to refer to a generalised ability to solve problems and generate new concepts across the entire curriculum". For them, creativity is complex and non-linear, which, as a result, is exhibited in academic literature as multifaceted, often seen as a good, value or commodity (Bilton and Leary, 2002: 52-61). Likewise, in her study of creativity within the community arts, Thornham (2014: 537) posits that "while the term is deployed within policy and organisational practice, it also has a longstanding position within community arts practices as a method of engagement". More precisely, she explains that in policy creativity can be seen as a productive outcome, but within the third sector community organisation that she researched, creativity is better framed as a process or method evidenced through practice.

In his exploration of entrepreneurship, Florida (2002: 03) similarly describes creativity as "multifaceted and multidimensional" and presents three interrelated types of activities that provide a sense of what creativity may incorporate: "(1) technological creativity or innovation, (2) economic creativity or entrepreneurship, and (3) artistic and cultural creativity". Presenting creativity as multidimensional, Florida posits that these three areas of creativity are mutually dependent, and each must exist to reinforce the other. With these varied framings of creativity offered in literature an unspecific conceptualisation of creativity is widely acknowledged in academia (McGuigan, 2010; Jackson and Messick, 1965; Besemer and Treffinger, 1981: 158-178; Bilton and Leary, 2002; Florida, 2002; Sawyer, 2006). Therefore, Bilton (2010: 258) asserts that "paradox and contradiction are at the core of most theoretical definitions of creativity".

Because creativity can be presented as unspecific and multidimensional, the rest of this chapter does not intend to define it absolutely. Instead, I present a repertoire of ways that

theorists have explained and conceptualised creativity to develop a more specific and productive understanding of the notion. Through this, I highlight the frames and spheres that are discussed in literature and provide a number of ways this could be applied to the radio industry. This chapter also establishes a framework of creativity that influences my methodological approach and frames my analysis later in this dissertation.

2.1.2 The Ideology of the Creative Individual

One discourse of creativity that exists in academic literature ties creativity to the individual (as explored by theorists such as McGuigan, 2010; Saywer, 2006 and Bilton, 2010). Traditionally creativity was associated with the Gods (Sawyer, 2006: 12) and, consequently, as highlighted by McGuigan (2010: 323) in his exploration of creative labour, it was perceived as "a special attribute, something unusual and rare, confined to only a select few – in origin, God-given". Summarising more recent perceptions of individual creatives by using the example of the artist, Sawyer (2006: 12) explains a common belief that they,

> …work alone. They're blessed with a special gift or genius. They have a uniquely valuable message to communicate and generally have a relatively high social status. We believe that artworks should be signed by their creators; knowing who created a work is important to us….

Through this example, Sawyer (2006: 16) alludes to a framing of creativity that becomes romanticised. More specifically, his work notes that The Romantics believed creativity to be "a regression to a state of consciousness characterized by emotion and instinct, a fusion between self and world, and freedom from rationality and convention". This transitions to a heroic model of creativity which places a hierarchical privilege on 'exceptional individuals' with an innate ability to be creative (Bilton, 2010: 259). This ability, Sawyer (2006: 15) suggests, is innate as it evolves from their irrational unconscious. From this perspective, individuals are acknowledged as the primary source for creativity, creative and new ideas, and innovation (Mumford, 2000: 315; Mumford et al, 2002: 706). They are also presented in

literature as possessing tacit knowledge (Hansen et al, 1999). This literature places an emphasis on the creation of ideas, rather than recognising a long process of idea development and application. Furthermore, the heroic model favours "the individualistic, irrational process of 'divergent thinking'" (Bilton, 2010: 259). Divergent thinking, as explored by Sawyer (2006: 44- 45), produces multiple answers to a problem and is what sets creativity apart from intelligence, which requires convergent thinking to produce one correct answer.

The heroic model is mirrored at government policy level, evidenced through the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport's (DCMS, 2001: 03) attempt to define the creative industries, which emphasises a focus on "individual creativity, skill and talent". Reviewing the prominence on the individual in policy, Bilton (2010: 257 - 259) notes an assumption that the individual creative has the ability to transform the world around them. He highlights a theme in policy that demonstrates this; a belief that "by focusing policies on the creative elite, benefits will trickle down to an uncreative majority" (Bilton, 2010: 260). Reflecting on the individual emphasis in organisations, literature notes that companies acknowledge and encourage individual creativity (Pratt and Jeffcutt, 2007: 04; Sawyer, 2006: 04; Mumford et al, 2002: 706).

The heroic model also favours ideas of a creative genius, a traditional view which Bilton and Leary (2002: 54) assert is often supported in popular culture where producers fail to account for the collective nature of creative work. Consequently, this presents a "convenient way of branding disparate cultural products". As a result, they posit that managers frame their approach to creativity through this:

> Creativity is person-centred not process-oriented; innovation is privileged over value; intuition is prized over rational decision-making; ideas emerge suddenly and "spontaneously", not from evolutionary "incremental" processes.

The belief that this is beneficial for the creative individual, who may be exempt from organisational rules and can concentrate on their own work forms a key part of these

discussions. Additionally, they suggest that these individuals can delegate problems beyond their immediate task to management (Bilton and Leary, 2002: 55). Their research also illuminates negative implications and proposes that when creativity is approached this way, recruitment and training is often seen as a method to enhance workplace creativity. As a result, companies fail to focus on changing the environment that individuals work within by, for example, reviewing processes and systems. Therefore, they assert that this is problematic and highlight the importance of reframing these views of creativity due to the impact that this ideological framing can have in the real world.

More recently academic literature has shifted towards the discreditation of romanticised, heroic and genius framings of the individual creative (Weisberg, 1986; Shalley, 1991; Mumford et al, 2002; Sawyer, 2006). For example, Sawyer (2006: 53) notes that the heroic model of creativity overlooks the complex motives for creative work, where "creativity rarely comes in a sudden burst of insight" (Sawyer, 2006: 18). Therefore, he argues that creative individuals should instead be framed as hardworking and intrinsically motivated. In response to literature that presents a need to move beyond a focus on the individual's association with creativity, academics present the concept in a number of different ways. This includes an understanding of creativity as evidenced via output, explorations of the practices and process of creativity, and the embedding of creativity within a workplace and industry environment. I summarise literature that relates to each of these throughout this chapter, and the next section focuses on the proposition that creativity can be evidenced through output.

2.1.3 Creativity as Output

Alongside individualised discussions of creativity, another frame that is presented in literature links the concept with outputs (O'Connor, 1999; Hirsch, 2000; Caves, 2002; Kaufman, 2004; Bilton and Leary, 2002, 2004; Sawyer, 2006; Jones et al, 2015; Wreen,

2015; Boden, 1990). In seeking to define creativity, Jones et al (2015: 04) align with this framing by placing their emphasis on creative products, which are "…the artefacts and offerings of creative industries including physical items, performances, services and deliverables to clients". Furthermore, they argue that to define creative outputs in this way, the link between the output and the creator must be acknowledged. In particular, they propose that products can be classed as creative when the creation of them enables the artist to generate new meanings and experiences. This type of output is also referred to in literature as a 'symbolic good' (O'Connor, 1999; Bilton and Leary, 2002; Galloway and Dunlop, 2007). In his definition of the cultural industries, O'Connor (1999: 05) explains that these goods are those "…whose primary economic value is derived from their cultural value". More recently, theorists such as Bilton and Leary (2002) agree that this definition is important but suggest that the primary use of communicating ideas is also a defining characteristic of symbolic goods.

Theorists that explore creativity through a discourse of output share a recognition that creative outputs can be consumed and experienced, which connects the creator to the audience. O'Connor (1999: 38) posits that this act of consumption produces the meaning that sets symbolic goods apart from other outputs, as it requires more than a simple economic exchange. As a result, these goods invite value-based judgements (Bilton and Leary, 2002) surrounding their creativity (Jones et al, 2015).

For other theorists it is the originality of output that distinguish it as creative (Caves, 2002; Kaufman, 2004; Sawyer, 2006; Boden, 1990; Wreen, 2015). For example, Kaufman (2004) highlights that most literature considers creative action to be creative when it produces a useful or novel output. The work of Caves (2002: 04) contributes to this point, suggesting that for an activity to be deemed creative, the creator undertaking it will have placed a focus on an original output resulting from their work. It is this originality, or the generation of new

output, that Boden (1990) claims distinguishes creative products from alternative products. However, it can be argued that originality or novelty is not enough to characterise creative outputs. As Sawyer (2006: 27) explains, "…a novel idea may be ridiculous or nonsensical"; therefore, novelty must be coupled with appropriateness by having value to a group of people. Additionally, Wreen (2015: 892) posits that the novel properties of an output must be coupled with an interest.

These discussions are productive as one framing of creativity. However, to understand the creativity of radio more specifically and as manifested throughout this dissertation, I want to move beyond value-based judgements of creativity that would explore radio broadcasts and output. Instead, this dissertation seeks to investigate the manifestation and understanding of creativity in the radio industry, and it is work and activity-based discussions that are particularly beneficial. Therefore, I will synthesise academic literature surrounding these notions of creativity in the next sections of this chapter.

2.1.4 Creativity as Practice and Process

As an alternative to output or individual framings of creativity, some literature focuses on discussions of practices and process. These considerations are valuable because they "introduce a range of perspectives beyond the singular, gifted individual" (Bilton and Leary, 2002: 52). They provide a tangible framing of the concept, reflecting on the actual practice of being creative (Haseman, 2005; Lombardo and Kvålshaugen, 2014; Thornham, 2014). This is particularly productive in an exploration of radio's creativity, where, as I argue in the later chapters of this dissertation, it is important to account for the work and activities of individual radio practitioners.

Haseman (2005: 158) acknowledges that creative practices are "a wide range of activities that are encountered in a host of settings and for many different purposes". This

definition is useful to demonstrate the manifestation of creativity as more than a 'concept' or 'desirable trait'. However, in an attempt to be specific about distinctions between creative and non-creative practice, this definition is too broad and could seemingly incorporate anything[2]. This dissertation takes a more specific approach, exploring creative practices as a wide range of activities that occur within the context of the creative industries. With this industrial framing, it is productive to draw on Thornham's (2014: 541-542) conceptualisation, where creativity is seen as an approach or method, whilst also being understood as a purposeful practice.

However, I am cautious using the phrase 'purposeful practice' to avoid the assumption of classing practice as purposeful only when it results in an output. This is argued by Lombardo and Kvålshaugen (2014: 590), who assert that placing an emphasis on creative practice as resulting in a final output narrows the focus of research. Consequently, it fails to account for the 'essential creative steps' that occur but may have been discounted through the process and as a result are not evidenced in the final creative output. They highlight that:

> Actions that are not explicitly or directly involved in the production of novel and useful outputs can be dismissed as not creative or interesting. However, such an action could be just one necessary step towards a subsequent action that will eventually achieve a novel output, or simply change the status quo.

Creative inputs rather than creative outputs, are the focus of this research and I do not solely explore practices that can be evidenced in final radio broadcasts via these 'necessary steps'.

Considering creative practice and input, a number of theorists have dealt with creativity by presenting it as a combination of stages that form a collective process (Bilton, 2010; Mumford et al, 2002; Drazin et al, 1999; Mumford and Gustafson, 1988; Vincent, Decker and Mumford, 2002). Exploring creativity in this way, it can be argued that combined individual stages of 'practice', result in this process (Mumford et al, 2002: 709). Drazin et al

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[2] Haseman (2005) does further specify attributes of creative practice.

(1999: 287) propose that this enables a consideration of engagement with creative practice "regardless of whether the resultant outcomes are novel, useful or creative". Therefore, this responds to a problem that I previously highlighted with output assessments of creativity.

Exploring creativity as a process is particularly beneficial when exploring media production. For example, in their research of management of creative work within a journalism organisation, Malmelin and Virta (2016: 1041) highlight that media content results from an 'ongoing process of creation'. In an organisational context, Drazin et al (1999: 292) suggest that processes enable individuals and organisations to "develop systems of meaning about creative action". Furthermore, they assert that the management and development of new processes in a media organisation increases motivation of workers, results in innovative products and builds competitive advantage.

Literature presents a number of named stages within the creative process, but there is a common theme that exists. Each model of the creative process highlights idea generation and the eventual implementation of these ideas (Mumford et al, 2002; Mumford and Gustafson, 1988; Bilton and Leary, 2002). For Mumford et al (2002: 708), this occurs through two sets of processes that result from creative work. First, creative workers must undertake a process that enables them to generate ideas. This involves problem identification, information collection and the refinement and extension of ideas, resulting in the successful implementation of a solution to the original problem. They also note that where creative work revolves around ill-defined problems, an imposition of structure is required to identify and define the problem that needs a response. Accordingly, they postulate that activities related to problem definition have been identified as an element of creative thought in a variety of academic fields (Mumford, Reiter-Palmon and Redon, 1994; Okuda, Runco and Berger, 1991; Mumford et al, 2002). For example, Mumford, Reiter-Palmon and Redmon (1994: 05) propose that "problem construction or problem definition represents one of a number of

cognitive processes that play a role in creative thought". Therefore, the individual activities that occur within the process allows individuals to understand the problem, enabling them to develop an appropriate solution (Mumford et al, 2002).

Mumford et al (2002) posit that the information acquired during this stage enables individuals to combine information in a new way, which facilitates the generation of new ideas (Baugham and Mumford, 1995; Finke, Ward and Smith, 1992 in Mumford et al, 2002). It is the generation of new ideas that enables the "…idea development and implementation activities that characterize innovation" (Mumford et al, 2002: 708). Therefore, the latter stages of the creative process, as outlined by Vincent, Decker and Mumford (2002), involves the process of new idea implementation. While idea generation may be associated with 'the sudden flash of inspiration' which ties to features of creativity, it is important to note that Mumford (2002) highlights that idea implementation and idea generation may require equal amounts of creativity. Providing a further reflection about creativity, Drazin et al (1999: 190) propose that an individual's creativity can be defined through their engagement with a creative act. They assert that "…their ideas may or may not be considered by others as creative…[but] the process of generating those ideas logically can be called "creativity"". Therefore, the nature of engagement with creative practices and the wider creative process in itself can be framed as creative, a view which enables my earlier proposed move beyond output-based judgements.

As noted at the start of this section, the creative process has also been presented in literature through a number of named stages. Referring to the work of Poincaré (n.d.), Bilton and Leary (2002: 52-61) present the distinct stages of: preparation, incubation, illumination and verification. The 'preparation' stage facilitates problem analysis and exploration of possible sources of information and inspiration. During the 'incubation' stage, the sub-conscious mind works on the problem, whilst the conscious mind is resting or temporarily

distracted. 'Illumination' is "the 'aha' moment of creative breakthrough, when the pieces of the puzzle suddenly fall into a new pattern and the solution presents itself" (Bilton and Leary, 2002: 52) and the 'verification' stage requires the testing of the solution against the original problem. They assert that this sequence of stages presents an unpredictable, non-linear progression. Importantly, the length of each stage, and the relationship between stages, is not specified. Their reflection on the creative process also resonates with my earlier discussion in this chapter of creativity as new, original and useful. They explain that the creative process requires a duality of thinking, ranging from sub-conscious inspiration to rational analysis. A study by Ellamil et al (2012) specifically sought to deduce the different areas of the brain that are involved in each part of the creative process - creative generation and creative evaluation. Their research notes that different areas of the brain are used for different parts of the process, supporting Bilton and Leary's (2002) proposal that different types of thinking are required.

As introduced at the start of this section, the understanding of creative practices utilised within this dissertation specifically frames them as occurring within the creative industries. Radio itself is defined in policy as a creative industry, and, consequently, the practices undertaken by radio practitioners can be acknowledged in this way. The next section of this chapter will introduce academic literature that explores creative industries discourses, particularly those that are presented through UK policy, before looking in more depth at the framings of creativity that this produces.

2.2 Creative Industries Discourse in United Kingdom Policy

For the remainder of this chapter, I focus on literature that explores creativity as existing within the context of the creative industries, and this is the framing of creative practice that I utilise throughout this dissertation. Discussions about creativity in academia predate attempts

to understand the concept in policy documents, where a focus on creativity emerged in policy in 1997 when the New Labour government were elected (Flew, 2012: 09). It is at this point that the term 'creative industries' entered policy discourse in the United Kingdom (Jones et al, 2016: 754). As highlighted by Galloway and Dunlop (2007); "the historiography of the terms "cultural industries" and "creative industries" has been traced elsewhere (O'Connor, 1999, Trowse, 2000; Cunningham, 2001; Flew, 2002; Hesmondhalgh, 2002; Caust, 2003; Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005, In Galloway and Dunlop, 2007). They explain, this election signalled a shift in terminology, with a focus on the 'creative industries' as opposed to the previous 'cultural industries'. This registered not only a name change, but also a change in meaning and understanding of what these industries are both theoretically and at policy level (Cunningham, 2002; Garnham, 2005; Hartley, 2005). For example, Hartley (2005: 18) asserts that this new term "exploits the fuzziness of the boundaries between "creative arts" and "cultural industries"" and draws together both the arts and large-scale industries such as media entertainment. In doing so this new phrase

> …suggests the possibility of moving beyond the elite/mass, art/entertainment, sponsored/commercial, high/trivial distinctions that have bedevilled thinking about creativity in policy as well as intellectual circles, especially in countries with European traditions of public culture (Hartley, 2005: 06).

Galloway and Dunlop (2007: 17) emphasise the importance of a strong theoretical basis for the definition of the creative industries in policy because it impacts the measurement of these industries "and the type of intervention we adopt". However, they suggest that current policy lacks rigour and consistency in relation to the terminology used. When seeking to establish the distinction of the creative industries, literature argues that "it would be difficult to identify a non-creative industry or activity" (Pratt, 2005: 33), where the concept is at risk of increasing expansion (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005: 06). Consequently, Galloway and Dunlop (2007: 19) posit that any innovation that occurs in any sector could be classed as creative, consequently making any industry a creative industry.

Despite theoretical challenges posed towards defining the creative industries, the most widely cited definition of the creative industries was created by the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport in 2001 (03). This definition is still used by the government for the purpose of policy making: "Those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property". However, this definition has been discussed and critiqued by academics. Bilton and Leary (2002: 50) problematise this definition by noting that it does not explain

> …what is distinct about the "creative" industries. Each industry would surely lay claim to some measure of individual creativity, skill and talent; equally it is difficult to think of a product which does not exploit some intellectual component in the form of patents, design elements or other intangible, symbolic properties which make the product unique.

In response to this challenge, and, as tied to my earlier discussion of output, they explain that it is the primary production of symbolic goods that sets creative businesses and industries apart from those that primarily produce material goods.

Despite academic critique, this definition has consistently been used by the DCMS in their attempts to map the creative industries. Surveying attempts at mapping, the complex and dynamic changing nature of categorising them, evidenced through multiple attempts (see figure 1) is clear.

DCMS (2001)	Advertising / Architecture / Arts and antiques markets / Crafts / Design / Designer fashion / Film and video / Interactive leisure software / Music / Performing arts / Publishing / Software and computer services / Television and **radio.**
DCMS (2015)	Advertising and marketing / Architecture / Craft / Design: product, graphic and fashion design / Film, TV, video, **radio** and photography / IT, software and computer services / Publishing / Museums, galleries and libraries / Music, performing and visual arts.
Higgs, Cunningham and Bakhshi (2008)	Advertising / Manufacture of jewellery and related articles / Architectural and engineering activities and related technical consultancy / Motion picture and video activities / **Radio** and television activities / Recreational, cultural and sporting activities / Other entertainment activities / News agencies / Publishing / Library, archives, museums and other cultural activities / Computer and related activities.
Skillset (2013)	Advertising and marketing / Architecture / Design and designer fashion / Film, TV, video, **radio** and photography / IT, software and computer services / Music, performing and visual arts / Publishing.

(Figure 1: Mapping attempts for the Creative Industries)

The number of lists that have been generated since the shift to the 'creative industries', demonstrates that categorisations are not static. Due to the fluidity and changing nature of the industries, since the original list was created, additional industries have been moved under the creative industries banner (Jones et al, 2016: 762). To provide an example, since their mapping attempt in 2001, the DCMS have removed Arts and Antiques Markets, incorporated Marketing and Museums, Galleries and Libraries and further specified, and regrouped the other industries. These changing categorisations are considered problematic by some. For instance, Garnham (2005: 16) argues that policy "…assumes that we already know, and thus

can take for granted, what the creative industries are, why they are important and thus merit supporting policy initiatives". Focusing more specifically on the changing categories he suggests that changes made, such as including the software sector, had consequences such as boosting the economic significance of these industries in an artificial way (Garnham, 2005: 26).

Flew (2012: 24-25) terms the list-based approach to mapping "ad-hoc" and explains that the categorisation combines highly capital-intensive industries, with highly labour-intensive ones, and those that are "…driven by commercial imperatives and the business cycle… with those that are not". For Flew, this makes it difficult to find the thread that underlies these industries and connects them. However, despite critique, this approach has consistently been used by the DCMS with a purpose of measuring the "overall size and the significance of the creative industries to the UK economy". It is also important to signify that radio has consistently been classified as a creative industry within all of these approaches, and it is, therefore, not so much the final categorisations in which I am interested. Instead the approaches to mapping, and their resulting ways of thinking about the creative industries (which are manifested through these categorisations) are of particular use for the purpose of this research. Furthermore, as there is no one agreed definition or grouping of the creative industries, accounting for these varied documents is useful in demonstrating discourses surrounding the 'industries' element of the creative industries, where government and policy documents act as productive mediations of the term. Choosing to include and exclude particular industries through these different tools of measurement, evidences a variety of discourses that exist surrounding the nature of the creative industries. Each model and method incorporate differing ways of thinking about them; for example, through its economic output, human labour, or accounting for the type of jobs considered to be creative (Bakhshi,

Freeman and Higgs, 2013: 24; Higgs, Cunningham and Bakhshi, 2008: 20), and I explore

these framings in more depth in the rest of this chapter.

2.2.1 Creativity, Industry and Commerce

The concept of a creative industry presents a paradox (Negus and Pickering, 2004). For

example, Knight and Harvey (2015: 810) explain that the concept of creativity can contrast

with the notion of 'industry' which "…implies a set of standardised and regulated practices

as well as efficiency and management behaviour". However, as Harney (2010: 432)

describes, the rise of the creative industries can be summarised by "the arts move from

workshop to workplace". This invites a recognition that it is the very fact of industrialisation

and commodification of creativity that can form a central part of our understanding of what

these industries represent, where the invasion of business and capitalism has shaped the

nature of creative work.

An industrialised framing of creativity is a particular focus of grey literature that

seeks to define and categorise the creative industries at the level of government policy. The

approach taken by the DCMS (2001), NESTA (2006) and Skillset (2013) towards mapping

the creative industries in the United Kingdom demonstrates this emphasis. Their methods all

share a common approach through the utilisation of International Standard Industrial

Classification (SIC) codes, alongside their national datasets to pick out the "specialised

businesses that produce creative goods or services" (Higgs, Cunningham and Bakhshi, 2008:

18). A broad focus on industry is of value because "the 'creative industries' cannot be

identified at the level of the organization". Therefore, creativity is not confined to one

particular industry, and individuals can apply their talent to creativity beyond their own

organisation (Hartley 2005: 27). Consequently, an emphasis on industry facilitates an

understanding of creativity as an individual human attribute but provides specificity to this by linking it to the perception of an organised enterprise (Hartley, 2005: 04).

This method of mapping the creative industries, using SIC codes and focusing on industry has been critiqued in academic literature. SIC codes themselves were designed for use within manufacturing-based economies, which are different to the service and knowledge intensive creative industries to which the codes have now been applied (Flew, 2012: 17). This can be problematic, where these industries are "… not like old-style industries, which could easily be named after what they produced: the steel industry, automobile industry, airline industry, because industrially, creativity is an input not an output" (Hartley, 2005: 26). Hartley (2005: 26-27) also asserts that it is difficult to clarify where in the chain of primary, secondary and tertiary industries the creative industries can be placed. Furthermore, this method of mapping the creative industries requires some level of human interpretation, as evidenced through the different number of sectors identified by each attempt; thirteen (DCMS, 2001), nine creative industry groups (DCMS, 2015) eleven (Higgs, Cunningham and Bakhshi, 2008) and seven 'broad Creative Industry groups', consisting of thirteen 'creative sectors' (Skillset, 2013). This variation demonstrates the difficult task of defining the creative industries through a wholly industry-focused approach, which fails to account for the complexity of creative activities (Pratt, 2004: 24). As a result, there is a large underestimation of the employment impact, and scale of the creative industries within the United Kingdom (Cunningham, 2011: 27).

Building on my earlier discussion of creativity as evidenced through output, for some theorists it is the production of these types of output that sets the creative industries apart, primarily producing "creative goods or services" (Higgs, Cunningham and Bakhshi 2008: 18). By exploring the main types of output that the industries produce, those that primarily revolve around creative outputs can be distinguished from those that do not. Jones et al

(2016: 752) highlight that there is a general consensus in academic publications that the creative industries (whatever they are) revolve around originality and novelty. Contributing to this, Townley and Beech (2010: 10), who take a process-based approach towards conceptualising the link, suggest that while seemingly separate, creativity and industry do embody a similarity in their desire for transformation. They propose that "creativity takes that which is familiar and presents it in a different light", while industry transforms labour and raw material inputs.

In addition to the production of these outputs, the creative industries also seek to commodify them in some way. This is asserted by Hartley (2005: 04), who provides a further level of specificity in his discussion of creative industries by noting that the organisation of individuals exists with the purpose of "wealth creation and social renewal", and I want to pay particular focus to the former. Building on and adapting the DCMS (2001) definition and categorisation of the creative industries, the NESTA (2006) report *Creating Growth: How the UK Can Develop World Class Creative Businesses*, proposes an economics-based approach. Through this they propose that the creative industries should be framed as "industrial sectors rather than as a set of creative activities based on individual talent" (NESTA, 2006: 54). Within this report, NESTA reflect on those businesses that seek to combine innovation, creative excellence and commercial success. Through their discussion surrounding the economic significance of the creative industries they urge policy makers to concentrate on boosting opportunities and resolving challenges to enable these industries to continue their economic growth (NESTA, 2006: 02). They also introduce a model that includes four groups, where sectors are combined based on "commonalities (in terms of business models, value chains, market structure and so on) as to warrant a common approach for policy" (NESTA, 2006: 54). Particularly, they explain that 'creative service providers' offer a service to their clients and provide time and intellectual property for these businesses and organisations.

'Creative content producers' are those that produce intellectual property that is copyright protected and "distributed to customers or audiences thereby earning revenues through a variety of related business models such as sales, advertising or subscription". The next group of interrelated businesses are termed 'creative experience providers', and it is these that "sell the right for consumers to experience or witness specific activities, performances or locations which are consumed at the time and place of performance, rather than through recordings or broadcasts". Finally, they highlight that 'creative originals producers' have an involvement in the creation, production and sale of "…physical artefacts, the value of which derives from their perceived creative or cultural value, exclusivity and authenticity", and as a result these products are often one-offs or limited editions.

This proposed focus on the development of economic value from creativity as a distinction of the creative industries is supported and discussed in academic literature (Flew, 2012; Jones et al, 2015; Negus and Pickering, 2004; Caves, 2000; Hartley, 2005; Potts, 2009), where it is argued that the commercial application of creativity is what sets the creative industries apart (Hartley, 2005: 18). The work of Jones et al (2015: 03) builds on this argument by highlighting that "even if there are elements of creativity in most human endeavour, not all industries are organized principally to take advantage of and capture the market value of human creativity". As a result, individuals within the creative industries are those that use their creativity and find "…places where access, capital, infrastructure, regulation, markets, property, rights, and large-scale processes can monetize that creativity" (Hartley, 2005: 28).

In line with this, one approach taken in policy and literature is to frame the outputs of the creative industries as generating intellectual property, which emphasises the economic value of these industries. For example, revisiting the DCMS' (2001: 03) definition of the creative industries, they highlight that wealth is created "…through the generation and

exploitation of intellectual property". The World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO) similarly take a commercial oriented approach to the creative industries by focusing on the "…revenue-earning potential of intellectual property rights…" (Throsby, 2008: 148). Aligning with this, Towse (2003: 170) describes copyright as an "organising principle of the creative industries". Reflecting on the implications of copyright, Negus and Pickering (2004: 60 - 61) provide multiple perspectives. They note that it can be argued as a constraint on creativity, however it must also be acknowledged that copyright exists to encourage innovation through the restriction of appropriation that would demotivate individuals from creating original work for which they would receive limited or no reward. To receive reward for their work, copyright protects the creator of original artistic work, allowing them to own the outputs of their creativity, and exploit them to gain economic and moral rights (Galloway and Dunlop, 2007: 19-20). This facilitates payment for creative workers and encourages the continual supply of products to consumers. By accounting for factors such as copyright, Negus and Pickering (2004: 46-47) highlight that from one theoretical standpoint the constraints of industry are positioned as conflicting with the creative individuals employed in these industries. However, they also argue that commerce could be seen to inspire creativity, where individuals are motivated to be creative due to potential financial reward, although they recognise that this view could be problematic when considering the alternative motivations of creative individuals. The third view that Negus and Pickering discuss is the idea that commerce and creativity are "so mixed-up and inextricably bound together in the modern economy as to be indistinguishable". They note that the creative worker may work within a non-creative organisation because this enables them to generate income. This income is needed to support the other creative outputs that they produce beyond their paid employment. In their own work, they use the example of a writer who may work as a copywriter, while trying to publish their own book.

The intellectual property approach to defining the creative industries has been critiqued (Galloway and Dunlop, 2007). For example, Howkins (2002: 02) posits that the term creative industries should apply to any industry where "brain power is predominant and where the outcome is intellectual property". Consequently, as explained by Galloway and Dunlop (2007: 20), because a wide variety of activities create intellectual property, it can be difficult to define the creative industries in this way as this wide-ranging definition fails to identify its distinctions. As this focus is identified as problematic, it is beneficial to also account for literature that explores the context that frames creativity. Within the later chapters of this dissertation I reflect more specifically on the contextual framing of the radio industry and argue that this has implications for understandings of creativity. The next section of this chapter will look more generally at the industry and organisational contexts that frame the creativity that occurs within the creative industries. The themes discussed are also present within the radio industry as my dissertation will demonstrate, but they are not explored as explicitly within academic literature.

2.2.2 A Contextual Framing of Creativity

Where policy identifies certain areas of creativity as economically valuable, literature responds to this by trying to understand the frameworks that exist to generate economic value from it. Through this, it is argued that in order to exploit creativity and generate value, whether economic or ecological value, the creative industries are organised in a way that achieves this aim. This organisation is a particular focus of business, management and elements of creative industries literature. As an example, when analysing the DCMS' (2001) definition of the creative industries, Knight and Harvey (2015: 810) suggest that it illustrates "the way in which creative industry scholarship sits at the juncture of several streams of research in the organisation and management literature". Accounting for this, I now want to

turn to this literature as it provides a further framing that enables an understanding of the specificities of creativity as tied to industry and commerce within an organised environment.

To define creativity, Sawyer (2006: 04) believes that there is a need to move beyond a focus on individual inspiration and consider "…factors like collaboration, networks of support, education, and cultural background". Revisiting my earlier discussion in this chapter of heroic creativity, Bilton (2010: 265) highlights a contradiction between an emphasis on an individual creative, and a 'structural' model of creativity in the context of business. For Bilton, the structural model focuses on "the social processes and institutions through which creative ideas are realised and validated". Framing creativity in this way invites a view of the individual as rooted in collective systems, such as structured team roles and workplace environments. Within the creative industries Bilton (2010: 263 – 264) notes a shift away from a focus on individual creative talent, to an emphasis on the management and systems that facilitate it. This has implications for definitions of creativity, and when situated between individual and organisational framings, creativity as a process is "irrational, sudden and individualistic, and at the same time deliberate, incremental and interdependent (Bilton, 2007, in Bilton, 2010: 265).

This concept of a deliberate practice is a productive way to understand creativity within organisations. The work of Nayak (2008: 421) is beneficial in this context. While it pays focus to experiencing creativity in organisations outside of the creative industries, the discussions presented frame creative practice in a way that is applicable to the creative industries. He argues that organisations facilitate a space for creativity, but that this often manifests through an individual's ability to "think beyond the obvious and produce something novel and appropriate". In the context of an organisation, he states that creativity can be seen as "something that gets a job done". Therefore, creativity is proposed to be a purposeful practice that aligns with the aims of an organisation, and it is the influence of

these organisational strategies that change its nature. Due to this, Christopherson (2008: 91-92) argues that "creative work is not a static phenomenon" because it adapts to, and must negotiate, the situation in which it occurs.

Fisher and Amabile (2009) contribute to the discussion of creativity's context through their conceptualisation of 'organisational creativity'. They posit that in this context creativity can be seen as new and useful ideas that result in new products, services, processes or strategies. Organisational creativity, in particular, pays focus to the process through which these ideas are produced. Malmelin and Virta (2016: 1042) expand on this by explaining that organisational creativity "refers both to creativity occurring in the organisational environment and to the creativity of people and teams working in organisations". The concept of workplace creativity similarly accounts for the contextual influences that shape understandings and manifestations of creativity. Woodman et al (1993: 293) highlight that this concept specifically revolves around the focus on creative labour within a workplace. In chapters four and seven I revisit workplace creativity by exploring the work environment that radio practitioners negotiate. When creativity occurs within this context it must also be managed to some extent, and I will now turn to literature that explores this in more depth.

2.2.3 Manageable Creativity

Organisational and workplace creativity both share an agreement that creativity must be managed in a way that achieves the benefits of the organisation or business, and particular conditions are fostered to achieve this aim. The shift towards the phrase creative industries converges management, business and creativity, which were previously posed as oppositional (Bilton, 2010: 255; Harney, 2010: 431). As a result, a body of academic literature now places an emphasis on the relationship between creativity and management (Townley and Beech, 2010; Malmelin and Virta, 2016; Bilton, 201; Harney, 2010; Muzzio and Júnior, 2018). This

literature notes that organisational systems, which are made up of "professionals, rules, procedures and resources, all of which can be shaped by an organization's goals and policies" (Amabile, 1997 in Muzzio and Júnior, 2018: 924) exist as a result of attempts to manage creativity by managing the self, others or objects for the purpose of innovation (Townley and Beech, 2010: 10). This is particularly critical where innovation is tied to competitiveness (Muzzio and Júnior, 2018: 923), for example in media companies (Malmelin and Virta, 2016: 1041).

As I explored earlier in this chapter, individuals can be a source for idea development, skills and knowledge. However, when creativity exists in an organisational environment, it can be argued that this is required alongside leadership. Leadership promotes the actions that foster creativity, and a culture which "provides the symbolic support necessary for a social cohesion around creativity" (Muzzio and Júnior, 2018: 924). Researching the role of management within this, Muzzio and Júnior (2018) formulate a managerial grid. Through this they suggest that managers can seek to maintain or modify the current management model and organisational standards, or they can seek to deviate from them.

When creativity is framed by industry, the manager must have a particular set of aims and objectives. Drawing on the work of Cameron and Quinn (1988), Knight and Harvey (2015) explore creative management. Their research notes that to exploit creativity the manager must juggle a tension between 'exploration' (creative innovation) and 'exploitation' (efficient reproduction). Exploration they explain is the "search, discovery, invention and creation of knowledge beyond the organisation's business-as-usual activities" (Knight and Harvey, 2015: 811). In a creative industries context this includes "producing new creative works such as written output, design briefs, and new product development". In contrast, 'exploitation' enables the "repetition, implementation, refinement, and the efficient use of existing knowledge", which "includes reproduction of existing works, streamlining

established processes, and other incremental innovation". To achieve this balance, they suggest that the manager plays a critical role, as they must develop an organisational process that facilitates both.

Where individuals are embedded within a network of relationships, as I will explore in more detail shortly, leadership also plays an important role in fostering these relationships and facilitating co-operation between individual workers (Mumford et al, 2009: 279-280). It is also noted that managers can encourage creative productivity by modelling this behaviour themselves (Mathisen et al, 2012). However, I argue that placing an emphasis on the role of the manager in shaping the creative environment risks framing the individual worker as passive. Instead, my research finds that a recognition of the individual role in shaping their own environment is still critical. In chapter seven I explore this in more depth, demonstrating that radio workers create self-imposed expectations which shape their roles. Consequently, these individuals do not frame their managers as restricting their work. Academic literature that explores the multitude of ways that individual workers understand and negotiate their context is therefore productive to explore. As the next section of this chapter will demonstrate, this literature begins to provide a theoretical rationale for these variety of understandings, particularly those demonstrated by the individual workers within this research.

2.2.4 Individual Understandings of Their Context

I have synthesised literature concerning the workplace context within which creative practice occurs. Academic literature also acknowledges that the nature of these practices are influenced by the knowledge culture that exists within an institution. Consequently, individuals are aware that particular 'ways of doing' grant legitimacy to their practice (Townley and Beech, 2010: 15). In his study of work within the magazine industry, Draper

(2014: 1126) presents the concept of the 'discerned savvy', which "characterizes the knowledge that results from media industry worker's attempts to informally gauge the limits of acceptable creativity by coming to understand and adopt the perceived expectations of their superiors". He acknowledges the informal understandings that individuals have about the type of content that will meet the expectations of the organisations. These understandings are informal because they are not explicitly outlined in policy. While Draper's research pays specific attention to the magazine industry, his findings can be applied to the wider creative industries and are a helpful way to understand the knowledge of suitable practice that workers in other industries have too. Within my own exploration of radio practitioner's creativity, I used a similar research methodology to Draper, asking questions to assess the influence that the work environment has on their agency.

In addition to organisational influence, it is worth noting that the discipline and sector in which an individual works also bears influence on their creative practice. Gulledge and Townley (2010: 321) summarise practice as "institutionalized within creative sectors and the issues of power and control that influence their operation.". Therefore, an individual's work can be shaped by judgments derived from the traditions of the discipline that they work within. With organisation, industry and discipline all influencing practice, this research does not deem 'creative practice' to be the same in all creative industries. Additionally, industry and discipline shapes not only practices, but also the way *practice is practiced*. Consequently, even when focusing on a particular industry or discipline, creative practices that occur cannot be categorised as the same because each organisation also influences the practices of its staff. Research of the radio industry within this dissertation considers these distinctions when articulating the nature of radio's creativity. One way this is achieved is by collecting the narratives of individual practitioners that work across a number of organisations within the UK radio industry. Understanding the nature of their work as

creative, I draw on academic literature surrounding creative work, labour and networks, the literature of which is outlined in the next section of this chapter.

2.2.5 Creative Work, Labour and Networks

At this point I want to outline academic literature that focuses on the roles of people that are creative, which includes considerations of creative work and creative labour. I will also draw upon literature that links individual creative workers through discussions of creative networks and intersecting relationships. The radio workers in this research undertake creative labour and negotiate relationships with other individuals in their workplace environment. To distinguish their specific type of labour, and align it with academic understandings of creativity, this chapter section provides an overview of these concepts.

McGuigan (2010: 323) highlights that creative labour can be acknowledged as a "…universal human attribute". Debates about creative labour in a wider context (Mumford et al, 2002; Banks, 2010) identify a typical association with artists and scientists, but acknowledge that creative work is not specific to a particular occupation (Mumford, Whetzel and Reiter-Palmon, 1997). With creative work undefined by occupation, Mumford et al (2002: 707) propose that creative work occurs within any job that involves certain types of tasks that "…involve complex, ill-defined problems where performance requires the generation of novel, useful solutions". This perception of creative work has merit; however, it is vague and does not contribute to an understanding of the specificities of work within the creative industries.

Building on his argument considering creative labour, McGuigan (2010: 326) highlights that particular types of work can be better facilitators of creativity than others. For him, this type of work primarily revolves around communicating meaning, identification and pleasure. In the creative industries, where different types of work occur, McGuigan's

assertion is valuable because it acknowledges the distinctness of creative labour, in contrast to the other types of labour that exist within these industries. Contributing to this, Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2011: 09) provide a similar definition of creative labour, proposing it to be "creative work in the cultural industries", or "those jobs, centred on the activity of symbol-making". Beyond academic literature, this distinct type of labour is also noted. The 'creative trident' methodology, developed by Higgs et al (2008: 03) to give a more accurate description of the collective 'creative workforce' within the United Kingdom, incorporates this type of role. Accounting for "artists, professionals or creative individuals working in creative industries", this form of employment is termed 'specialist employment' at government level.

I want to be cautious of placing too much emphasis on the individualisation of creative labour, as this can transition back to the individual creative genius concept introduced earlier in this chapter. Instead, in the context of the creative industries, literature which acknowledges that the individual does not work alone, is productive to account for. As Becker (1982: 07) posits:

> Imagine, as one extreme case, a situation in which one person did everything: made everything, invented everything, had all the ideas, performed or executed the work, experience and appreciated it, all without the assistance or help of anyone else. We can hardly imagine such a thing, because all the arts we know, like all human activities we know, involve the cooperation of others.

Therefore, the relationship that individual workers have with others warrants consideration, where, as argued by Bilton and Leary (2002: 57), "individual creativity will only thrive when individuals are part of a larger creative "system", through which different ideas and aptitudes can collide in unpredictable ways". Recognising this, and moving beyond the ideology of the individual, there is a field of creative industries research that explores the networks that creative workers are embedded in within their organisations (Boden, 1990; Florida, 2002; Bilton, 2010; Bashouri and Duncan, 2014). For example, in management literature, there is a

"…new emphasis on collective systems and processes", which "…translates into an interest in teams, networks and organisational environments as sources of innovation" (Bilton, 2010: 258). As a result, it is the collective creativity of workers within an organisation that can achieve a creative result (Chen and Huang, 2009: 411; Florida, 2002: 08).

Reflecting on the collection of individual workers that exist within the same organisation, this "diversity of creative individuals in a work environment" (Chen and Huang, 2009: 412) provides unique knowledge, derivative from an individual's background. However, creativity is difficult for companies to nurture. Therefore, Bilton (2010: 33) suggests that companies will create conditions for it. For example, they will foster an environment where knowledge, as a tangible resource, can be shared within a community (Bashouri and Duncan, 2014: 51). Therefore, networks facilitate a collective knowledge structure that provides opportunities for the exchange of knowledge and learning (Chen and Huang, 2009: 412). This is beneficial for the individual because their position within a network facilitates the sharing of resources, allowing them to "draw upon the expertise of other staff" (Bilton, 2010: 263). They can also gain knowledge and utilise the technical skills of others, and both of these factors are noted as demands of creativity (Boden, 1990: 23; Florida, 2002: 03).

Critical of the hierarchical privilege that creative industries research places on the exploration of 'creatives', Banks (2010: 205) highlights that attention must also be paid to those individuals undertaking non-artistic, but critical, roles in the production of cultural goods. Describing this as 'craft labour', he sees this "input of the industrial labour process" depicted as subordinate to artistic, creative labour, yet warranting acknowledgement in its own right:

> …partly to avoid over-estimating the contribution of the artist to the production of cultural goods (a common trait amongst proselytisers of the 'creative' labour process), but also because craft is itself significant in the context of the range of often hidden (non-artistic) labour tasks that make up cultural and creative industries production.

In this case, while creatives are, as I highlighted earlier, acknowledged as primarily responsible for the development of original or distinctive ideas, it must also be acknowledged that craft labourers play a significant role, "ensuring that cultural goods achieve their intended commodity form" (Banks, 2010: 306). Revisiting the creative trident methodology that I introduced earlier, this approach also proposes a focus on roles that exist alongside 'specialist employment', termed support and embedded modes of employment. Embedded employment is those creative workers that work in non-creative industries, and so sit beyond the remit of this dissertation. 'Support' staff work within the creative industries, but occupy "management, secretarial, administrative or accountancy" roles (Higgs et al, 2008: 03). The work of Caves (2003: 79) further supports this distinction of labour types, through his theory of complex creative goods and contracts. Specifically, he suggests that "complex creative goods require several artistic talents along with humdrum inputs". While this concept aims to describe economically incentivised contracts of creative work, he also notes that knowledge and activity sharing occurs between individuals who undertake non-artistic labour tasks.

2.3 Conclusion: Creativity and The Creative Industries

This chapter has explored the notion of creativity and the creative industries. In chapter one, I found that radio studies literature does not explicitly reflect on the meaning of creativity within this industry. This chapter therefore responded by synthesising literature from the field of creativity and creative industries studies to explore the concept and reflect on the way that this notion fits with the specificities of the radio industry, and radio production work. However, within the literature that I have surveyed, a gap similarly exists, where discussions about the notion of creativity in the radio industry are limited. I have also highlighted that difficulties arise when seeking to define a complex concept such as creativity. Therefore, I have presented several ways that literature has sought to conceptualise it. In doing so, I have

begun to consider the alignment of these concepts with radio, and I develop this further in the following chapters.

First, I discussed framings of creativity that connect it with the idea of the individual genius, although I have noted that this concept has been challenged more recently. I also considered the alignment of creativity with output. However, both framings of creativity are not productive for the purpose of this dissertation due to the value-based framing implicit in these other approaches. My dissertation asserts that the more productive way to research creativity is to align discussions of the concept with practices that are embedded within the production process. The articulations of individual radio workers in relation to their understandings of creativity are outlined in chapter five, and I explore radio's creative practices and processes within chapter six, where I present research findings that relate to the production practices of radio.

It is radio's position as a creative industry that prompted this research and I continued this chapter by exploring the nature of these industries. Initially, I outlined discourses of the creative industries as presented through policy in the UK. To explore this further, I continued by highlighting that embedding creativity within the creative industries leads to discussions of industry and commerce. Further considering the environment of creativity, I have unpacked the specificities of the environment that surrounds the creative industry, through this exploring organisational and workplace creativity. These features of the creative industries similarly frame work in the radio industry. I explore this in more depth in chapter seven which focuses on the way that individual radio workers articulated the influence of these factors on the space that they have to be creative and negotiate their role.

Finally, I considered the role of the individual worker when they are embedded within these framings of the creative industries. In doing so, it is valuable to consider the management of creativity, as well as accounting for the creative labour of individuals, and

their role within a wider network of interrelated individuals who are able to share knowledge and work collaboratively. These discussions of creative industries workers align with the role of the radio worker, although this is not explicitly acknowledged within the academic literature that I have surveyed. Using the data collected within this research I provide an in-depth exploration of this in chapter four.

Where creativity is recognised in literature as unspecific and multi-dimensional and explored in a variety of ways within academic literature, this presents an opportunity to further research the concept. In particular, this dissertation responds by aligning these framings of creativity with the specificities of the radio industry. Therefore, in the following chapters I present the narratives of individual radio workers to explore the diverse ways in which they articulate and negotiate creativity, both within the context of the station that they work for and the wider radio industry environment. The next chapter of this dissertation proposes a methodology that can be used to research creativity within the context of the radio industry and reflects on challenges that occur.

CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCHING CREATIVITY IN RADIO

"To define is to limit"
– Oscar Wilde

As I have demonstrated in the first two chapters, attempts at defining creativity have often contradicted each other which demonstrates the complexity of the task (Jackson and Messick, 1965; Besemer and Treffinger, 1981: 158-178). Furthermore, it is argued that blurred boundaries of creativity have diminished the specificity of the concept (McGuigan, 2010: 323). In particular, this chapter proposes a research strategy that addressed the tensions outlined in chapter two surrounding the definition of creativity and summarises the specific methodological technique that I employed to research radio's creativity. Drawing on political economic, critical media industry studies and creative industry research methods I propose an interdisciplinary methodological approach to question radio's position as a creative industry and explore the way its creativity can be understood in a recognisable sense. As outlined in the introduction, the primary research question is:

How does radio as an industry define, practice and negotiate creativity?

I also developed several sub-questions which structured the research, and the presentation of data in the subsequent chapters:

- *How can radio workers be positioned as creative industries workers?*

- *What are the meanings of creativity for individual radio practitioners?*

- *How do radio practitioners articulate their work practices as creative?*

- *What place do boundaries and expectations hold in understanding the nature of creativity in the radio industry?*

- *How is freedom manifested in the radio industry and what is the importance of perceived freedom for the individual radio practitioner?*

To answer these questions, I used a combined methodological strategy which incorporated interviews, document and policy analysis, and data collected from the autobiographies of established commercial and BBC radio practitioners. In this chapter, I argue that this approach facilitated an overview of the UK radio industry as a whole and enabled research of creativity in several ways, as proposed in the literature reviewed in chapter two, through individual, workplace and industry framings. I commence this chapter by surveying approaches that academic research has adopted to explore cultural and media organisations. I then introduce the combined methodological strategy that this research utilised, highlighting the existing research that I drew influence from. Following this, I outline the model that I used to research the creativity of the UK radio industry. This chapter concludes by discussing the ethical issues that arose throughout the research process.

3.1 Researching Radio's Creativity

The methodological approach proposed in this chapter responds to limitations in the fields of creative industries, and radio studies research. As recognised by Wasko and Meehan (2013: 150-151), in the 1990s, several approaches emerged within the field of media studies that combined the work of film scholars with the questions of political economists. These approaches, they explain, now manifest in varied fields such as "creative industries, convergence culture, production culture, production studies, cultural economy, and media industry studies". Within media studies, research of radio itself is argued to be lacking (McEwan, 2010; Lewis and Booth, 1989), and as I demonstrated in chapter one, the focus on

the nature of creativity in radio studies is limited. Therefore, researching creativity in the context of the radio industry requires a defined strategy due to the vagueness of this concept. In particular, this is emphasised by Wilby and Conroy (1994: 19), who recognise that while creativity is important in this industry, "it has remained a loosely defined quality but one that is recognised on the principle that 'we know it when we hear it'". Framing the creativity of radio as evidenced through output, aligns with value-based judgements, as asserted by McIntyre (2012: 05) who explains that "when something is recognized as creative a judgement of some sort must be involved in making that recognition". Researching creativity through output analysis requires the researcher's judgement, and this poses a challenge that I have sought to address through my proposed methodology. Consequently, it is important to note that the intended purpose of this dissertation is not to impose a specific definition of creativity on the radio industry, nor does it seek to 'find out' if radio is or is not creative. Instead, as a researcher, I was attuned to gaining an understanding of the generalities and particularities of what makes radio creative in its own way, by collecting individual articulations of the way that radio workers see their work and industry as creative.

Exploring creativity through output research also fails to account for the varied manifestations and articulations of creativity that I introduced in chapter two. Where creativity is acknowledged in literature as unspecific, research has consequently taken different approaches and adopted a variety of focuses (Hennessey and Amabile, 2010). Accounting for this, the research strategy proposed in this chapter embraced the unspecific nature, using it as an opportunity to adopt an open, reflexive strategy. This allowed me to organise the methodology as required throughout the research process; a particularly critical element of the research that responded to the unfixed nature of creativity itself and the number of ways that theorists have discussed it.

To tailor my approach, and as a frame for analysis, I drew upon creative industries research which pays particular attention to the exploration of creativity, framing it in several ways, such as tied to the individual (McGuigan, 2010; Sawyer, 2006; Bilton, 2010; Pratt and Jeffcutt, 2007; Negus and Pickering, 2004; Mumford, 2000; Hansen et al, 1999; Bashouri and Duncan, 2014), evidenced through particular types of output (Hirsch, 2000; Jones et al, 2015; Torrance, 1969; Kaufman, 2004; Caves, 2002; Bilton and Leary, 2002), embedded through practice which often exists within a process (Lombardo and Kvålshaugen, 2014; Haseman, 2005; Thornham, 2014; Chen and Huang, 2010; Mumford et al, 2002; Vincent, Decker and Mumford, 2002; Mumford and Gustafson, 1988), and where particular types of roles and workplace environments can be recognised as facilitators of creative labour (McGuigan, 2010; Mumford et al, 2002; Banks, 2010; Mumford, Whetzel and Reiter-Palmon, 1997; Bakshi, Freeman and Higgs, 2013; Higgs et al, 2008).

To understand creativity in a radio context I argue that we must also research its specific nature when it is embedded within this defined environment. To explore this context of radio work I draw upon political economic, media studies and critical media industry studies approaches. Whilst these take a different focus to creative industries research, paying less attention to understanding creativity, they are beneficial to explore specific elements and contexts of the radio production process. Media studies is a varied and diverse field of research, conducted within many disciplines (Holt and Perren, 2009: 01), yet revolves around a traditional focus on researching media texts and audiences (Havens et al, 2009: 234). This range of perspectives, Holt and Perren (2009: 01) argue is critical "…to engage with an extraordinary range of texts, markets, economies, artistic traditions, business models, cultural policies, technologies, regulations, and creative expression". More specifically, in radio research with a media studies focus, Starkey (2004: 25) explains that attention is paid to the production, consumption and distribution of media texts, and it is the production of radio that

forms the focus of this research through exploration of the people and work practices that are involved in radio production. I discuss my use of the political economic and creative media industry studies approaches later in this chapter.

3.2 A Multi-Level and Multi-Method Approach

The research strategy proposed in this chapter combines methods to explore radio's creativity over three levels; individual, workplace, and industry, and this section will introduce this approach. Discussions of creativity in academic discourse recognise that creativity is "multifaceted and multidimensional" (Florida, 2002: 03). As demonstrated in chapter two, the concept can be explored through individual, team or organisational perspectives (Mathisen, Einarsen and Mykletun, 2012: 358). In response, this research used a *multi-level approach*, revolving around an exploration of the individual radio worker, whilst accounting for the environment in which they exist. This environment incorporated both their specific station and the wider radio industry. Therefore, whilst using academic conceptualisations of creativity to frame my discussion, my research focused on the way that the radio industry and practitioners themselves defined and talked about it.

To research radio's creativity in this way, a flexible strategy that facilitated the exploration of a variety of understandings and manifestations of creativity was key. Therefore, this chapter proposes qualitative research that draws upon multiple methods to explore the nature (and thus creative nature) of practices that occur (Kirk and Miller, 1989) in the context of the radio industry. With no defined criterion of creativity to draw upon, the collection of qualitative data enabled an exploration of the concept as fluid, with a variety of practices and articulations encompassed within it. This combined research strategy has been employed by many theorists in the study of cultural and radio organisations (Caldwell, 2008; Christopherson, 2008; Draper, 2014; Stiernstedt, 2014; Gaynor and O'Brien, 2011).

Stiernstedt (2014) in his research of the political economy of the radio personality uses MTG Radio as a case study. His approach incorporates several data collection techniques under the umbrella of ethnographic fieldwork. More specifically, he conducted interviews, observations, and analysed both internal and external materials. This combination enabled him to explore the production practices of radio personalities and the environmental factors that shape their work. The research in this dissertation had a similar aim to collect this variety of data but sought to focus on the manifestation of creativity within this.

In particular, my strategy drew influence from Caldwell's (2008) investigation of television and film industries production culture, which seeks to understand the cultural practices and belief systems of Los Angeles film/video production workers. Caldwell (2008: 04) uses an integrated methodology embedded within a critical film and media studies tradition whilst using a more expansive "tool kit" of methods. This includes "textual analysis of trade and worker artefacts; interviews with film/television workers; ethnographic field observation of production spaces and professional gatherings; and economic/industrial analysis" (Caldwell, 2008: 345). He explains that his approach "responds to the anthropologist George Marcus's proposal for "situated, multi-locale" field studies that integrate micro-sociological cultural analysis with macrosociological political economic frameworks" (Caldwell, 2008: 05). While his study does not primarily revolve around an exploration of creativity, the concept does manifest in his analysis of data. Additionally, his recognition that descriptions of, and meaning given to production work must be contextually grounded through the adoption of a cultural-industrial method was beneficial in my exploration of radio's creativity.

3.3 Researching Contextual Frames: Organisation & Industry

To research creativity in a workplace and production context, the context itself must be accounted for. In this research I explored the station and wider radio industry environment and I analyse them in the following dissertation chapters. This section outlines the approach that was utilised to research these contextual frames. Academic discussions that recognise the influence of work environments on creative potential (Hemlin, Allwood and Martin, 2009: 196) and acknowledge the institutionalisation of creative work "…within creative sectors and the issues of power and control that influence their operation" (Gulledge and Townley, 2010: 321), invite an exploration of the environments that shape work and practice. Gray (2003: 12) terms this the "material conditions of culture", where "the meanings, processes and artefacts of culture are produced, distributed and consumed within particular material circumstances. In other words, texts and practices are both products of and constitutive of the social world". In the radio industry, these factors frame practice. Therefore, this research accounted for the radio environment to understand the specificities of radio's creativity, which exists within it.

In particular, this dissertation explores the nature of creativity in the context of the United Kingdom's radio industry. The working definition of industry in this dissertation utilises Caldwell's (2008: 07) acknowledgement that "while 'the industry' label may be significant ideologically and rhetorically, the term covers a great cultural heterogeneity and diversity of economic and trade interests". In the radio industry, this diversity manifests through the variety of broadcasting models that exist. Each of these models differ in their purpose and the way that they are funded and regulated. This dissertation, therefore, uses the word 'industry' in two senses. Firstly, I use the word in a rhetorical sense to refer to the overall radio industry in the UK. The second use of *industry* in this dissertation aligns with Caldwell's (2009: 200) proposed shift in perspective to focus on *the* industry as

"compromised of numerous, sometimes conflicting and competing socio-professional communities, held together in a loose and mutating alliance by "willed affinity"".

The cultural ecology approach also provides a valuable framework for the scope of this research, primarily because it proposes an interconnectedness between "three highly interactive spheres: publicly funded culture, commercial culture and homemade culture" (Holden, 2015: 02), spheres that are mirrored in radio's broadcasting models. By applying this proposed model of spheres to the radio industry I focused on three broadcasting models: commercial, community and public service radio (the BBC). Researching this combination of models, as proposed within the ecological approach to culture, highlighted the relationships and patterns that exist within the overall radio industry. Markusen (2011: 08) explains that the cultural economy encompasses "… the many networks of arts and cultural creators, producers, sponsors, participants, and supporting casts embedded in diverse communities….". Specifically, she defines it as "the complex interdependencies that shape the demand for and production of arts and cultural offerings". Using the framing of culture proposed by Holden (2015: 02), it is also important to acknowledge it as "…an organism not a mechanism; it is much messier and more dynamic than linear models allow". Therefore, to analyse the collected data I accounted for, and compared, the influence that the contextual framings of radio practice can have on articulations and manifestations of creativity, and a political economic approach was valuable in this respect. I also recognised the "willed affinity" of radio as an industry through an exploration of similarities, where, as proposed by Holden, radio can be recognised as a micro-ecology in its own right. He argues that within this micro-ecology "…careers develop, ideas transfer, money flows, and product and content move, to and fro, around and between the funded, homemade and commercial subsectors". Accounting for creativity within this allowed for an understanding of its shifting nature, which is influenced by its context and the individuality of each radio practitioner.

The stations and companies discussed within this dissertation are all located in the Midlands and London. Whilst acknowledging that alternative radio broadcasting models and practices exist, such as, online radio and podcasting, exist within the UK, these have been excluded as they sit beyond the scope of this research. This is due to their ability to function beyond industrial and conventional framings of work, such as regulation. Practitioners within these broadcasting models are, therefore, able to work outside of the influence of gatekeepers such as regulatory bodies in the UK. Consequently, they are situated beyond the spheres of cultural ecology proposed by Holden (2015). Within this model, the publicly funded sector creates public goods through the support of the state or philanthropists, which in the radio industry manifests as the BBC. To research this broadcasting model, I collected data from the autobiographies of BBC radio workers. I also interviewed individuals from, and refer to, a local BBC radio station in the Midlands, and gathered the views of a documentary producer who works for an independent production company creating work for broadcast on the BBC in London. In contrast to state funding, the commercial sector "operates through the marketplace" (Holden, 2015: 07). To research this model, I interviewed a radio worker from a national commercial radio station in London and gathered narratives from the autobiographies of commercial radio workers. Finally, the homemade sector, which in radio manifests as community radio, is "where people make culture for themselves and fund it themselves". Tuned Radio and Midlands Radio are the two community stations that are discussed throughout this dissertation, although I have changed their names for ethical reasons.

Accounting for the environment that individual radio practitioners exist in, the critical media industries studies approach (CMISA) proposed by Havens et al (2009) was influential to this research strategy. This approach is valuable in an exploration of creativity because it recognises that the process from idea generation to the output of a material product is

complex, revolving around decisions that are "contextualized within network goals and regulatory environments" (Havens et al, 2009: 238). Wasko and Meehan (2013: 151) suggest that this now incorporates a study of managers and employees who work in media operations. CMISA was therefore beneficial within this study through the emphasis that is placed on the exploration of cultural workers, such as radio workers, within their environmental frames, accounting for "the structural discourses and conditions within which cultural agents operate". This enabled me to account for the conditions and environments that frame the radio workers featured within this research, factors which shape the very understanding and nature of creativity within the radio industry. As this is the key focus of CMISA, a "multi-method, multiperspective approach to studying media industries, bringing together a variety of different methods as part of a holistic analysis paying equal considerations to economic, corporate and discursive contexts" (Freeman, 2016: 06- 07) is encouraged.

It is acknowledged by Havens et al (2009) that exploring work in this way can in part be achieved through the adoption of a political economic approach. This is used by Caldwell (2008: 04) within his research, who acknowledges that it is beneficial when used alongside other methods, and I found this to be the case within my own research too. As noted by Holt and Perren (2009: 07) the allocation of resources is a core consideration, specifically; "how they favour some at the expense of others and how greater equity can be obtained throughout society". However, they also acknowledge that this has had different applications globally. Adopting elements of a political economic strategy within this study served a particular purpose. This purpose is explained by Mosco (2009: 32) in his definition of the concept that he proposes within his exploration of the political economy of communication: "the study of the social relations, particularly the power relations, that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources". Therefore, the political economy tradition was valuable within this research as I was able to embrace an organisational and industry

perspective to research the nature of radio's creativity as shaped by the radio environment. I researched factors including political, economic, technological, cultural, and regulatory or policy environments, as done by several theorists, to reflect on the way that these influence practice (Shingler and Wieringa, 1998: 1-3; Hilmes, 2002; Hendy, 2000: 15-21). While most of these factors are discussed in the later chapters of this dissertation, the technological environment of radio is explored to a lesser extent. This is because the research participants within this study did not pay much attention to, or place an emphasis on their technological environment and production tools as shaping their practice or influencing their notions of creativity. Consequently, while different production tools are used by the practitioners within this research, this does not impact the discourses that they present surrounding radio's creativity.

The political economic approach is also recognised as beneficial in an exploration of creativity as highlighted by Cottle (2003: 05) who aligns political economy with notions of creativity, explaining that it facilitates an exploration of "agency versus structure, creativity versus constraint, conspiracy versus convention". Within their wider exploration of media studies trends, Holt and Perren (2009: 07) reflect that the various strands of critical political economy contribute to media studies in notable ways but acknowledge that "the approach is not sufficient in and of itself". Havens et al (2009: 236) explain that on its own the political economic approach has a reductionist tendency:

> …if and when popular culture is considered within a political-economic analysis, there is a reductionist tendency to treat it as yet another form of commodified culture operating only according to the interest of capital. There is little room to consider the moments of creativity and struggles over representational practices from that vantage point.

Therefore, uniting this approach with institutional and cultural analysis as proposed by Holt and Perren (2009), the political economic focus on ownership, regulation, and production is united with the interest surrounding texts, discourse, audiences, and consumption that forms

the basis of cultural studies. Whilst critiquing the operationalisation of a political economic approach to media studies research, Havens et al (2009) propose the deployment of a political economic focus alongside their own approach due to the similar aims surrounding the type of data that they seek to gather. In my research combining these (as done by Caldwell, 2008) enabled the exploration of the radio industry environment, whilst also accounting for what Havens et al (2009: 236) term "the role of human agents… in interpreting, focusing, and redirecting economic forces that provide for complexity and contradiction within media industries". This enabled me to explore "how knowledge about texts, audiences, and the industry form, circulate and change; and how they influence textual and industrial practices" (Havens et al, 2009: 237).

With these various methodological frameworks guiding the research strategy, to explore organisation and industry environments, the collection of data from multiple sources was also key. The practice of triangulation, as discussed by Hammersley and Atkinson (1983: 231), enabled the verification of data with other sources. Adopting this practice, and similar to the method of Caldwell (2008: 04) when analysing the data I used cross-checking; "to keep these individual research modes 'in check' by placing the discourses and results of any one register (textual, ethnographic, interviews and political economy) in critical tension or dialogue with the other". In his research, Caldwell proposes that where media realities are always constructed, this cross-checking is critical. For example, a practitioner may provide a positive perspective of work that is seemingly contrasted by the introduction of cost-saving measures that put workers at risk.

To triangulate data and explore the radio environment and contextual framings that individual practitioners must work within, I collected and analysed information, documentation and guidance from several sources. This is similar to the approach of Caldwell (2009: 347), who draws on three types of texts and rituals for data collection. First,

his exploration of "fully embedded deep texts and rituals" offer an insight into "bounded professional exchanges" and includes sources such as demo tapes, how-to manuals for production technologies and association/member newsletters, specifically aimed at those who work within the industry. "Semi-embedded deep texts and rituals" offer an insight into "professional exchanges with ancillary public viewing", and includes data sources such as trade publications, internship programs and "how to make it in the industry" panels. Finally, the use of "publicly disclosed deep texts and rituals" incorporates those texts that provide "professional exchanges for explicit public consumption" such as making – of documentaries, online websites and viral videos on YouTube.

To explore the role of radio policy and regulation, I drew from Ofcom's guidance regarding radio formats. This combination of sources provided an insight into the political economy of radio, by offering information about the regulatory and financial landscape of the industry. I also utilised events and stories from across the UK radio industry as these demonstrated the ever-changing nature of the radio landscape. This data had particular significance for thinking about changes that had an impact on radio as an industry, and more specifically on organisations, stations and the individuals that work within this. To understand the context of radio practice further I also referred to BBC documentary commissioning guidelines, Myriad handbooks and guides, the Global Radio Mission Statement (Obsession statement) and publicly available quotes and discussions from other radio staff.

Finally, to research defined roles of individual radio practitioners I explored some job descriptions, reflecting on the defined requirements of radio workers roles: A job advert for a Broadcast Assistant at Absolute Radio (Appendix C), a job description for a Music Radio Producer for Somethin' Else who produce "a wide range of shows across the BBC Pop Music Networks" (Appendix D), an Operations Engineer at the BBC (Appendix E), a Software

Engineer Team Lead (Appendix F), and an Assistant Producer at the BBC (Appendix G). These job adverts were identified through an online database search, and I chose a sample of adverts that represented a range of jobs across the UK radio industry at the time of research. I analyse the content of each job description in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation. In particular, during the analysis stage of research, I focused on the sense of radio work that is constructed through the language choices, and the manifestation of creativity within these adverts. These were valuable as they provided an additional perspective surrounding the nature of creativity in the radio industry

3.4 Collecting Individual Narratives of Radio Practice

In addition to researching the context of radio practitioners, to understand the nature of radio's creativity, this dissertation emphasises the importance of the individual narratives of radio workers. In particular, the narratives presented in later chapters focus on their discussions of production practices and their views surrounding the creativity of their work. This section outlines the research approach that was taken to collect this data, and in particular, drawing influence from the research strategy of Caldwell (2008), I highlight an approach that facilitated an investigation of the radio industry's complexities through an exploration of the way that radio workers present themselves and their work. Caldwell (2008: 05) explains that his own research focused more on "studying the industry's own self-representation, self-critique, and self-reflection" than seeking out 'authentic', 'behind the scenes' realities of the media industry. To gather individual narratives from radio workers, my own research piloted observations, and used interviews and autobiographical analysis. Material gathered through this element of the research strategy was productive as it collected thick descriptions that provided rich insights into the lives of individual practitioners who exist within radio's creative world. This use of interviews aligns with Draper's (2014: 1121)

study of creativity within the magazine industry, which conducted semi-structured interviews to explore "how practitioners with varying levels of authority and experience make sense of the production process and negotiate their creative responsibilities". Unlike a traditional ethnographic approach, Draper conducted these interviews without using observations. Despite this, he highlights that his method allowed an in-depth assessment of the production process. While not conducting observations, as with my approach he "placed their responses in critical dialogue with one another to identify patterns…". Using interviews also enables the exploration of a phenomenon through the perspectives of those individuals directly involved with it and allows the incorporation of multiple points of views (Conrad, 2014: 778).

This dissertation frames radio workers as creative workers; those who work in primarily creative roles within the creative industries. Framing them in this way enabled a productive exploration of creative labour (McGuigan, 2010: 326; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011; Florida, 2002: 03; Banks, 2010) by exploring the different creative elements of work that these individuals undertake. However, as I argue throughout this dissertation, non-artistic and craft labour (Banks, 2010) is an equally important element of their roles as radio workers and volunteers. Therefore, I also asked questions that allowed me to explore these activities. Using qualitative research methods, enabled the collection of data surrounding the individual radio worker that provided:

> subjective accounts of what people are doing, how they account for their lives, their passions, their sense of self, then the most valid research method is that which will enable the researcher to listen to those accounts, those narratives, those stories of the everyday (Gray, 2003: 71).

Seeking narratives from across three broadcasting models, the community radio volunteer perspective included in this dissertation comes from interview content with three practitioners. In contrast, to collect stories of work in BBC radio and commercial radio, I gathered data from both interviews and autobiographies. Where data gathered through interviews was less rich, particularly in commercial radio, autobiographies were beneficial. In

particular, they provide access to further in-depth insights into the world of radio

practitioners. These practitioners' careers have often spanned numerous years, stations and

broadcasting models, and so they are able to reflect on this variety of experience. In this

research I used the autobiographies of John Peel (2005), Jo Whiley (2009), Annie

Nightingale (1999), Chris Moyles (2006, 2007), Chris Evans (2010), Scott Mills (2012), John

Myers (2012) and David Lloyd (2017). When analysing content from these autobiographies I

was aware that they can often present mediated accounts of work in the radio industry, and

often relate to the work of 'celebrity' radio practitioners. The work of Eakin (1985: 03), for

example, highlights the relationship between "the freedoms of imaginative creative on the

one hand and the constraints of biographical fact on the other". However, these

autobiographies do have value through their discussions of practitioners' radio journeys,

contextual framings of their work and, often the use reflexivity to explore these further,

providing valuable personalised narratives on how and why they undertook particular

practices and created certain types of content. I have been selective about the inclusion of

content from these autobiographies, choosing elements that relate to the everyday working

practices of radio practitioners, regardless of the 'status' that they have. Additionally,

throughout this dissertation I recognise that views, experiences and discourse of radio are

aligned with the individual nature of radio workers. This is the case for both the interview

participants and the discourses constructed within the autobiographies that I have analysed.

To negotiate interview access, and for reasons of practicality, I interviewed seven

radio practitioners from across the Midlands and London. The geographical location of these

participants allowed me to undertake face-to-face interviews and observe two of the

volunteer participants at work. To source participants, I used a combination of methods;

contacting practitioners that I know within the radio industry, circulating emails, using social

media, and contacting individual radio stations directly. With both my selection of

autobiographies and interview participants, the intention was not to collect a sample of participants that represent all types of radio work across all broadcasting models. Instead, the selection of participants to interview, and choice of autobiographies to analyse, enabled the collection of detailed stories and perspectives surrounding practice and creativity. In an industry that is varied, where the role of a 'radio presenter' may be different at each station within the UK, this study instead was opportunistic about gaining access to individuals that provided insights and rich narratives about what it means to be a radio practitioner. Although, through my interviews and autobiographical analysis I have collected the perspectives of volunteers, employees and managers. Additionally, as Gray (2003: 101) recognises, "… in small-scale projects the core of respondents should be identified in relation to their capacity to provide as rich a set of data as can be managed". I interviewed participants from across BBC, commercial and community radio, but these individuals are not only representative of their current employment or voluntary status in radio. Within the ecological approach to culture, it is recognised that culture is dynamic and that individual careers develop through experiences across the three spheres of culture (Holden, 2015: 13-14). As I will highlight in the coming chapters, these practitioners' journeys within the radio industry have led them to work or volunteer for different types of broadcasting models and undertake varied and diverse roles. Exploring these journeys requires the discussion of experiences from different time periods, and an acknowledgement that individuals may work with different production tools. For example, Jo Wiley (1997) in her autobiography reflects on her daughter starting school in 1997 and the impact that this had on her attitude towards her job. This enables each practitioner to bring a unique perspective that enhances this research. When discussing production technology in the later chapters I use particular case studies to illustrate the wider themes that I am exploring. Additionally, when analysing the data collected through interviews and autobiographical analysis, my primary aim is to bring attention to the

discourses, commonalities and themes that emerged which traverse time periods, broadcasting models and potential role distinctions. For example, precarity is an element of radio work that all of the participants alluded to.

3.4.2 Research Participants

Before I present the detailed method used to conduct interviews, I will provide an introduction to each of the interview participants that are discussed throughout this dissertation. In doing so I will demonstrate that these individuals are indicative of a wider set of issues and environments that are faced by radio industry workers more generally. Therefore, discussions with them provided valuable accounts surrounding the specificities of radio's creativity. Furthermore, the narratives of these workers are central to the argument posed in this dissertation. Therefore, it is important to understand the background of each participant before I reference them in later chapters. My selection of interview participants was based on a desire to be representative of the distinction and variation that exists within the radio industry, and I interviewed individuals from a combination of radio organisations within the UK. These radio practitioners also had a variety of roles within what can be argued to be the chain of creativity within the radio production process; a manager, a station founder, a broadcast journalist, a celebrity producer, presenters and/or producers and an independent documentary producer.

Amy: Volunteer at 'Tuned Radio'

While studying for an English degree, Amy spent six months in a work experience role at the BBC. One of the producers noticed that she had a good voice for radio and this caused Amy to start work at, as she termed it, a pirate radio station. Following this she commenced a voluntary role for a local community radio station in Birmingham. Amy described herself as

a presenter and producer, while also organising and helping with events at the station and working in a PR role to find interviewees both for herself and other volunteers. Each week Amy produces and presents a day-time, three hour, weekday show referred to as *Community and Creative Weekly*. This show consists of three parts focusing on community, care and creativity.

Pete: Former Founder and Current Volunteer at 'Midlands Radio'

Pete volunteered for a hospital radio station for 15 years until the hospital closed. Following this he worked to establish a community radio station in his local area. He now volunteers for this local community station in the West Midlands. Having previously founded and worked as chairman and chief executive for this station he was able to provide a unique perspective on this broadcasting model. At the time of our interview, Pete (2017) considered himself to have "very much a backseat role" as a "humble presenter". He presents two programmes, an evening niche music show, and a Sunday afternoon show comprising primarily of interviews and live music.

Andy: Volunteer at 'Midlands Radio'

Andy (2018) started his current role in radio having decided to try community radio to help boost his self-confidence and seeing an advert for presenters in a local free paper for a station that was being established in his area. After months of chasing, he was given the role and now volunteers there as a "presenter, producer, of a weekly jazz show" at the same community radio station as Pete. Describing his programme as a "specialist brand", he explained that it is part of the evening programming, between 9pm and 11pm. Andy is significant within this research through his specific role as a niche programme broadcaster

and additionally through his reflexivity having previously undertaken an MA in radio practice to develop his skills further.

Hannah: Broadcast Journalist at the BBC (specialising in live news broadcast production)

At university, Hannah (2018) studied documentary production and her avid listening to Radio Four led to volunteering at a local BBC radio station while undertaking her degree. After developing a portfolio of work, she started a job in Nottingham as a broadcast assistant. She has now been on a permanent contract at the BBC for 22 years, albeit in different roles and at different stations. Currently, Hannah works for a local BBC radio station with the official job title of Broadcast Journalist, although her primary role is "radio car reporter, live reporter into breakfast"; this has always been her favourite role. Having worked for the BBC for 22 years, she provides a valuable perspective with her ability to reflect on her current working practices and environment, while also thinking retrospectively about the changes that have occurred throughout her time in this organisation.

Mark: Hannah's Manager and Broadcast Journalist at the BBC

Having an interest in music journalism, Mark (2018) discovered student radio whilst studying at university and presented his show for the duration of his degree. This became his main interest, spending "more time in the student radio station than I did actually working on my degree". Due to this interest, and following his undergraduate degree in Journalism, a friend recommended a Masters Degree where he discovered his love of local news journalism. During this time, he gained work experience in a local radio environment and subsequently worked in a variety of roles; this included freelance work and answering the phones at a local commercial radio station before gaining a role as a Broadcast Assistant. He currently works as a Broadcast Assistant for the same local BBC radio station as Hannah, producing the

breakfast and mid-morning shows. While his official title is the same as Hannah, he works in a managerial role and is referred to by Hannah as her manager.

Verity: Award-winning BBC Radio Documentary and Features Producer working at an Independent Production Company

Having completed a language degree at university, Verity (2018) spent a year abroad working as a primary school English teacher. Discovering a passion for radio, she undertook a number of internships before deciding to learn radio production techniques. Following this, Verity volunteered at a community radio station, before gaining a role at an independent production company that make documentaries and features for the BBC, where she now works on a full-time basis. In the last two years at this company, Verity has made about 10 – 15 programmes and received several awards for her work. Similar to Amy (2017), Verity is valuable through her ability to reflect on the differences between work in community and BBC radio broadcasting, whilst providing a different perspective to the other BBC practitioners that feature in this dissertation through her role as an independent documentary producer.

John: A Celebrity Booker for a National Commercial Radio Station

John's (2018) passion for radio was clear throughout our interview. John first wanted to work in radio when he was about eight years old after hearing that to become a CBBC presenter it was recommended that you volunteer for a Hospital Radio Station. John's route into radio differs to the other participants, as he specifically studied radio at university, gaining a first-class degree as well as receiving two student radio award nominations. John now works three days a week as a freelance celebrity producer at a national commercial radio station. This role

includes booking suitable celebrities that presenters at his station can interview. Alongside this role, he also works as a freelancer in public relations.

3.4.3 Collecting Radio Narratives Through Interviews

To collect the narratives of these radio workers I primarily utilised research interviews, and I will outline and justify the specific technique employed in this section. Reflecting on the media practitioner's reflexivity, Caldwell (2009: 202) highlights that media practitioners, specifically those in film and television, regularly dialogue and negotiate their cultural identities through questions that occur within their work environment, relating to their work and discipline. However, while these conversations may take place, the practitioner will not necessarily systematically think through the deeper meanings of their work. This applies to the radio industry, where practitioners recognise the concept of creativity as desirable to possess, but where creativity itself is not an explicit focus of their daily work routines. Therefore, the use of interviews within this research responded to this assertion and were valuable to facilitate a discussion about the deeper meanings of radio production work.

In their study of creative labour in the television, recording and magazine industry, Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2011: 15) see interviews as providing a space for more reflexive conversations about practice than would usually occur. Furthermore, within their research, interviews are recognised as events that encourage individuals "to reflect in language on processes that they may, for most of the time, take for granted". However, they acknowledge that interviews are limited by the fact that some elements of practice will still go unaccounted in reflections of work, even if prompted by the researcher, such as "…the unacknowledged conditions, unconscious motivations and unintended consequences of what we do" (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011: 16). In their study, they respond to this challenge by gathering in-depth information about their participants and using limited guidance. My

research took a similar approach, preparing a series of topics and questions before the interviews, but only using them as a guide during the interview process. In doing so, I adopted a flexible strategy, responding to the interviewees and the direction of their discussions as they occurred. This informal interview technique allowed the participants to lead the conversation, using questions to facilitate the expansion of ideas.

The first part of my interviews served two purposes. First, I initiated discussion through the use of questions that acted as an 'icebreaker' (Johnson, 2002: 111). Through this, I built a relationship with the participants whilst also gathering information about their background and their work environment and practice. To explore the journey of each radio practitioner and understand the specific nature of their roles, I asked questions about their current roles, employment history, and motivation for working in the radio industry. Using the theoretical frameworks introduced during the first two chapters of this dissertation, I also created a set of specific topics that would allow me to explore a variety of elements of their role and workplace; scheduling, formatting and consolidation, their working day, teamwork, processes, technology, funding, ownership, regulation and competition.

Thinking more specifically about the exploration of creativity, and while reflecting on the varied research perspectives and disciplines that explore the concept, McIntyre (2012: 03) highlights that what "each of them has had to contend with is a set of common-sense understandings that often colour the way that people deal with their own creative action". Through this, he acknowledges a disparity between conceptions of creativity in academia and those understandings that the rest of the population have. Caldwell (2008: 05) also asserts that as researchers, we should seek to explore indigenous cultural theory that exists beyond the academic. As an example, research participants in this study do not recognise or articulate themselves as embodying creative labour in a theoretical sense. Therefore, immediate reflexivity surrounding the creativity of their practice was not natural for them.

Academic notions of creativity are productive, however, these conceptions required framing and structuring by myself as a researcher to facilitate a productive discussion. Therefore, the interview approach taken drew inspiration from these discussions, but structured and worded questions in a way that provided the participants with a space to talk about their creativity as makes sense to them. This enabled me to explore elements of creativity in the radio industry while using terminology that would be more natural for the research participants. Consequently, they were able to discuss their identity as creative workers through questioning about their work environment and practices. Recognising that these discussions may not be normative or intuitive, I used terminology that would be more accessible to the research participants. The first half of the interviews avoided the use of the word 'creativity', instead allowing for the topic of creativity (or synonymous phrases such as innovation, or the generation of new content) to occur naturally, if at all. As an example, in the first half of the interview, instead of using the academic loaded phrase of 'creative process', I used questions as prompts for discussion, including:

- *Talk me through the process of developing an individual show.*

- *Who develops the ideas for the content that you produce?*

- *Who puts them into practice?*

- *How do you generate new ideas for your show content?*

- *Do you talk these through with people?*

- *Can you just implement them yourselves?*

- *What ideas have you come up with in the past but decided to not go ahead with?*

Facilitating this natural, unforced way of speaking about work was a particularly key focus of the first part of the interviews as it enabled the collection of interview data that focused on

the manifestation of creativity within the radio industry in a way that is specific to radio practitioners. The purpose of these interview topics, areas and questions was to gain a broad understanding of different elements of the radio practitioners' working world. Analysing the data, I link these facets of production with academic articulations of creativity, for example, in chapter six I reflect on the processes that exist in radio production and draw parallels with academic discussions surrounding the process of creativity.

Alongside the first section of the interviews that focused on work environments and practices, having established a relationship with the participants, I also wanted to open up a more focused discussion on their conceptualisations of creativity and the way that this creativity manifests itself within their work. To prompt this thinking, I explored creativity under various topic areas including: defining creativity, creative practice, the desirability of creativity, managing creativity, radio as a creative industry, the creative practitioner, teaching creativity and synonyms for creativity. Questions were framed in particular ways to explore their individual conceptualisations of creativity, for example asking them '*How would you define creativity?'* or '*Beyond your station, can you give me an example of a creative piece of radio?'*. Additionally, I prompted them to think about the specificities of creativity within their practice and workplace environment by, for example, asking '*How often does 'creativity' come up in team meetings or discussions with other people at your station about the work that you do?'*. This combination of questions provided an overview of the multiple ways that creativity manifests within the radio industry, as I explore in subsequent chapters.

3.4.4 The Importance of Building Rapport

Through the use of semi-structured interviews, or as Gray (2003: 95) terms "structured conversations", my discussions also enabled me to establish rapport with the participants "so that she or he gains confidence and feels comfortable in responding freely". I met the

participants in an environment that was external to their workplace to avoid the possibility that they may construct their responses in a particular way if they felt pressure from their workplace, for example, if their manager walked past. To ensure comfort, I allowed them to choose our meeting place, meaning that I conducted four interviews in coffee shops, one in a public house over lunch and one in a home. The only exception to this was when due to timetabling commitments I met one participant in the café of their radio station building. However, as I had already established a good rapport with this participant, I made the judgement that we would still have an open discussion. As well as this, I was also aware that as radio practitioners they may have felt distracted if I used a formal voice recorder to record our conversations. To overcome this, I used my phone for recording as this was less likely to distract the participants and cause them to put on a 'performance' when constructing their answers. However, for ethical reasons, they did know that they were being recorded, although to relax the participants I made it clear that the recordings were for transcription purposes only. To ensure secure data storage I immediately removed the audio recordings from the phone and uploaded them to an encrypted Microsoft OneDrive folder.

To encourage the participants to speak openly and honestly about their work, without mediating their responses to portray a particular discourse, my background as a practitioner was important. Having previously volunteered in hospital radio and undertaken a degree specialising in radio production, I was able to demonstrate an acquaintance with the radio culture that I was studying, drawing on examples from my practice to build a relationship with the research participants. This was important because, as acknowledged by McPhee and Terry (2017: 116-117), to build rapport the ability to offer "respect and recognition of the other person's world" is a key element of qualitative interviews. Drawing on my knowledge surrounding the conventions of radio I was also able to use radio specific terminology and examples to enhance my discussion with the participants. This was valuable as I was able to

continue a conversation without interrupting the flow to ask for a definition or explanation. This allowed me to focus on the key discourses and ideas that were constructed through their discussions, rather than focusing the conversation around a need to understand the basics of radio practice, such as the functionality of the production software or the legal and regulatory landscape that frames the industry.

3.5 Pilot Observations

The observation of creative workers in their cultural environment is argued by Singer (2009) to be productive. Alongside interviews and analysis of autobiographies, I therefore drew influence from theorists such as Hammersley and Atkinson (1983: 24), and undertook two pilot environmentally contextualised observations, and initiated conversations at the same time. An environmentally contextualised observation allowed for the 'environment' to be viewed in a cultural sense, accounting for both the physical environment and wider contexts such as funding and regulation where applicable, often evidenced through the data collection methods that I discussed earlier. I anticipated that observing the work of these practitioners within their station would allow me to view practices that may not have been articulated during the interview stage. Influenced by Caldwell's (2009: 202) research, I observed Amy (2017) and Pete (2017) at work, asking them to discuss the practices that they were undertaking. I spent time with Amy while she was assuming preparation and broadcasting activities at Tuned Radio, and with Pete whilst he was preparing and broadcasting his live Sunday afternoon show which involved an interview and live music segment. The pilot observations were interesting, but I found that the practices I observed mirrored the discussions that occurred during the interview. Furthermore, while I anticipated that the use of observations would allow the research participants with another opportunity for reflexivity about their work, I found that the reflexivity was significantly more prominent during the interview stage. Due to this, and the access issues for the observations of other participants, I

decided to only use content from these two observations and use interviews for the remainder of my research.

3.6 The Ethics of Researching Creativity

When researching creativity, several issues surfaced that I want to focus on in this section. Through this, I discuss the ethical approach that this research took. In particular, I focus on the ethics of analysing work practices, the desirability of creativity, and creativity as offering a competitive advantage for organisations which has implications for research accessibility.

3.6.1 Analysing Work Practices

Analysing work practices both through interview and observation requires ethical consideration. As highlighted by Paterson et al (2016: 06), when organisations allow research to take place, they "risk criticism when they permit independent analysis of what they do: what makes sense in the context of their business may look irresponsible or arrogant to people outside of that context". Therefore, researchers face a challenge when attempting to gain access because organisations may be suspicious of the researcher, and "secretive corporate cultures … see little value in inviting observation of their work (Paterson et al, 2016: 05). They also highlight that the sensitive management of data is required. Having gained access for interviews and observations I briefed each participant about the research purpose, which was to explore individual work practices. Through this, I gained informed consent and made it clear that this research does not intend to criticise individual practitioners or their work. In addition, the pilot observations were overt (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983: 02), making my presence as a researcher clear to the participants and other workers in their station environment.

3.6.2 Considering Creativity as Competitive Advantage

Competition is a key feature of the radio industries, manifested through what Norberg (1996:10) terms the 'unconventional strategy' where radio stations seek to develop content that differs to their competition. The generation of different content aligns with notions of creativity, and as such, I was aware that the participants may find this a particularly productive way to talk about their work. I was attuned to the possibility that these participants may withhold information about upcoming creative projects as the publication of these ideas in this dissertation could result in a competing station seeing this idea through to fruition before their own station could. Alongside ideas, where individuals or organisations deem themselves as creative in their approach to work, presenting this within this dissertation could be problematic as it would be making practices public that the organisation or individuals may want to keep private. I anticipated that this may have been particularly relevant in commercial stations, where their practices link to economic incentives. Therefore, I incorporate a number of other data sources to explore each broadcasting model. Where I was able to gain access, to ensure an open conversation about these practices, I made it clear prior to our interviews that any information disclosed will not be publicly available for over a year and a half. I also allowed all individuals the opportunity to read my work before its publication, providing them with a chance to give their opinions and highlight any areas that they would like altered or removed.

3.6.3 The Desirability of Creativity

Researching creativity poses several ethical challenges that I addressed when developing the methodology. First, due to constructions of creativity as a positive, desirable trait (particularly within the creative industries), my work required sensitivity about this topic. To ensure academic rigour it was important to include evidence which suggests that non-creative

practices take place. However, in an industry that revolves around innovation from practitioners, I did not want the publication of this information to have negative repercussions for the individual research participants. Therefore, I was sensitive in the presentation of this data, changing the personal information of all participants to ensure their anonymity. Additionally, while describing an individual participant's role was key to the analysis of data, I changed or removed the name of the specific programme and station that they work for as an additional measure. As this dissertation is not a case study of individual radio stations, and instead frames the individual participants as representative of wider themes that relate to radio work and creativity, the naming of specific stations is not critical to an understanding of this research. I also ensured that ethical considerations were an on-going process throughout the research and to achieve this I gave all participants the right to withdraw at any time.

3.7 Conclusion: Researching Creativity in Radio

This chapter has built on the two previous chapters which synthesised theoretical debates about the concept of creativity, the creative industries, the nature of radio and the radio industry. I have proposed a combined method of data collection which facilitated an exploration of creativity within the radio industry through a focus on individual radio workers, their workplace, and the industry environment that frames their work. Using the cultural ecology approach (Holden, 2015: 02) provided a framework for the scope of this research, which incorporated community, commercial and public service (BBC) broadcasting models. Furthermore, responding to limitations in the fields of creative industries and radio studies research, and a lack of clarity surrounding the concept of creativity, I have argued that a defined strategy is necessary to research the creativity of the radio industry. Drawing on political economic, media studies and critical media industry studies research methods this chapter has outlined the methodological approach utilised in this study.

To gather a holistic view of radio's creativity I have argued that a flexible strategy was required. Therefore, I used a multi-level and multi-method approach which encompassed the three levels of creativity outlined in chapter two, through individual, team and organisational perspectives (Mathisen, Einarsen and Mykletu, 2012: 358). In this chapter, I have outlined the use of qualitative methodologies within this research. In particular, I have highlighted that this research drew inspiration from Caldwell's (2008) study of the TV and film industry and his combined methodological approach. Within my own research, using a combination of methods provided a rich insight into the lives of radio practitioners, and the environment that they negotiate and exist within. The data gathered through this strategy enabled me to answer my primary research question: *How does radio as an industry define, practice and negotiate creativity?*

In order to collect individual narratives from radio practitioners I used in-depth interviews, autobiographical analysis and initially undertook observations of practitioners at work. To research the defined roles of individual radio practitioners I also gathered data from job descriptions. My selection of interview participants was based on a desire to be representative of the distinction and variation of the roles and work that exists within the radio industry. Furthermore, the individuals featured in this dissertation are indicative of a wider set of issues and environments that are faced by radio industry workers more generally.

To research creativity in a workplace and production context, I have emphasised that the context itself must be considered. In this research I have explored the station and wider industry environment which I analyse throughout this dissertation. Using elements of the political economic research approach enabled me to assess the wider environment that the individual radio worker must negotiate. Critical media industries studies, as proposed by Havens et al (2009), recognises the importance of considering the media workers' negotiation of their environment. In addition, it encourages research of the contextual factors, such as

regulatory requirements, that shape such work. Throughout this dissertation, I apply these approaches by reflecting on the ways in which these environments influence the articulation and manifestation of creativity within the UK's radio industry. In this chapter I have outlined my use of radio documentation, policy and news stories to explore the workplace and industry environment that frames the work of practitioners.

In the following chapters, I will synthesise and analyse the data gathered through the presented research approach. Over four chapters, I explore multiple framings of radio's creativity, accounting for individual practitioner narratives, and the station and industry environment that shapes them. I begin this by discussing the nature of the radio worker's role and reflecting on their position as creative industries workers more broadly.

CHAPTER FOUR
BEING A RADIO WORKER

This is the first of four chapters that present the findings of my research. These chapters respond to the research questions that I outlined in chapter three, exploring articulations of radio's creativity, the practices and processes of radio production, and the way that the radio environment shapes radio work. I discuss the radio environment last, as this mirrors the hierarchical privilege that was portrayed by the research participants when discussing their practice. To these practitioners, it is most important to consider their work, and it was only as an afterthought, or when prompted through subsequent questioning, that they would demonstrate their awareness of the way that the radio environment shapes their practice. These chapters each relate to the role of individual radio practitioners and the narratives presented are shaped by their employment environments. Therefore, in this chapter I focus on the nature of work in the radio industry and explore the position of radio practitioners as creative industry workers.

Drawing on the paradigms of creative industries work explored in chapter two, this chapter considers what it means to be a contemporary radio worker, and the implications this has on current discourses surrounding the medium as creative. In turn, I will also highlight the key distinctions between radio work and other creative industries, and, more importantly, what this practice may mean for theoretical notions of creativity. I begin by outlining the role of the radio worker, highlighting the different discourses that exist when the notion of creativity is aligned with debates surrounding commerce. Following this, I explore the variety of roles that exist within the radio industry, emphasising the increased demand for multi-skilled workers. I also account for the humdrum inputs that are required in radio production, and use the role of the radio documentary producer as a case study through which to explore

Caves' (2003) concept. I then focus on the precarity and insecurity that is a recognised feature of creative industries work. Specifically, in the radio industry I discuss; the use of vague terminology in contracts, low pay, insecurity, competition, working beyond a 9 to 5 job, and the blurring of work/life boundaries. I highlight that these features of work create a sense of flexibility but argue that this can also be framed as precarity. Finally, I question the acceptance that radio workers have of these conditions. Through this, I emphasise that due to a romantic view of radio work, and a sense of privilege to work in this industry, workers accept these conditions, framing their work as passion, and consequently 'self-commodify' to maintain their position.

I conclude that while radio is a desirable place of work for many, it must also be acknowledged as a precarious industry. The radio industry does, in some respects, align with discourses of creative industries labour, but features traits that are unique due to the nature of radio production. In particular, due to a decrease in demand for workers, individuals now undertake multiple activities, incorporating both creative and non-creative tasks within their role. Therefore, radio does not neatly fit with divisions of creative industries labour that are outlined in policy.

4.1.1 Paid Contracts vs Unpaid Work

Before I commence an in-depth exploration about what it means to be a radio worker, I want to begin this chapter by building on my analysis of employment in the radio industry, and the association between commerce and creativity that I presented in the first two chapters of this dissertation. As I noted in chapter one, researching the radio industry as a whole requires consideration of both paid workers within commercial, public service and sometimes online radio, and unpaid workers that volunteer for community, hospital or student radio, or those who undertake internships. This section focuses on the diverse and distinct nature of radio

work in the UK, starting with the fundamental differences between paid and unpaid radio work. Furthermore, I will revisit theoretical conceptions surrounding art and commerce (Caves: 2003), developing this discussion by reflecting on it within a radio context. Through this, I reflect on the complexity of these roles and explore the influence that commerce has on a radio worker's ability to be creative. I also pay particular attention to the value that individuals place on their work, which differs across paid workers and unpaid volunteers. In chapter two I referenced Harney's (2010) assertion that the industrialisation and commodification of creativity is central to an understanding of what the creative industries represent, where business and capitalism shape the nature of creative work. The commodification of creativity is mirrored in the radio industry, where commercial stations seek to generate income from advertising (Wall, 2000: 181; Chignell, 2009: 25), and public service broadcasters aim to justify their license fee (Wedell and Crookes, 1991; Lister et al, 2010: 25; Starkey, 2004; Chignell, 2009: 141; Scannell, 1992; 319; McCullagh, 2002: 92). Radio is therefore noteworthy in relation to discussions of creativity and commerce because the existence of both a paid and unpaid workforce provides points for comparison.

In his autobiography, Chris Moyles (2006: 122), a radio presenter who, when his autobiography was published, worked for BBC Radio One, terms radio his "business", and this represents the nature of radio work for many that are employed in this industry. While a passion for radio may have initiated the desire to work in this particular industry over others, the payment that they receive for their work is a consideration that must be made. As an example, when reflecting on a radio job that he was offered in Carlise, Moyles explains that whilst his passion resides within radio and he could potentially see value in working in the new role, this did not outweigh the need for greater financial reward. This consideration of finance as part of the decision-making process was also articulated by the research participant John (2018). Having desired to work in the radio industry from a young age, John now

acknowledges that when seeking to make a living through radio work, economic considerations must be made. Therefore, while currently working for a commercial radio station, he clarified that future decisions surrounding the type of station that he would work for are determined by money:

> I would never go to community radio, there's not enough money. I'd love to go to the BBC but it's money, at the end of the day money is happiness now, um I need to enjoy what I'm doing but I need money, so as long as the money's there, there's no point working in Community Radio 'cause there's no money there.

While John would love to work for a reputable organisation such as the BBC, he holds the view that as they are funded through a license fee, they would be unable to pay their staff as well as commercial stations do. Therefore, his intrinsic motivation to create is not outweighed by his desire to generate a financial reward. These examples further my argument in chapter two surrounding the positioning of these workers within wider discussions of creative industries work. Connecting commerce and creativity, the academic literature surveyed posits that individuals in the creative industries find places and use resources to monetise their creativity (Hartley, 2005: 28). Consequently, the intellectual property that they create or contribute to has revenue-earning potential (Throsby, 2008: 148). Therefore, it is also significant that Amy (2017) perceives productivity at her community station to be lower than at others because volunteers are unpaid.

Where the need to generate commercial reward is recognised by practitioners who frame radio as their job, these workers are at odds with conceptions of creative identity, which suggest that by seeking to make money from your art, you may be seen as 'selling out' (Taylor and Littleton, 2008: 280). However, in my research interviews, none of the participants expressed this view, and one unpaid volunteer named Pete explained that if he could gain paid employment in radio he would. This suggests that financial reward for creative work can be framed as a mark of validation and success (Taylor and Littleton, 2008: 280), which aligns with the view of radio workers who generate finance on a project or

commission basis, such as the independent documentary producer. As asserted by Verity (2018) new ideas must continually be generated in order to seek commission for documentaries. This, in turn, generates income for production companies and consequently pays employee wages. Through this, Verity is an example of an individual for which commerce can be seen as an inspiration for creativity, where the potential financial reward for her work acts as a motivating factor (Negus and Pickering, 2004: 47), and the successful generation of income from commissioned work validates her ideas. In this case, it can be argued that creativity is boosted by commerce. However, further complicating this discussion, Hannah (2018) suggested that the lack of finance at the BBC encourages creativity. She believes that it "probably does make you more creative, yeah. It's a bit of hardship makes everyone creative". Therefore, competing discourses are at play, where individual practitioners hold differing views surrounding the influence of commerce, as highlighted by Negus and Pickering (2004).

For those that undertake unpaid radio work, an emphasis is placed on other types of value that are offered to them. As a result, the relationship between commerce and creativity within their role differs. In community radio, where volunteers are unpaid (Hendy, 2000: 16), radio practice is not framed as 'work'. For example, Amy (2017) describes the time spent at her community radio station as her "day off". As these volunteers do not receive a financial reward for their work, they may instead find themselves rewarded through the opportunity that they have to enhance their community, or to gain work experience that may help them to achieve employment in radio in the future (Coyer, 2006: 129). It is these alternative values offered by community radio that Gaynor and O'Brien (2011: 438) believe creates passionate volunteers. My research suggests that in return for these rewards they invest their unpaid time to create broadcasts, connect with their community, and undertake fundraising activities in order to gain the financial investment that their station needs. However, as recognised by

Huntsberger (2012: 238 – 239), "it is not possible for a community radio outlet to separate itself entirely from the marketplace", and these stations must generate enough financial income to continue existing.

The idea that voluntary roles in community radio are not conceived as 'work' is reinforced by the fact that these volunteers exist beyond traditional employment structures and procedures such as performance reviews. Existing beyond the formalities of paid employment has implications for the creative opportunities that volunteers have. Volunteers experience higher levels of freedom than paid radio workers who must undertake practices that meet the requirements and expectations of the station that employs them. In academic literature, it is often recognised that one reward of creative industries work is the offer of autonomy (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2010), and I revisit this in chapter seven. Within the radio industry, levels of autonomy vary depending on the contractual situation of these workers.

This view was supported by Verity (2018), who was able to reflect on her transition from voluntary work at a community station, to paid employment as a radio documentary producer, acknowledging a greater level of freedom with the former. Where autonomy is offered to radio volunteers, this is recognised as a reward. Andy (2018), for example, explained that having high levels of autonomy is a particularly enjoyable element of his role. This enables him to undertake practices that he feels are suitable and produce content for which he has a real passion and enthusiasm. As distinctions between paid and unpaid labour in the radio industry complicate any neat discussion of generalised working conditions, the remainder of this chapter will primarily focus on work within BBC and commercial radio because the radio practitioners within these broadcasting models are included in paid employment frameworks. To continue this discussion of radio employment, I will focus on

the different roles that exist in radio and consider the demand for multi-skilled workers in this industry.

4.1.2 Different Roles & Multi-Skilled Workers

In chapter two I considered the nature of creative work and the distinction between the creative and support workforce in the creative industries. This section builds on this, highlighting the role that creative and support tasks have in relation to the radio industry workforce. As with these industries, work in the radio industry is diverse and there is a distinction between those individuals who have a direct impact on radio outputs, and those who support them. The radio workforce is broad comprising a wide variety of employees in diverse roles (Keith, 2004: 49). Roles that influence radio output include producers, presenters, broadcast assistants and documentary producers. For example, this is evidenced at the BBC who, within each job description, embed the role within a broad 'job family' or category. An Assistant Producer fits within the Content Production Family (Appendix G), which ties their role to the creation of radio content. Consequently, these types of roles would be classed in policy as specialist employment (Higgs et al, 2008) as these workers undertake a creative role within the creative industries. Furthermore, the role may be classed as creative because individuals will often generate new ideas for content and see these through to fruition.

The radio industry workforce also consists of individuals that exist in support roles in order to make radio function in a business and organisational sense, for example, technical and HR personnel. Banks (2010: 305 - 306) terms this 'craft labour' and highlights that while artists remain the source for ideas that become commodities (Banks, 2007; Hesmondhalgh, 2007), craft labour supports the creative ideas of individuals and helps commodify them (Banks, 2010: 310). In radio, this commodity or product could include a radio documentary

or a live broadcasted radio programme. At the BBC, in contrast to an Assistant Producer, an Operations Engineer works within the Operations Engineer Department (Appendix E), and a Software Engineer Team Lead is embedded within the TV & Radio Engineering category (Appendix F). These individuals have a critical role in the functioning of the radio industry, but play a limited part in the creation of everyday radio content. As such their roles can be categorised as support employment (Higgs et al, 2008). In radio, an individual may, at some point in their career, have worked in a number of these roles. Connecting this with discussions of creativity, throughout a span of work in radio, different degrees of creative input and value exist depending on factors such as the type of station a practitioner works for and the role that they have.

In chapter one, I explored academic literature surrounding the radio workforce, highlighting the multiplicity of roles that exist and the increased demand for multi-skilled workers. Considering the nature of radio work, I have noted a blurring of boundaries between creative and alternative tasks, which aligns with my discussion of creative industries work in chapter two. In particular, the distinction between those who undertake creative practices and those that do not is not clearly defined. For example, documentary producers, may generate ideas, but also spend time filling in forms and applying for commission in order to turn their own creative ideas into paid work. These non-creative tasks may not be framed as enjoyable, yet they are still critical. Providing an example of this, John Myers (2012: 15) in his autobiography reflects on the one job that he loathed alongside other staff at his station, the need to fill in PRS returns: "this was a hand-written form we had to complete for the Performing Rights Society. It logged, among other things, the artist, record label, number, producer, songwriter and total duration of every record we played at the station". Loathing this particular role, but still undertaking it, Myers demonstrates the balance between creative and alternative practice that is central to radio work. As another example, for a celebrity

producer, craft labour manifests through the process of sourcing guests for their radio station. For John (2018), this involves: "… just going on the Radio Times website and celebrity intelligence just to find them. It's not creative, it's just that's what people do". Reflecting on his ability to fulfil his role, John feels that he is unable to be creative, without first undertaking alternative practices such as booking guests to appear at the station that he works for.

Job descriptions are particularly beneficial to demonstrate the variety of work that occurs in radio and the blurring of creative and alternative tasks within one role; I now reflect on the significance of this. To provide one example, a commercial radio job advert by the Bauer Media Group (Appendix C) (who own a number of commercial radio stations in the UK) for a Broadcast Assistant role at Absolute Radio outlines the key purpose of the role which is:

> To assist the Absolute Radio programming team in their day-to-day activities. This is a wide range of tasks which includes audio and video editing, digital & social media work, studio management, show production duties and administrative support to the Content Director.

Using a job advert for a Music Radio Producer as another example, the individual who undertakes this role must fulfil responsibilities including: "Music programming, Music reporting, Studio production, Talent management, Client liaison, Social media management, Scriptwriting, Editorial judgement, Managing assistant producers, Generating ideas" (Appendix D). This list and description of responsibilities evidences the variety of work within the radio industry and tell us something about the individuals who undertake these roles. In order to be successful, these individuals must possess a number of skills; a level of technical knowledge and ability is essential for audio and video editing or programming music and undertaking studio production. To be a Music Radio Producer you must also possess people skills in order to liaise with clients, and both roles require a knowledge of how

to use social media. In contrast, practices such as scriptwriting and generating ideas can be aligned with creative tasks as I discussed in chapter two. Furthermore, these job descriptions support the work of Bonini and Gandini (2015) who question the position of radio producers, referring to them as the 'invisible workers of the invisible medium'. These individuals are "'all-encompassing' programme makers of radio. They generate and research ideas, plan running orders, record and edit material, and very often direct studio operations during transmissions" (Hendy, 2000: 71). The producer undertakes creative tasks such as idea generation, yet also supports these creative practices with non-creative activities. As a result, it is difficult to ascertain where these workers fit in theoretical models of employment types, such as the creative trident model proposed by Higgs et al (2008).

At a wider level, this aligns with changes that have occurred in the media industries more generally. With technological advances and an increase of multi-skilled training, Christopherson (2008), in an exploration of work in the TV industry, highlights a reduction in the number of individuals involved in the production process of a media product. In the radio industry where the production process has become less complex, the opportunities for individuals to undertake multiple roles arises (Hendy, 2004). With this ability to undertake multiple roles and tasks outlined as a requirement in job adverts, individual producers must themselves be multi-skilled (Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea 2010: 42; Starkey, 2004: 05; Carter and Coley, 2012: 57; Cottle, 2003: 135). Through this, a combination of roles are now encompassed within the title of producer, including, "researcher, director, producer, editor, sound recordist…studio operator and presenter" (Hendy, 2004: 69 - 70). As an example, the rise of social media means that presenters for individual shows are able to undertake their own marketing and audience engagement activities, and, consequently, staff who answer the station phones are no longer required. Drawing on the evolution of the BBC since she first started working for them 22 years ago, Hannah (2018) recalled these changes:

… they used to be technical people, but there just isn't the technical people anymore. Everybody has to do everything so... everyone's at the front. Everyone has to be producing stuff to go out on the radio, there are no, there used to be secretaries, there used to be assistants but the assistants to everything and the journalists do everything… [as a result]… even managers often present programmes and record stuff.

Hannah's manager Mark (2018) supported this and explained that he will primarily manage and produce the breakfast show, but additionally undertakes reporting roles, or develops specific features that have been commissioned. This discussion of multi-skilled workers is particularly significant as it further challenges policy distinctions between specialist and support employment (Higgs et al, 2008). Hannah (2018), for instance, develops ideas; an element of her role which would position her as an specialist worker. Yet, she must also perform roles that may have traditionally been the role of a support worker, such as driving the satellite van and setting up equipment. Consequently, whilst in radio work there may be a perceived distinction between elements of work that are creative, and those that are not, it is often one individual radio practitioner that embodies both types of work within their role. This limits the distinction between workers that are wholly creative, and those that exist in support roles.

In thinking about what is at stake here regarding creativity, the *opportunity* for individuals to undertake multiple roles might suggest that they are in control of themselves and have the flexibility to be creative. Carter and Coley (2012: 57) support this by highlighting that large creative licenses are often afforded to multi-skilled producers. From a company perspective, Muoio (2000: 152) notes that they seek fewer individuals with greater aptitude, prioritising creative ability due to this. Incidentally, where producers are often required to make a programme from start to finish (Hendy, 2000: 70) they will, at some point in the production process, undertake the tasks identified as creative in chapter one and two, such as generating ideas and sourcing content (McLeish, 1994: 249). An alternative

perspective, however, could argue that companies are now recruiting fewer individuals as a cost-cutting measure. Consequently, where increased spaces for creativity are afforded to workers, this could be framed as a by-product of these strategic changes. Furthermore, while a producer may cover multiple roles and have more autonomy, they must still ensure that their work fits with requirements imposed by the station and programme format (Hendy, 2000: 70); I revisit these boundaries of practice in chapter seven. Equally, where the individual must spend time thinking about the technical support for their role, this could be argued as leaving less time for them to undertake creative tasks. In this section, I have highlighted that the role of the radio worker incorporates both creative and support activities, therefore, challenging the clear distinctions between the roles of workers within the wider creative industries that are presented in some academic literature and policy documents. In the next section, I will consider, in more depth, the non-creative inputs that are involved in radio production. In particular, the existence of these inputs in radio production aligns with the financial focus of radio as a business.

4.1.3 Humdrum Inputs and Creative Purgatory

When radio is approached as a business it must be acknowledged that companies within this industry seek to generate income (Flew, 2012; Jones et al, 2015; Caves, 2000; Hartley, 2005; Harney, 2010). This needs to be accounted for when researching the motivation of the individual radio practitioner, because, while they may be driven by a desire to make radio or be creative, their work must be commodified in some way to justify their employment. To illustrate this, this section will expand on my earlier discussion of radio documentary production because my conversation with Verity (2018), in particular, demonstrated what Christopherson (2008: 74) terms a duality "between work that engages self-expression and creative skills, and humdrum work, which is driven by economic motives". Verity, as a

creative worker, is motivated by a desire to be creative. Her passion for documentary production and celebration of storytelling within her work was demonstrative of this. Yet she was also conscious of the economic precarity of her role, and, in order to survive financially, alongside the creativity of her work, she consequently engages with 'humdrum inputs' (Caves, 2003: 73). As explained by Caves, these are practices and inputs that are not framed as creative, but are still critical to ensure the successful production of products or output. In documentary production, after the individual creative development of an idea, Verity must complete documentation to apply for commission, adhere to editorial guidelines and complete paperwork on compliance.

Inputs are also required from external sources. Radio documentaries, as recognised in Becker's (1982: 93) notion of art worlds, require a distribution system that integrates "…artists into their society's economy, bringing artwork to publics which appreciate them and will pay enough so that the work can proceed". Where producers are able to secure the broadcast of their documentaries through an existing radio station, their work receives listeners. While radio does not fit as neatly with the notion that these individuals pay for the work, it can be argued that they indirectly pay through their license fee payment at the BBC, or the advertising revenue that they generate for commercial stations by listening to them. Accounting for the differences between individual situations, as an underlying principle, elements of Caves' (2003: 73) concept of contracts can be applied across situations in a radio context. This concept suggests that 'great works of art' require inputs, other than that of the creative, in order to be financially viable. If we take a documentary as a 'great work of art', alongside the creative ideas and talent of the producer, I want to consider the external inputs that are required. This discussion explores a resulting work environment of risk, competition and precarity.

Independent documentary production companies that rely on the generation of commission require input from other parties in order to deliver the content to an audience and (often) pay the creator of the work. If the production company does not receive enough commissioned work, they will not generate sufficient income for all staff wages and consequently with each commissioning round comes the possibility that staff will lose their jobs. Therefore, at a company so reliant on regular financial investment, staff who are in seemingly 'safe' full-time, permanent roles, don't experience the level of perceived job security that could be assumed. Drawing on Caves' (2003: 80) concept of 'complex creative goods' is productive to rationalise why this precarious situation exists. In the context of cinema he posits that "each studio carries out an intensive gatekeeping (filtering) process that keeps numerous projects "in development", a purgatory in which interested parties rework and rewrite their projects to overcome studio skeptics [sic] and obtain the "green light"". This process can be applied to radio documentary production and, using guidelines from the BBC, and my discussion with Verity, I will highlight how and why this notion of a 'purgatory' similarly exists. Through this, I demonstrate one way that radio work can be positioned within academic discourses of the wider creative industries.

In the search for documentaries to broadcast, the BBC regularly facilitate commissioning rounds that enable independent production companies to pitch their ideas. In doing so they position these companies in competition with each other, where funding is limited, and only those ideas and companies that make it through the rigorous commissioning process will receive a financial reward for the time and work that they have invested. The BBC (2019) in their commissioning guidelines frame this competition as positive, stating that "it is in the interest of the UK radio audience that there is a competitive and thriving production supply sector, both inside and outside the BBC". As a result of this competitive environment and their commissioning process, the BBC is able to filter projects and maintain

a number of documentaries that are in progress, meaning a continual supply of high-quality broadcasts that will appeal to their audience.

The extent of these 'numerous projects' in radio documentary production development is particularly significant. Providing an example that is representative of others in the world of independent production, at one point in her career Verity noted a commissioner for the BBC shortlisted 13 programmes. The number of 'in-development' but not yet approved documentaries that existed at this time was extremely high, increasing the competition for individuals, and decreasing their chance of success. Verity did highlight that the BBC now shortlist fewer programmes, yet there are still a number that will be shortlisted and not approved. This is problematic when the BBC only give the 'green light' and offer a financial reward to a couple of these projects after companies have undertaken large amounts of additional research in the hope of securing commission. Therefore, for the independent production company, this process is not as positive as it may be for the BBC, because, as tied to Caves' (2003) argument, it positions them within a type of creative 'purgatory'. Where income for the production company is not guaranteed until the documentary has been successful in securing commission, these documentaries remain "in development". This uncertain period between idea generation, shortlisted ideas, and funded projects, requires both time and financial investment, factors which Hendy (2000: 92) suggest most prominently constrain the work of the radio producer. Furthermore, they are required to undertake more in-depth research, with an attempt to increase company income by eventually gaining financial investment for their ideas. Therefore, this work can be framed as economically precarious, which has implications for the work-life of those within the documentary production field. As explained by Verity (2018), in her particular type of role, "… it was just such a waste of our time, because we would hire extra people to help with the research, and then all that money and then nothing back, it was horrible". Verity also

signifies a sense of value that she places on her time and investment during the research stage, which she feels should be financially rewarded, regardless of the final output. At the time of our interview, Verity knew that she had four documentaries upcoming, but was still waiting to hear back about the rest of the ideas that she had pitched. In the BBC's (2018: 11.2.2) Commissioning Guidelines, they provide generic information about the timeline for the process, highlighting that "Commissioners will be honest about what they think and say 'no' in a timely manner". However, a 'timely manner' is left open to interpretation, although they do state that they will respond to ad hoc ideas within four weeks.

The notion that commissioners will provide an honest opinion and have the authority to say 'no' positions the BBC as gatekeepers, where the commissioner will make a final decision about the documentaries that they fund and broadcast. As BBC radio does not want to fund documentaries that are not going to appeal to their target audience, this gatekeeping process has a direct impact on creativity in radio as it contextualises documentary content through audience considerations. This shapes the ideas and practice of individual radio practitioners through their need to meet these requirements. To understand why documentary production companies do not fund the process from shortlisted to commissioned ideas, I return to Caves' (2003: 75) 'Nobody Knows' principle of creative work. This principle "refers to the fundamental uncertainty that faces the producer of a creative good" surrounding the audience perception of their work. Gatekeepers at the BBC can make judgements based on what has worked in the past (Caves, 2003: 75), yet a radio documentary's success can only be measured once it has been broadcast, for example, where the BBC may check listening figures in order to use these metrics to justify their license fee. The BBC does not want to financially cover the period between idea generation and ideas that their gatekeepers predict will be successful, and as suggested by Caves it is, therefore, the responsibility of the 'creative goods suppliers' to cover financial investments that cannot necessarily be

recovered. Production companies must consequently ensure that they have enough finances set aside to allow for times when their documentaries are not funded, resulting in a decrease in income for the production company.

In an employment environment where commissions are the lifeblood of these producers, Verity (2018) articulated the process as a "risky business". Discussing the work of Boden (1994), Bilton (2010: 265) argues that risk and the possibility of failure encourage creativity that pushes boundaries. In radio documentary production I question if it should be the commissioner or the production company that take this risk. In the current model, where it is the production companies that risk the failure of their ideas and consequent lack of reward for their investment, it is possible that they can lose originality to diminish risk by focusing on the manageability of creative ideas (Bilton, 2010: 265). The BBC (2019) provides guidelines to help shape ideas. For example, they state that:

> Each network publishes guidelines for the commissioning round, setting out the brief for each genre of programme it wants to commission, as well as any subject areas (e.g. an important anniversary) in which it is specifically interested, guide prices, important dates in the process and other useful information.

Through this, they are able to provide a strategy for the production companies to tailor their ideas. As a result, documentary producers, while generating new ideas, are likely to stick to formulas that they know have worked in the past and generate ideas that fit within the boundaries of commissioning guidelines, in order to increase the likelihood of successful financial return.

In this section, I have demonstrated that the humdrum inputs that are required to commodify creative work, shape work in the radio industry. In the context of independent radio documentary production, the commissioners are able to act as gatekeepers, and this creates a 'creative purgatory' for the individual radio worker. Consequently, to decrease risk, workers are likely to generate ideas for documentaries that adhere to an established formula. This raises questions about the nature of radio's creativity, and I revisit this question in the

subsequent chapters. The remainder of this chapter will continue to explore the nature of work in the radio industry. Building on the notions of risk and insecurity that I have introduced in this section, I will outline the precarious nature of radio work.

4.2.1 Precarity and Insecurity

"…And at 6.30 am, I take a deep breath and think, 'I've ruined my life, why am I doing this?... But by about 6.33 am I'm like, 'Oh, ok, because it's the best job ever"- Greg James speaking about his role as the Breakfast Show presenter for BBC Radio One, in Jones (2019).

Whilst growing up I agreed with Greg James. For James (2019) radio is a job that makes getting up at 5:30 am worthwhile, yet beyond this idealistic portrayal of radio work lies deeper issues associated with the nature of creative industries work more generally. Having explored the different inputs that are required with creative work, a discussion about precarity and insecurity has already emerged. It could be argued that radio practitioners have always been creative, but the positioning of radio as a creative industry, as explored in chapter two (DCMS, 2001; DCMS, 2015; Higgs, Cunningham and Bakhshi, 2008; Skillset, 2013) presents new paradigms through which to explore the nature of radio work. Banks and Hesmondhalgh (2009: 419 – 420) posit that creative work often revolves around short-term, project-based and irregular contracts. Consequently, individuals are commonly self-employed, or work on a freelance basis, resulting in a lack of job security. Therefore, a consideration of precarity in the radio industry enables parallels to be drawn between the nature of radio work, and more general discussions of work in the wider creative industries. There are a number of factors that relate to this, which I will explore in the second part of this chapter; vague terminology in contracts, low pay, insecurity and competition, work patterns

beyond the '9 to 5', and a blurring of work/life boundaries that often results from all of these factors. As I will discuss, by working long, unsociable hours, undertaking additional duties or being willing to relocate "according to company demands", radio workers can be embedded within Banks' (2007: 36) notion of flexible creative industries workers. This precarity of radio work is emphasised by Starkey (2004: 05), who highlights that even staff with permanent contracts now face the possibility of redundancy in the future.

To discuss the association between the radio workers' precarity, and wider trends in creative industries work, I will start by exploring the use of vague terminology and the way that this fosters an insecure work environment. In the radio industry, uncertain conditions are created by a lack of specificity in job titles and contracts. This was demonstrated through my discussion with Hannah (2018) and Mark (2018), where they explained that the BBC gives a broad single job description to a variety of staff in order to utilise the opportunity to require and enable flexibility from their staff, in a non-commercial institution. Hannah (2018) has the formal title of Broadcast Journalist but does not have a specific job description for her role. Instead, under this title, she operates within a generic description of work that is given to staff in a variety of roles within BBC Radio. This is further emphasised by the fact that Hannah's manager Mark has the same job title as her. While there is a hierarchical distinction in terms of the decision-making process, and they will often undertake different tasks, in terms of their employment contract, there is no specific distinction between the type of tasks that these individuals may be required to undertake. This expands on the findings of Christopherson's (2008: 88) research into television work, which suggests that roles within the radio production process have become obscured, which in part results from the rise of multi-skilled workers as I explored earlier in this chapter.

By using a broad job description, the BBC are able to ask their staff to undertake new tasks or roles within their employment, without needing to create a new contract. Hannah

(2018), for example, whilst on the same contract, has undertaken a variety of different roles throughout her time at the BBC. From a policy perspective this vague title and broad description of work can be framed as positive as it enables individuals to "respond to the fluctuating and changeable demands of employers" (Banks and Hesmondhalgh, 2009: 422 - 423). In addition, thinking about creativity within this, where a job description is vague it could be argued that individuals have the flexibility to negotiate their role, providing them with more space to be creative. Yet if these individuals are only permitted to be flexible as a way to respond to their employers' requirements, this space for negotiation has a limit.

If the opportunity for autonomy and creativity is not a benefit of these vague contracts, it can be understood why this 'flexibility' is articulated in a less favourable way by radio workers. Staff on permanent contracts at the BBC, such as Mark (2018) and Hannah (2018), do have financial security as the BBC are required to keep paying their staff and cannot terminate their contract without due cause. However, precarity in the context of the job and the work hours that they are expected to undertake, does still exist. For Hannah, 'flexibility' in her role means that, while perhaps unlikely in practice, according to the terms of her job contract, she could be expected to work anywhere in the country, and may be asked to work any hours, any day of the week.

As a real example of this happening, in 2004 it was announced that the BBC would relocate staff from London to Salford. Positively, they did seek to compensate staff for the move and reduce the number of redundancies. As a report into the move, conducted by the National Audit Office (2013) explains:

> To encourage sufficient staff to move, some of the allowances the BBC offered to incentivise and compensate relocating staff and minimise redundancy costs were more generous than it normally offers. For example, the remote location allowance covered the cost of renting property in Salford and travelling to and from London for two years. This allowed staff who were unable or unwilling to commit to moving permanently to keep their homes in the southeast….

This shows that it is possible for roles to be negotiated in order to avoid relocation or receive compensation if this is to happen. However, this term in the contract still creates a sense of insecurity for Hannah (2018), and where work has such an impact on people's lives, regardless of the reality, this sense of insecurity is important to acknowledge. This insecurity is also not unfounded because while she has been geographically secure, throughout her experience of working on a permanent contract at the BBC for 22 years (at the time of our interview), there had been a constant shift in the requirement for days and times that she was expected to work during the week.

Having gained employment in the radio industry, albeit sometimes with vague contracts, practitioners must then contend with another general trend of creative industries work: low pay. Upon gaining his first paid radio job, radio and TV presenter Chris Evans' (2010: 110) excitement quickly rescinded. Having set his standards low, only wanting enough income for petrol and food, he "…quickly discovered that the money on offer wasn't actually going to be enough to fulfil these lowly criteria. On what I was receiving I could afford to either eat or drive but not both…". This too was the case for John Myers (2012: 31), when approached by the commercial radio station, Red Rose Radio, to present a Country Music Show. He was so excited about the offer that he forgot to ask about the fee, but "… as this was the new and exciting world of commercial radio, it was bound to be as good or better than my daily rate at the BBC". He was wrong. For his programme, he received £25 which was to include petrol expenses, and as he spent £20 on petrol, his income was £5 a week (minus tax). Myers had his wife's income to support his own, and while money was tight, they were able to survive; not every practitioner would have this luxury. His next financial step came when the breakfast presenter at his station was let go and he was offered two additional shows, "earning £75 for 3 shows over 2 days", and while his pay was still low, he expresses a love for this experience. Reading these accounts from radio practitioners, what

strikes me is that despite the low pay, these practitioners still express love for radio, and

never appear to question their involvement with this industry, to consider work elsewhere.

One justification for this is proposed by Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2011: 114), who posit

that workers may find themselves exploited, receiving low pay, but: "gift their labour to

companies in order to accrue the experience needed to eventually attain (better) paid

positions". Furthermore, they highlight that problems with pay are often coupled with the

issue of working hours in the cultural industries, noting that:

> This relates to three key aspects: workers needing to be flexible with their time;
> workers not getting paid commensurate to the hours actually worked; and workers
> having to take on second jobs to make ends meet (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011:
> 116).

Starting with the first of these, the need to work flexible hours is mirrored in the radio

industry. Where radio broadcasts often occur 24/7, radio practitioners may find themselves

working hours that do not align with the traditional 9 to 5, Monday to Friday work routine

that we find in other industries. Although as Hendy (2000: 94) recognises, where regular

programming is beneficial for the station, these individuals usually work the same pattern

each week as opposed to shift workers, for example, whose weekly schedule may vary. This

is demonstrated by Chris Evans' (2010: 151) autobiography when he reflects that each show

he worked on would require a change in routine:

> For drivetime I would: get up in the morning and listen to the guy on breakfast; dip in
> to hear what he was up to; take a quick look at the telly and then nip out for the papers
> and start to have a good old mooch as to what was going on in the world…

These varied work patterns are important to account for due to the impact that it can have on

the life of practitioners. Scott Mills (2012: 99), for example, highlights the relief that he felt

in 2004 when he was moved from an early show to two weekend shows every Saturday and

Sunday afternoon:

> Moving off earlies and to be living in the same time zone as everyone else came as a huge relief. I found that I had energy to see my friends and even pay my bills, something I got into the habit of putting off until it was too late. Gone were the days of hiding in the lounge, peeping through the curtains, waiting for the bailiffs to go away; I was a fully functional member of society again.

Working non-traditional hours may be convenient for some, but for many it poses difficulties, such as lacking energy during the day and being awake at a time when most are asleep. What happens when someone who works the night shift and sleeps in the day needs to go to the bank or see a doctor? For others, working non-traditional hours simply does not work when seeking to balance family life. This is something that caused Jo Whiley (2009: 68) to question her employment situation when her daughter started school in 1997, as she discusses in her autobiography:

> Up until then, my night job had been fine, because I'd be with her in the day before going to the studio in the evening and leaving her with Steve. But once she started school she began to really struggle with me heading out the door at bedtime. We'd both be emotional wrecks as she was peeled from my arms and the door closed behind me.

Even for those practitioners that are employed to work in radio 9 to 5, Monday to Friday, this work routine is not always as idealistic as it may seem. To explore this, I want to move on to another issue of creative industries work patterns, where workers are not paid for the number of hours they have actually worked (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011: 116). In Verity's (2018) role, she usually starts work at 9:30 am and works until 6 pm, Monday to Friday. However, further discussions with her revealed additional time spent on work that she undertakes beyond these contracted hours. It is not uncommon for Verity to work over the weekend or take work home with her in the evening. Verity also has the opportunity to work from home. This may at first appear to be positive for the radio worker, tied to flexible employment conditions. However, this can contribute to a blurring between her work and private life, meaning she is always switched 'on' to her work. As a specific example, because

most of her work can be completed using a laptop, she will often take work home to develop

over the weekend, particularly if a programme is not at a standard that she is happy with. As

a poignant finding, when discussing why she finds herself working on weekends, Verity did

not point to the pressures that she is facing at work. Instead, she seemingly suggested that it is

her fault that she has to work weekends: "… you have to be quite organised and efficient with

your time I think. Or, like me, I end up doing lots of stuff at the weekend". This section has

outlined a number of features of radio work that align with trends recognised in creative

industries work; the vague terminology used in contracts, low pay and the need to work hours

beyond the traditional 9 to 5 working day. Having gained employment in the radio industry

many radio workers must gain employment beyond the radio industry in order to be

financially dependent, and I will discuss this in the next section of this chapter. Furthermore,

the role of a radio worker is not as idealised as initially portrayed, and features of work such

as a sense of insecurity, the nature of competition and a blurring of work/life boundaries

exist.

4.2.2 Speeded up work and multiple jobs

Another link between pay and work patterns is workers who have to take on a second job to

gain enough income to survive (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011: 116); this is particularly

evident in the radio industry. For individuals, having decided to seek employment in the radio

industry, the transition from this decision to full-time employment is not smooth. The need to

work multiple jobs is something that John's (2018) career particularly illustrates. Prior to his

current role, John worked one day a week at a podcasting company to enable him to follow

his desire to work in a radio-related environment, but he had to supplement this role by

working in hospital administration four days each week. While he has now taken a step

towards achieving full-time employment in the radio industry, he works on a freelance basis

as a part-time celebrity producer for a national commercial radio station. Working there for three days each week, he must also work two days in a Celebrity PR role. Similarly, when Chris Evans (2010: 105) secured an unpaid position at a radio station he recalls being pleased, viewing this as a stepping-stone towards a paid position in radio. However, he also had to seek employment elsewhere to generate financial income. Working during the day, and then undertaking unpaid work for a radio station in the evening was detrimental to his well-being and he reflects on this realisation, stating: "there was no way I could sustain the life I was leading. I was so tired. I was losing my focus at the shop in the day and it was affecting my performance on the show at night…". Even if a worker is able to gain the equivalent of full-time work through a number of different employment contracts, this is not always straight forward. When he was offered a presenting role for a breakfast show, John Myers (2012: 277 - 278) recalls, that "the contract contained a clause that I simply couldn't agree with. It was a generic clause that was in place for all presenters however, in my case I felt it had to be removed. It centred on GMG having to agree to any of my outside work". As Myers at this point had worked as a CEO of a large media company for a decade, and, was working with a number of organisations on activities not related to radio presenting or output, he felt that this clause should be excluded, yet they refused and he did not take the role.

In the cultural sector more generally, the need to undertake several jobs is argued to be the result of 'speeded up' work, which is the decrease in full-time jobs providing annual income for workers (McRobbie, 2002). This type of work has impacted numerous industries, for example, in the television and film industry, a decrease in full-time jobs providing annual income for workers has resulted from a "widening split between core workers and peripheral workers" (Christopherson, 2008: 75). Consequently, as John's (2018) experience illustrates, for the radio practitioner there is a possibility that they will need to work multiple roles

within the radio sector or gain employment beyond the radio and creative industries in order to generate sufficient income.

Perhaps, once an individual has gained paid, full-time employment in the radio industry, they can feel a sense of relief. Unfortunately, as this quote from Lloyd (2017: 239) suggests, these workers are still insecure: "it strikes me that radio stations should not trouble to order business cards, given that posts in our industry rarely last long enough to finish a single box". According to Lloyd (2017: 175), "when one chooses a career in media, a job which lasts for more than a couple of years is quite a welcome surprise". Speaking from experience, and recognising that every business must now get used to restructuring (Lloyd, 2017: 193), he believes that it was top-level management and organisational changes that resulted in his job loss at Free Radio:

> Looking back over my shoulder at the Free Radio premises in Birmingham, the station's bright green logos glimmering. As I strode across the pointlessly well-hoved gravel for the last time, I realised that never again would my key work in the door. The station, which had grown up as BRMB, was now under energetic new ownership and I was about to become an eccentric memory. It's a reality in any business now that, if you're fortunate enough to have been running something from the top table and someone else buys it, they'll want to do it their way and the likelihood is that they may not need you (Lloyd, 2017: vii).

Chris Moyles (2007: 85) is another example of someone who lost a seemingly secure job at Radio Luxembourg when the station closed down. As a more recent example of this from the UK radio industry, on the 26th of February 2019 it was announced that due to the deregulation of the radio landscape in the UK and larger 'approved areas', Global (A British media company) would network Capital, Heart and Smooth Radio breakfast shows by the end of 2019. This meant that programmes across these different stations would have the same broadcast. This had a significant impact on UK radio workers. For example, prior to this announcement, Heart had 22 breakfast shows across England, Scotland and Wales. This announcement revealed that by the end of 2019 all Heart stations would broadcast one

breakfast show (RadioToday, 2019). From a station perspective, the deregulation of the radio landscape that permitted this change, and consequent consolidation of broadcasted content is financially motivated, enabling the company to cut costs, which Chignell (2009) sees as a general aim of the commercial radio sector. According to Global's Founder & Executive President Ashley Tabor when speaking to RadioToday (2019):

> Whilst the new deregulation will mean some significant changes at an operational level, these bold steps enable Global to lead the way in launching the UK's three largest national commercial radio breakfast shows. We're really excited to combine the best national talent with our unique ability to include great local content in network shows on Heart, Capital and Smooth.

Significant for the radio practitioners involved were the 'changes at an operational level' that occurred due to this decision. When first announced, it was estimated that over 100 Global Employees faced redundancy or redeployment elsewhere within the network. This cost-saving exercise demonstrates a reason for the insecurity that contracted radio workers face.

These conditions are inescapable, as workers have "no alternative other than to accept precarious working conditions, as a consequence of the ease with which individual workers are replaceable" (Bonini and Gandini, 2015: 86). My research certainly highlighted that this insecurity is felt by radio workers. Hannah (2018) believes that no one is safe, "… nobody from the top to the bottom as you see in high profile presenters… everybody could just be taken off at the drop of a hat". This can have an impact on their life beyond their work; as Scott Mills (2012: 60) explains, in his own experience: "I didn't buy a house until I worked at Radio 1 because I never knew if I'd be moving somewhere else for another job". Exploring her involvement with the radio industry, Annie Nightingale (1999: 97) acknowledges the detrimental effect that this insecurity had on individuals:

> Knowing that at any given moment there were several hundred thousand people lined up waiting to take your job, prepared to kill for your job, does not lead to a rosy glow of satisfaction and contentment. Every DJ on Radio 1 was as jittery and jumpy as a junkie waiting for a connection.

At a time when there were no commercial radio stations for BBC Radio staff to transfer to, she believes that management played on this level of insecurity where: "deep-seated distrust, jealousy, paranoid, and insatiable lust for satisfaction of the ego, envy and white-knuckled insecurity were, of course, qualities that the management looked for and engendered in its jocks". Increased pressure on staff, and a feeling that you are replaceable, while negative for individuals, can have positive ramifications for organisations who can get the best out of their staff. However, this sense of insecurity and acceptance of it can lead to exploitation, whether this is intentional from the organisation's side or not.

In the field of documentary production, where competition for work is high, Verity (2018) justifies her self-exploitation through this. Resulting from a fostered culture, where working beyond contracted hours is the 'norm', Verity accepts the long work hours because:

> If you wanted a straight 9 to 5 job I don't think you'd get very far because so many people are desperate to be doing similar things, so even you know you just feel pressure all the time to just be the best possible value for money for your job so that you don't find yourself being usurped by a cheaper, more efficient person I guess.

However, being the "best possible value for money" does not mean efficiency in doing the tasks that they have been allocated to ensure that they are achieved within their contracted hours. Instead, in an attempt to prove their value, creative workers often work additional hours for no pay in order to provide an exceptional product to their employer. Even within a company competition is rife, and this fostered a feeling of insecurity for Verity when her company hired a new, confident and self-assured researcher. When talking about the value that the researcher added to the company, and the number of commissions that they were going to secure, this feeling of insecurity was heightened:

> …and I was just thinking shit, shit, shit. If he's doing all this stuff then I guess that means I would be demoted, and I would end up being, you know going back to being a researcher. And it was totally like me being paranoid, but this went on for a whole year, and it was really awful.

While Verity articulates this as herself being paranoid, my findings in this chapter reveal that this is not an uncommon feeling amongst radio workers. Her company may not directly create a competitive environment amongst their workers, but the BBC, which their company pitch their documentary ideas to, do explicitly seek to encourage this competition through their commissioning process. As I noted earlier, the guidelines state that "it is in the interest of the UK radio audience that there is a competitive and thriving production supply sector, both inside and outside the BBC" (BBC, 2019). Within this context, creativity can be acknowledged as boosted through competition, which the BBC believe encourages the continual generation of new ideas. This is beneficial for the radio listener, but for the independent radio documentary producer, this fails to guarantee a source of continual income. Furthermore, the continual generation of ideas requires long work hours without certainty of reward for their labour. In this section, I have outlined the precarity of radio employment and highlighted that these conditions are often fostered through the wider radio environment. In the next section, I will put forward an argument which attempts to explain why radio workers accept these conditions.

4.2.3 Passionate Acceptance of Self-Commodification

Where precarious conditions exist, as I have outlined so far in this chapter, I am led to question the acceptance of them. Radio workers portray a passion for their work, and my research suggests that this results in self-commodification, where they work beyond their contracted hours to maintain their employment in this industry. This section considers this by drawing on academic literature surrounding the notion of passionate work in the creative industries. I develop literature by providing a specific exploration of these themes concerning the specificities of the radio industry. Reflecting on my interviews and autobiographical analysis the cliché, "choose a job you love, and you will never have to work a day in your

life" came to mind. This seems to fit well with the discourses of radio work offered by individual practitioners. As a former radio practitioner myself, I can recall my younger self believing that radio presenting would be the perfect job, just getting paid to talk. Having decided to see this inclination through to fruition, I studied radio at University and volunteered at a Hospital Radio Station in Plymouth. As discussed in the introduction of this dissertation, through my experience I learned techniques that demonstrated the skill of radio production. However, this idealistic portrayal of radio work is still common, and something that was reaffirmed during my research.

Passion is recognised as a key feature of radio work (Bonini and Gandini, 2015) and Lloyd (2017: vii) describes radio as, "… a medium for which those involved feel such genuine passion…". This is supported by top radio presenters who are often found saying how lucky they are to be doing a job that they love, that their passion for radio makes every day a joy. Reflecting on his transition from Heart to Radio 1, Scott Mills (2012: 87) explains that "…Radio 1 quickly became all-consuming", and he states that he loves that Radio 1 did, and still does take over his life. Even more problematic is the way that Verity (2018) chose to articulate her role as a documentary producer, where she stated: "I kind of think of being a documentary maker, it isn't really a job, it's a lifestyle choice…". Where Verity frames her work as a passion rather than a job, boundaries between work and leisure become blurred. This is recognised as a feature of wider creative industries work. Referencing Lewis (2003), Banks and Hesmondhalgh (2009) highlight that for many workers "post-industrial work is becoming indistinguishable from leisure, as an activity of choice and source of enjoyment" (Lewis, 2003: 343 in Banks and Hesmondhalgh, 2009: 418).

For workers that feel this way about radio, it seeps into their everyday life, such as through conversations with friends. Parallels could, for example, be drawn between their work in radio and the way that people may talk about a hobby. While reflecting on his time at

BBC Radio 1, Chris Moyles (2006: 209) describes a time when his girlfriend would sit in the pub with him whilst him and his friend discussed their favourite radio jingles. We can assume that Moyles would recognise sitting in the pub with his girlfriend and friend as a leisurely activity, and so it is a genuine passion and enjoyment of radio that leads to this choice to discuss radio in this context. Similarly, Verity (2018) will often talk to her friend and even her hairdresser about the recording method that she is currently experimenting with and excited about. Where it was implied that these friends do not share her enthusiasm for radio, by describing herself as boring her friends, her choice to talk about her work beyond her workplace environment is self-driven through her passion for radio. This consequently merges work and her life outside of work.

The framing of their work as a passion, rather than a job, is problematic as it can lead these workers to accept the precarious conditions of their employment that I have just discussed. According to McRobbie (2016), passion for work drives personal investment "despite long hours and low returns" (McRobbie, 1998 in McRobbie, 2016: 36), and I find that this is evident in radio work. Reflecting on the financial situation of her role Verity (2018) explained: "So it's fun, it is fun… you can only really do it if you're kind of obsessed with it I think". Passion from workers is beneficial for radio stations and organisations, who understandably want as much productivity from their workers, for as little financial cost to them as possible. In seeking to achieve this, they foster the notion that radio work requires passionate investment. As such, flexible work arrangements tend to be for the benefit of the organisation, rather than the individual worker (Zeytinoglu et al, 2009).

This is epitomised in Global Radio's 'Mission Statement' (2018). The use of inverted commas here is significant, as they actively choose to avoid this phrase, instead explaining: "We don't have a mission statement, we have an Obsession Statement. Our Obsession Statement defines the behaviours and values we work towards every day". Phrased and

formatted like a motivational poster, rather than an organisational ethos, it asserts that their staff should be obsessed with the company, and that to be successful these individuals must act a particular way and hold certain views. Their statement is this:
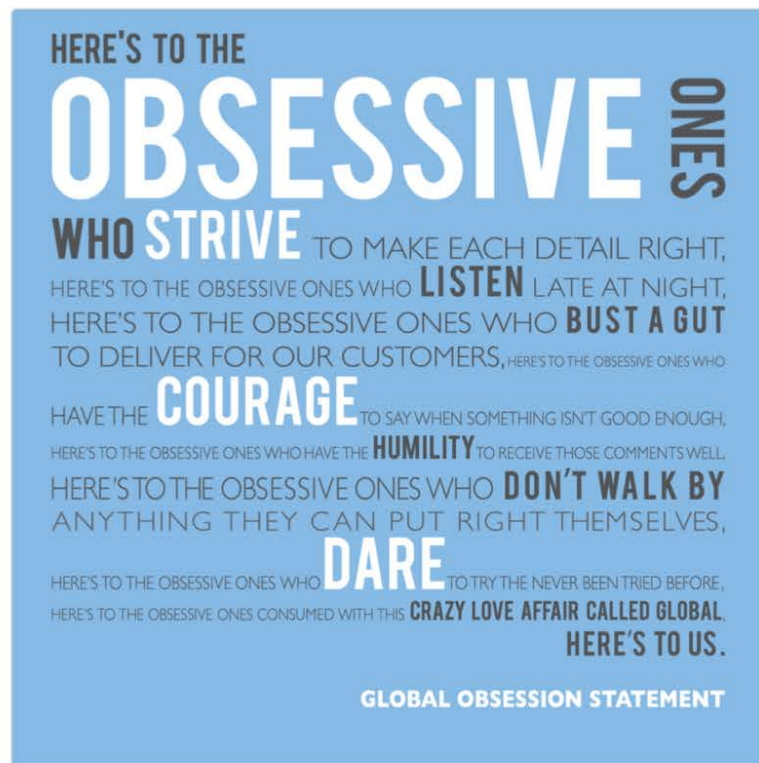
(Figure 2: Global Radio's Obsession Statement)

The start of this statement seeks to celebrate the individuals that can match this obsessed work ethos: "here's to" them. The end of the statement, which explains that individuals should be "consumed with this crazy love affair", signifies to future or current employees that radio must be their life. The Global Radio brand should be an obsession, where listening late at night requires them to work beyond their contracted hours, but is justified as a passion. Where they are so enthusiastic about their work that they are willing to physically harm themselves, by "busting a gut", to make their customers happy, (in so doing increasing the profit of the company). And, who "don't walk by anything they can put right themselves", even if it means staying at work after their shift has ended. This statement exemplifies the idea that radio work should not be perceived as work because those individuals who are

suitable enough to be employed by the company have such an obsession for radio that they are willing to go above and beyond the terms of their contract. It builds a picture of radio workers as flexible workers, individuals who,

> …must do whatever is required to support commercial interests… [which] …increasingly requires working longer or unsocial hours, taking on-board additional responsibilities, relocating according to company demands and certainly committing oneself to the commercial imperatives of the firm over and above non-work commitments (Banks, 2007: 36).

As Huws (2006: 07 - 10) asserts, this is problematic because by "putting in extra time, accepting lower pay or poorer conditions they are either directly or indirectly…constructing new bars for their own cages or those of others". Therefore, while in radio this may be justified as passion, it still contributes to the problematic ethos surrounding the nature of work in this industry.

'Flexibility', as suggested by Brophy and de Peuter (2007: 193), connotes freedom, nomadism and a lack of rigidity. My research suggests that for radio workers this is a potential reward that results from their employment conditions. However, as Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010: 13) recognise in the creative industries workforce more generally, though these workers "may have more autonomy than other workers in other industries… [their autonomy]… comes at a cost". Many radio workers are free to work multiple jobs, are not tied to a 9 to 5, Monday to Friday job, and can work from home if needed. Yet this flexibility has consequences; full-time, well paid, secure positions are rare, workers can become disconnected from society due to the hours they work, and work can be taken home and undertaken during unpaid leisure time. Therefore, as Brophy and de Peuter (2007: 193) posit, these "democratic-sounding discourses surrounding precarity are particularly insidious". Therefore, precarity in radio supports the claim of Banks and Hesmondhalgh (2009: 419 - 420) that notions of 'free' and creative work are unconvincing. Instead, where employment conditions foster a paradox between flexible and precarious labour, work in the creative

industries embodies "a very complicated version of freedom" (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2010: 04).

I now want to question why a passion for radio work can lead to an acceptance of these poor conditions. Creative workers, as posited by Murgia (2014: 50) are trapped by two factors. First, they "…are promised that their work will deliver passion and pleasure – a satisfying professional experience, on the one hand". However, they may also find themselves experiencing "passion in its literal meaning: suffering, sorrow and pain caused by the contractual and destabilising conditions that members of this class are often forced to accept". Contributing to this, in the radio industry specifically, Bonini and Gandini (2015: 96) propose the concept of the 'fandom trap'. They explain that having listened to the radio as teenagers, many workers have a sense of privilege to have secured work in this industry. Furthermore, as highlighted earlier in this chapter, the rarity of radio jobs creates a sense of replaceability. Consequently, passion leads to an acceptance of the precarious conditions that I have explored, or, as suggested by Bergamante et al (2012: 96), "passion is a mask that hides the contradictions of a job that is both precarious and passionate".

Building on this, I intend to argue that not only does passion lead to an acceptance of conditions such as low pay, and job insecurity, but it also leads to the self-commodification of individual radio workers. Myers (2012: 306 - 307) when reflecting on his time working at Century provides a narrative that is demonstrative of this:

> Perhaps the greatest triumph I can recall was when a young lad came to us at Century. He was just a teenager but he loved news. In fact he slept, ate, dreamt and worshipped it. He was a news junkie. We gave him a job. He had been through all the usual college courses and had his legal training but that was it. He was now learning in the field. He often went out of the office to record interviews, but we noticed that he was not the quickest of reporters in coming back to the studio with his audio. We had a chat with him and discovered he did not have a driving license. He was just 16. He didn't want to tell us in case he blew the job. So he used to go out on reporting assignments by jumping on public transport or even paying for a taxi out of his own money. He just wanted to do the job. How can you not love someone like that?

This narrative aligns with Ursell's (2000: 807) work on self-commodification in the television industry. According to Ursell, self-commodification is the process through which individuals attempt to improve their chances of meaningful employment. In the radio industry, this self-commodification also occurs once an individual has gained employment. Through their drive to remain employed, they will undertake additional tasks and activities to achieve this aim. Consequently, supplementary 'work' occurs that sits outside the specific role remit. However, this 'work' is still critical for the practitioner that is seeking to meet the expectations of their employer. This type of work can be problematic for the radio practitioner as they are unable to undertake these particular tasks while at work as their managers may not deem them to be part of their role.

Verity (2018) acknowledges radio to be a competitive environment, and when creating radio documentaries, she seeks to create work that is distinct from other radio content that exists. To achieve this, she listens to the content of other documentaries, which allows her to keep track of current content, effective ways to tell a story, and innovative techniques that are being used. All of these elements influence her work. However, she believes that developing this knowledge of her field through research must be an unpaid task that she undertakes at home because her manager would not consider it to be part of her defined role, despite the positive impact that this has on her ability to do her job well:

> I do tonnes of stuff which is work-related like reading newspapers, or listening to other people's programmes, or… just general research in my free time. So even though it's not…sitting at a computer typing, it's still work-related, but there's no way in hell my boss would allow me to sit there and listen to the last five episodes of Desert Island Disks in the office, because it's not really seen as being an efficient use of my time.

Even unconsciously, Verity takes her work home with her. For instance, when she was struggling to plan the opening for a historical documentary that she had been working on, she explained that she would use her time whilst in the shower to think about how she could overcome this struggle and create a powerful and interesting introduction. This section has

provided a rationale for the acceptance of the precarious conditions that are a feature of work for many employed in the radio industry. Furthermore, the passion that these individuals have for their roles, leads to self-commodification in order to secure a job, and remain employed in this industry.

4.3 Conclusion: Being a Radio Worker

Throughout this chapter, I have outlined what it means to be a radio worker, particularly when the role is explored through paradigms presented in creative industries literature. In particular, I highlighted that radio work is framed positively by workers, yet it also incorporates many parallels that align with discussions of work in the wider creative industries, and these parallels illuminate precarious employment conditions that must be considered. Roles within the radio industry incorporate both paid and unpaid work, and discussions around these different roles raise questions about the reward for work and connections between creativity and commerce. For example, community radio volunteers exist beyond formalities of work such as performance reviews, which consequently facilitates greater levels of freedom for these volunteers, than paid radio employees experience. In contrast to volunteers, paid radio employees' discussions of their work, recognise that financial considerations are critical as they are tied to their employment, where radio is framed as their job.

Aligning discussions of radio and commerce I offered different views surrounding creativity. For some, less financial support was articulated as increasing productivity, whereas other individuals argued that having more money would increase it. Through this, I presented debates which assert that for some in the creative industries, receiving financial payment for work can be framed as 'selling out' whilst others, and perhaps most fitting with

radio work, see financial reward as a validation of their work. This is true particularly concerning the commissioning process that documentary producers must undertake.

Workers within the radio industry also take on different roles, and aligning with a trend in the wider creative industries, I highlighted that most workers are now required to be multi-skilled. I used a selection of job descriptions to evidence this. In particular, I have noted that the type of role that an individual has incorporates roles that can be framed as creative, and roles that are required, but not creative. As an example, the radio documentary producer will generate ideas, but also complete forms to gain commission for their work. Where the radio worker is now required to undertake these multiple roles, this can be framed in two ways. The first argues that the flexibility of their role provides them with increased opportunities, and a greater license to be creative. In contrast, however, it could be suggested that this flexibility is simply a by-product of cost-cutting measures within radio organisations. Whatever the reason, these additional non-creative inputs must be considered when seeking to gain a holistic overview of creativities position within the radio workforce.

Following this, I noted that where radio is a business, financial input is required, and radio workers often find themselves seeking to be the best value for money that they can be in order to justify their continued employment within this industry. These additional non-creative inputs are termed 'Humdrum inputs' by Caves (2003) and incorporate both internal inputs, such as paperwork to gain commission, and external inputs, such as financial investment from external companies. Aligning the role of the radio documentary producer with the work of Caves (2003), I have argued that to seek this financial investment, the worker experiences a period of creative purgatory, where they do not yet have guaranteed income, but must work and invest their time regardless.

This discussion reveals one of many issues that radio workers face, where precarious and insecure work is a common feature of their employment conditions, conditions that are

also evident elsewhere in the creative industries. Factors that contribute to this precarious employment environment include the use of vague terminology in job contracts, low pay, job insecurity and competition, working beyond a 9 to 5 job, and a blurring of work /life boundaries. Where this is the nature of radio work, the acceptance of these conditions by radio workers is something that I have ended this chapter by exploring. Talking about their work, radio workers convey a sense of passion for their role, using phrases such as all-consuming and lifestyle choice, which demonstrate an acceptance of their employment conditions. This acceptance is encouraged by radio organisations, who use notions of passion for work as a way to increase the productivity of their staff. In this way work in this industry can be framed as flexible, for example, where individuals have the opportunity to work from home, creating a sense of freedom and autonomy for these individuals. However, this freedom comes at a cost, and my research suggests that workers self-commodify and exploit themselves to seek and maintain employment within an industry that they are so keen to work in.

To understand the creativity of radio, it is important to reflect on radio's position as a creative industry. To achieve this, in this chapter I have explored the nature of work in the radio industry and aligned my findings with wider trends acknowledged in literature surrounding the creative industries workforce. Overall, this chapter has argued that radio is a desirable place of work for many individuals, but it must also be acknowledged as a precarious industry where individuals experience many features of work associated with the wider creative industries too. The radio industry, however, also features traits that are unique to the nature of radio production and radio consumption. Due to a decrease in demand for workers, individuals now take on multiple activities, incorporating both creative and non-creative tasks. Therefore, the split in policy, which suggests a clear division among creative and support staff in the creative industry is not neatly mirrored in the radio industry.

Furthermore, due to the passion that workers have for radio, often resulting from their consumption of the format whilst growing up, an acceptance of the precarious conditions exists. Through these areas of focus, this chapter has started to introduce some ways to understand the position of creativity in the radio industry. The next chapter builds on this to focus in more detail on the nuances of creativity that are expressed by individual radio workers. These articulations are all connected with the specificities of radio work.

CHAPTER FIVE
NUANCES OF RADIO'S CREATIVITY

In the last chapter, I reflected on the way that work in the radio industry aligns with features of creative industries labour. I also argued that the specificities of the radio industry must be accounted for in any attempt to understand its creativity. This chapter builds on this argument by introducing some tangible ways that creativity manifests within this industry. Talking to radio practitioners facilitated a wealth of discussion surrounding their everyday working practices and their alignment with individuals' understandings of their creativity. The phrases used, and discourses constructed by these practitioners when reflecting on the way that they inhabit and negotiate their station environment and role, emphasises the complexities of creativity in the radio industry. These nuances surfaced both directly and indirectly through the use of synonyms and discussions of synonymous practices, and this chapter gives voice to these individual narratives of creative radio work. As Wilby and Conroy (1994: 19) posit, the notion of creativity in radio has "remained a loosely defined quality", and my research findings support this. Responding to this I will argue that it is important to understand creativity as aligned with the nature of work within radio, and the individual role of each practitioner. Therefore, this chapter draws together the varied articulations of creativity that arose through my research and provides an overview of the way that creativity is discussed in the rest of this dissertation.

I begin this chapter with a focus on originality, difference and freshness as synonymous ways to conceptualise the specific nature of radio's creativity. Following this, where the radio environment frames practice, I highlight the importance that practitioners place on the autonomy and freedom they experience. Having freedom within their role allows

them to 'be creative', which was articulated through the opportunity that they have to bring their personality to their work. The final part of this chapter explores the existence of skilled labour in radio production. I conclude that parallels can be drawn between radio production techniques and other forms of creative or artistic activity, particularly through the framing of radio as an art form, and the technique of storytelling.

5.1 Originality, Difference and Freshness

In chapter two, I noted that for an activity to be classed as creative, the individual undertaking this activity will have focused on original output resulting from it (Caves, 2002: 04). Connecting originality with creativity is discussed by other theorists, and I synthesise this literature in chapter two (Kaufman, 2004; Sawyer, 2006; Boden, 1990; Wreen, 2015). This section builds on this idea in a radio context, drawing on discussions with my participants and statements in radio autobiographies that connect the concept of creativity with radio's originality. In particular, I question the meaning of originality in a radio context. Through this, I provide several synonymous phrases that the research participants used, and, consequently, I use these throughout this dissertation.

The phrase 'original' was directly used by Andy (2018) in his definition of creativity, where he specified that it's "coming up with something original perhaps, something that's not been done before…". However, while Andy presented this as a way of understanding creativity in the context of the radio industry, he continued by stating that it "…is almost impossible". This statement is important as it indicates a distinction between the creativity of radio that exists at a conceptual level, and the actual tangible manifestation of creativity through practice. It is a tension accurately expressed through the cliché 'easier said than done'. Examples that may be deemed as wholly original radio output have been created in the UK radio industry. For instance, Jo Whiley (2009: 80 – 81), when reflecting on the creation

of BBC Radio 1's Live Lounge, a live music radio programme, describes this experience as "quite groundbreaking", believing that this type of radio content had not been broadcast before. However, creating new content in a new way is not always possible, and my research findings indicate that the radio practitioners' perception of 'originality' can be understood as aligned with the specificities of radio's conventions. A familiar way to think about creativity was presented by Hannah (2018), who described it as "…thinking outside the box". In relation to her role, this means "…turning a story on its head and [long pause] yeah, looking at it from a new angle". However, whilst she perceived this to be "thinking outside the box", the true meaning of this is significant because radio is highly structured, and creativity, as I will explore in chapter seven, exists within a metaphorical box of borders and boundaries. As Hannah expressed, her creativity brings a different treatment to the news stories she produces, yet it is still a news story that is created as radio content.

At other times, the production of 'ground-breaking' radio content may be a challenge, or inappropriate. Within an organisational context, as is the case with creativity in radio, Nayak (2008: 421) highlights that creativity can manifest through the ability to "think beyond the obvious and produce something novel and appropriate". Therefore, novelty is one way to understand this idea of originality, where the content created is new. However, it is the appropriateness referred to by Nayak (2008) which creates the tension that Andy (2018) recognised; the creation of something wholly new is difficult, as it may not be recognisable as radio, or be suitable for the requirements of a station. As described by Hendy (2000: 100), radio production can be framed as "a largely routine activity", and stations aim to provide familiarity for their listeners (Norberg, 1996: 04). As a result, radio content has requirements that it must fit within, which limits its scope for originality. Though I revisit these requirements in later chapters, I want to emphasise that due to the framing of radio

conventions and station requirements, originality in radio content can align with Nayak's (2008: 421) proposition of purposeful creativity.

This is also recognised by Lloyd (2017: 339) who, when reflecting on creativity in radio, proposes that "creativity is about more than shocking. It is about interesting ideas, approaches and topic treatments". Therefore, radio content must not be new for the sake of being new. Instead, it must serve a purpose, and combine elements that are still recognisable as radio, whilst presenting them in a new way. As I outlined in chapter one, this tension is affirmed by Barnard (2000: 184): "…the central paradox of contemporary radio broadcasting: the need to routinely recreate the same programming on a day-to-day basis, making programming sound fresh yet familiar, the same but different.". His use of the phrases 'fresh' and 'different' present alternative phrases that also allow a productive recognition of radio's specific creativity.

In his autobiography, Myers (2012: 217) states that "to succeed you would have to be different". This notion of difference is a productive way to reflect on the distinctions between varied radio content, which is still recognisable as radio and adheres to the requirements of the station that it is broadcast through. An example of this was presented by Mark (2018) who discussed the news stories that his local BBC station broadcasts. Most stations broadcast the news, yet the treatment of these stories to make them sound different is what he believed sets his station apart from others. Drawing comparisons with *The Today Programme*, an early morning news and current affairs show on BBC Radio 4, he explained that "there's nothing wrong with *The Today Programme*, it's very successful and a great show, but *The Today Programme* already exists, you've got to make something unique". The value of producing different radio content is also explored by Lloyd (2017: 31) who reflects on the development of commercial radio in the UK:

On FM, the excitement of hearing different jingles, formats and presentation styles was welcome collateral benefit from a glorious ragbag network. Each of the country's early commercial radio stations was deliciously different.

While each of these stations featured the same combination of elements such as jingles, presenters and music, it is the way that each station presented these elements that resulted in different content. This provides choice for the listener yet ensures the recognisability of these broadcasts as radio. Furthermore, to ensure continued listenership of an individual station, individual programmes must produce different content daily. This is recognised by Moyles (2007: 25) who, when reflecting on his time presenting the BBC Radio 1 Breakfast Show, notes: "Every day the show is different".

Barnard's (2000) use of the phrase 'fresh', is also mirrored by radio practitioners and is arguably another productive way to explain radio's creativity. For example, when BRMB, a local commercial radio station in Birmingham and the surrounding areas, changed its name to Free Radio, the company needed to rebrand themselves. The result was a TV advertising campaign featuring a hamster dancing whilst listening to the station. Having been involved in the creation of this, Lloyd (2017: 331) claims that he "had created something fresh and new, both on and off air…", and successfully rebranded the station. Moyles (2006: 169) also uses this phrase throughout his autobiography. In one instance, he recalls a phone conversation that he had when he was asked to produce the Breakfast Show at Power FM to give it "… a good kick up the arse. It needs to be more exciting, with funnier bits in it. Basically it needs a bloody good producer who can bring a lot of fresh new ideas to it, and I thought of you". In this case, 'fresh new ideas', are seen as a solution to unexciting radio, which contributes to value-based discussions of creativity. Although, it could equally be argued that this tactic will attract additional listeners which is key in an increasingly fragmented industry.

This has been a brief exploration of radio's creativity as aligned with notions of originality, difference and freshness. The purpose of this is to set out the way that individual

practitioners themselves recognise and discuss the creativity of radio. Whilst slightly different phrases are used, they all point towards an understanding of creativity that is applicable in a radio context; the recognition that in general radio practice and types of content already exists, and, therefore, creative work and output is the alternative to or adaption of this. Whilst this dissertation does not seek to explicitly redefine creativity, this understanding of creativity as tied to the specificities of radio is the one that I use throughout the rest of this dissertation. In this section, I have mentioned the influence of the wider radio environment on radio practice, and I will develop this discussion further in the next section of this chapter. More specifically, I will focus on the importance of autonomy and freedom and highlight the way that this connects with conceptions of radio's creativity.

5.2 The Importance of Autonomy & Freedom

Alongside these understandings of radio's creativity, my participants articulated their individual creativity through discussions about the way their work environment fosters it. In particular, this is through the conceptual space that workplaces allow for them to be autonomous and, consequently, experience freedom. I will unpack this discourse of creativity in this section. A sense of freedom was particularly valuable for the participants of this research and they described their work in a way which infers that they can be flexible. Pete (2017) drew comparisons between creativity and the idea of freedom, stating: "… I think that what I would say about the creativity side of it, is the fact that it's not having any particular set pattern to what you want the thing to be about, and having the freedom and the flexibility to capitalise upon what happens…". To provide clarity, when using the phrases freedom and autonomy, I am referring to the capacities that radio practitioners feel they have to generate and expand upon their own ideas, undertaking practices and creating content without seeking permission from managers or colleagues. More specifically, drawing upon Hesmondhalgh

and Baker's (2010: 40) discussion surrounding workplace autonomy, I see it defined as "the degree of self-determination that individual workers or groups of workers have within a certain work situation". In this case, while a radio practitioner works within an institutional context and is undertaking practices appropriate to this, they are still able to determine their work. Therefore, looking at freedom and the places for autonomy to occur within their work facilitates a depiction of the conceptual spaces and capacities for creative practice, as articulated by the participants in this research.

However, nuances of creativity through discussions of freedom in a radio context are complex, because this creativity is framed by the wider radio environment and the conventions of radio production. In their exploration of creative labour, Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010: 40) note that:

> … all autonomy is limited, in that individuals and groups are, to some extent at least, socially constituted by others beyond themselves… Total autonomy in any sphere of life – whether artistic, scientific or ethical – is an impossible idea, because there is no life without constraints or determinants.

This is true in the radio industry where the context in which the practitioner works presents conditions such as rules and boundaries that must be negotiated and worked within. I explore these boundaries in-depth in chapter seven, but at this juncture, in a chapter that seeks to present several understandings of creativity, it is productive to account for specific ways that we can see freedom manifested in radio work.

Radio does not require workers to continually undertake the same practices, producing the same content in a way that we may see in a factory. Instead, the need to create original and different content values and incorporates the radio practitioners' individual personality and facilitates the space for improvisation and spontaneity. This impacts the way that they make radio and the resulting content that is broadcast. This manifests through the opportunity to use their ideas, make decisions and shape and create content in a way that no one else would. When discussing his voluntary radio show, Andy (2018), demonstrated an

awareness of the need to structure and format his radio content. However, this was partially imposed as a result of his conception of how radio 'should be made', which was problematic: "I tried to get it very organised when I first started…I'd do the script and some information about what I was talking about and timings and it just sounded like I was reading from a script and it just didn't sound right…". Acknowledging this, he decided to change his practice, and his reflection of this emphasised the importance of flexibility within his role:

> …so in the end the script was thrown away and it was just, even now I just go in with a bunch of CDs. Sometimes I don't even know what I'm gonna play on the night so it is improvised, totally improvised really and I think that works quite well.

In this context, these concepts of improvisation and spontaneity can be aligned with creativity. For example, spontaneity in radio responds to the recognition that structure and planning are not always appropriate and that it is important to have moments of practice that break away from this. To facilitate this, stations provide flexibility for their staff to negotiate their role in this way. As another example, when discussing his interview techniques, Pete (2017) explained that he does not have a conversation with his interview participants about the intended interview topic before they are on air "… because you lose that spontaneity". This reinforces the idea that nuances of spontaneity in radio can be linked with notions of creativity as something unplanned and unstructured. Creativity can be conceptualised like this in industries beyond radio, but the way that Andy (2018) and Pete (2017) talked about it provided specific examples that allow an insight into the manifestation of creativity in the everyday practices of radio practitioners.

As I introduced earlier, personality is also a key way that different content may be created (Wolfenden, 2014; Stiernstedt, 2014: 297), where the unique personality of a presenter sets them apart from their competitors (Spangardt, Ruth and Schramm, 2016: 69-70). Lloyd (2017: 55), when discussing John Peters, a British radio presenter, states "John's delivery, vocal styling and his almost rhythmic crafting of the sound, as opposed to the

content, of radio marked him out". Therefore, Lloyd (2017) recognises that bringing personality to radio content is not just about generating new ideas, but also involves a specific delivery of this content which makes it unique to each individual. This was a common theme among the participant's discussions, where they claimed that the opportunity for them to bring their personality to their work, and deliver it in their own way, is a manifestation of their creativity.

Using Amy (2017) as an example, whilst she found immediate reflexivity surrounding the definition of creativity a challenge, she believed that "creativity [pause], it doesn't have to be original, but it has to have your stamp on it, that to me is what creativity is". Earlier in this chapter, I highlighted that the generation of new content is one way to perceive radio's creativity. However, this quote from Amy insinuates that where new content is not possible, an individual's creativity is not necessarily limited. Instead, referring to her distinction from existing radio content, Amy (2017) specified: "… a lot of things that I'm gonna try and explore in the future that I know other people have already done, but you're never gonna be me and that's my selling point". Where new or different radio content facilitates competitive advantage for a station and encourages continued listenership, it is significant that individuals see their personal spin on their work as contributing to this content. Related to this, Amy (2017) recognised the value of her personality, describing it as her "selling point", because it helped to promote her individuality as a radio practitioner. Being a volunteer, Amy (2017) pointed towards value beyond the economic, through the creation of new content that would appeal to the community that her station broadcasted to. The value of a practitioner's personality is also recognised beyond community radio. For example, at the BBC, Hannah (2018) and Mark (2018) both referenced 'personality training' that they had been required to undertake as part of their role. This training encourages individuals to evidence their personality through their treatment of the content that they produce.

John (2018), who books celebrity guests for a commercial radio station in London, also supported this idea of personality as aligned with creativity. For him, "creativity… is taking a guest and putting your unique spin on it". John's (2018) ability to be creative in this way is driven by his personality, which enables him to form a connection with his interviewees: "so it is your personality, is it a gem that you know? Have you got part of them? Have you got banter with them? Have you formed a relationship?". By forming this relationship, John believes that whilst this individual may have been interviewed on the radio before, he can create new and different radio content, through this connection, and the *spin* that he puts on it. Amy (2017) described interviews in a similar way, stating: "so as long as I can connect with you and I can get something out of it that other people can't, then that's what I think is creative". Radio's ability to facilitate individuality was also emphasised by Verity (2018) in relation to the creation of documentaries for the BBC. Reflecting on her development as a documentary producer, she emphasised that she has started to find her own voice, having previously copied the work of other colleagues to help her recording technique and documentary structure. In particular, she explained:

> … I'm just trying to work out what kind of programmes that I like, essentially it's like being a writer and finding your own voice… so now I'm trying to think, well what do I really like doing, and what do I think works really well, be a bit more creative in that sense.

This reinforces the argument that practitioners can shape their content in a way that they deem appropriate, which they articulate as a manifestation of their creativity. Therefore, creativity can be evidenced through the opportunity that radio practitioners have to bring their personality to their role which leads to an important wider discussion about the conceptual space that radio provides for creativity to occur. Within different radio contexts, varying degrees of freedom impact the opportunity for individualisation. This is evident in Scott Mills' (2012: 53) autobiography, who, when considering the difference between commercial and BBC radio states: "On commercial radio you're pretty much told what to say, within

reason, but at Radio 1 they want your personality to shine". Therefore, he indicates that public service radio offers greater space for creativity, and I expand on this in chapter seven.

To summarise this section, I have argued that the creativity of radio practitioners is articulated through ideas of freedom, flexibility and autonomy. This is significant as it indicates that creativity is something that must be facilitated by the environment in which it exists. However, thinking about the nature of freedom in a creative industry environment requires a recognition that it exists within some kind of context. Consequently, this limits the role of the radio practitioner because the environment they negotiate places conditions on their role and shapes the space that they have to be creative. As a result, the specific manifestation of this freedom often occurs through the spontaneity that practitioners have and the way that they bring their personality to their role. This enables them to move away from wholly planned, structured practice and content generation, by creating different content. In addition to freedom and spontaneity, my research also highlights that particular skills involved in radio production can be an additional way to recognise radio's creativity. I will unpack this in the next section, exploring the skilled work that is required to create radio output and, in particular, focus on the use of storytelling techniques.

5.3 The Art of Radio: Skilled Work and Storytelling

In chapter two I noted that to understand the nature of creativity, individualised perspectives are often presented. Whilst academic study has moved away from the concept of the individual 'genius', it is still recognised that creativity demands expertise in the form of both knowledge and skill (Boden, 1990: 12). Exploring the way that radio practitioners talk about their roles, the existence of skilled labour was evident; particularly through parallels that can be drawn between radio production techniques and other forms of creative or artistic activity. In my research, these parallels were evidenced through both conscious and subconscious

language choices. In this section, I will explore two prominent parallels; the description of radio as an art form and, consequently, radio work as artistic, and the idea of storytelling as a creative radio production technique.

In his autobiography, Lloyd (2017: 91) refers to radio as an 'art form'. This language constructs a sense of radio as a medium, which requires imagination and self-expression through creative practice. Furthermore, Lloyd (2017: 168) views radio as a "…passionate business with so many decisions being artistic". This connects with my discussion in chapter four surrounding passionate work. Where self-expression is possible through the creation of radio content, individuals working in this medium have the chance to feel genuinely enthusiastic about their work. This sense of enthusiasm is described by Jo Wiley (2009: 36):

> I think it's relatively rare to experience a moment when you feel quite certain about what you want to do with your life… Artists have it, I guess, a moment when they recognise in themselves a burning desire, a need even, to act or paint or write or make beautiful music. I'm not suggesting that wanting to be a DJ represents the discovery of an artistic vocation. But the moment when I knew that I wanted to work in the world of music, and probably on the radio, was a dazzling ray of sunlight at the end of a bleak time in my life.

Whilst Wiley recognises that radio presenting is not the same as art-based work, she still expresses a sense of enthusiasm that is felt by individuals in this type of creative profession.

Verity (2018), who creates documentaries that are broadcast by the BBC, often likened her practice to that of other creative and craft-based industries. In doing so, she communicates her perception of documentary production as a craft, incorporating several skills. Through this, the documentary is framed as the final output, like that of a painter or potter. One discussion that evidenced this view related to her adoption of radio drama techniques in her documentary and features work. For example, experimenting with sound was a particular practice that she was using to develop her work because this "paints more of a vivid picture in people's heads". While radio documentaries are an audio medium, the

concept of painting a picture has parallels with the work, techniques and skills of visual

artists, and is something that Verity deemed to be important when creating documentaries.

Later in our conversation, when talking about the labour of her work, Verity referred

to documentary production as storytelling. I introduced the notion of storytelling in chapter

one, where I highlighted that the purpose of documentaries is described by theorists in this

way (Wilby and Conroy, 1994: 170; Starkey, 2004: 207). I now expand on this assertion to

outline the way that storytelling can be used to conceptualise the creativity of radio

production. When describing a documentary that she deemed to be an example of good radio,

Verity (2018) stated: "I mean the producer did an amazing job, but the characters in it are

amazing". Using the terminology 'characters', emphasises the connection between her

perception of her work and that of other types of creative labour, specifically an author.

Similarly, Hannah (2018) aligned the concept of storytelling with radio work. When

discussing her live news broadcasts, she referred to the structure that she uses, which can be

argued to mirror a common narrative structure that is employed when creating a story. First,

she will "… describe, introduce the person", which mirrors the introduction techniques used

in fiction where writers will often start by introducing and describing characters. She also

deems the ending of each live news segment to be important: "…and a nice finish is nice, if

you can do it. So, I'll try and think of something nice to finish with, finish on a high almost".

Hannah's manager Mark (2018) reinforced the notion that the treatment given to news

reporting can turn factual information into a story: "I love storytelling and I think as my main

job whatever I'm doing is telling stories and I think actually just meeting people, and finding

out stuff and finding a way to turn that into a story". To turn an idea into a 'story', the radio

practitioner must possess particular skills and talents, and the following example given by

Mark evidences this. When creating a documentary called *Heroes and Villains,* he was keen

to include some female subjects. Upon finding a news article about the last woman to be

hanged in his area for committing murder he decided to research this topic. The research

process, he explained, enabled him to create a story for the documentary:

> … putting it all together you could suddenly turn that into a single narrative of what
> had happened in that case and actually kind of, that process of taking, of researching
> something and turning it into a piece of radio, I find really exciting, in all, in whatever
> format I do it.

This contributes to the discourse of radio as skilled work. Therefore, as this section has

explored, it can be beneficial to draw parallels with more traditional art forms such as

storytelling and artistic painting to understand the nature of radio's creativity.

5.4 Conclusion: Nuances of Radio's Creativity

The purpose of this chapter has been to introduce the way that individual radio practitioners

perceive and articulate the creativity of their practice. I have argued that the phrases used, and

conceptions constructed through these narratives, demonstrate the complexity that arises

when seeking to understand what creativity means in the context of the radio industry. These

notions of creativity arose both directly and indirectly, for example, through the use of

synonyms. I started by highlighting that originality, difference and freshness are productive

ways to understand the creativity of radio output and workers. Building on my discussion in

chapter four surrounding the significance of the radio environment, this chapter has also

proposed that it is critical for radio workers to articulate their roles through the concepts of

autonomy and freedom, where they are given the space to negotiate their role in a way that

they deem to be appropriate. Finally, I explained that some of the participants in this research

articulated their role by presenting the idea of skilled work, inferring that storytelling is an

important element of the role of the radio documentary producer, or live news reporter.

For the remainder of this dissertation, I refer to these synonymous articulations and

understandings of creativity, through an exploration of radio production practices, and the

framings of the radio environment. The next chapter will look more specifically at radio

production, exploring the practices that individual practitioners undertake. Through this, I consider the role of creativity within the everyday production practices that exist in the radio industry. To understand these practices, I also highlight that the nature of radio as a medium, and the conventions of radio work, provide a further specificity to the notion of radio's creativity.

CHAPTER SIX
MAKING RADIO

In the previous chapter, I introduced a number of ways that individual radio practitioners perceive and articulate the creativity of their practice. I argued that the phrases used, and conceptions of creativity that are constructed through their narratives, demonstrate the complex task of understanding the meaning of creativity within the radio industry. This chapter begins to address this complexity by accounting for the way that these nuances of creativity manifest within the radio production process. I reflect on key practices that occur when making radio content. Through this I explore the way that creativity manifests for individuals within their everyday production practices, which I argue is a tangible framing of radio's creativity.

To explore radio practice, I focus on four key themes. Firstly, I explore the process of radio scheduling that occurs in the radio industry and reflect on the way that this shapes practice. Secondly, I discuss the practice of scheduling that occurs in individual shows, often through the use of the clock format. I then consider specific production conventions that shape the work of the individual radio practitioner: technology, software, music playlists, and the inclusion of adverts in community and commercial radio broadcasts. The final section of this chapter pays attention to the documentary production process, considering the creativity of the practices that it encompasses. I draw on Verity's (2018) narrative of her role as an independent documentary producer and highlight areas of her practice that are recognised both in literature, and by herself, as creative.

By focusing on these areas of radio production I argue that the conventions and nature of radio influences practice. Therefore, the nature of radio's creativity must be understood as

embedded within these factors. In one sense, the factors that I focus on can be framed as restricting the freedom that practitioners have, consequently limiting their creativity. However, I argue that through the narratives of radio workers, these factors can act, paradoxically, as both an enabler and impediment to creativity.

6.1 Familiarity and Predictability: Radio Scheduling and Planning

The first element of radio practice I focus on in this chapter is the process of radio scheduling that exists across each broadcasting model discussed in this dissertation. The connection between formatting, scheduling and creativity emerged in this research and is similarly discussed in academic literature. For example, Hendy (2000: 110), when discussing radio's need to provide familiarity and predictability for their audience, notes that it enforces a "powerful array of constraints upon the producer's room for creativity which have the precise effect of making radio production a largely routine activity". The scheduling and formatting of each station is one constraint on practice, and consequently creativity, that Hendy is alluding to (Hendy, 2000: 95; Wilby and Conroy, 1994: 195; Steiner, 1952: 200). Therefore, this section reflects on the purpose of radio scheduling, before exploring the way that it shapes practice.

In general, formatting and structuring is a key feature of the UK radio industry (Hendy, 2000; Wilby and Conroy, 1994), although some types of radio, such as unlicensed radio, do exist beyond this. In commercial, public service and community radio, formatting exists and serves a purpose of fitting programming within "regularized patterns of scheduling across each day and across each week" (Hendy, 2000: 95). For example, a breakfast show in the morning, a drive-time show in the evening and niche music programming overnight. Commercial and public service radio base their formats on research (Wilby and Conroy, 1994: 194), and their chosen schedule is often financially motivated. However, it is

significant that my research suggests that community radio stations, and individuals, have adopted an idea that this type of scheduling is an industry standard that should be adhered to. Consequently, this shapes the formatting practices that occur at these stations.

Community radio in the United Kingdom is not consolidated or standardised, as stations exist and function independently. As a result, individual station managers or managerial teams at these stations have greater autonomy over the practices and decisions that are made with regards to the content of the station, and the structure of its programming. When talking to Pete (2017) about his freedom to select music, his wording about his station scheduling demonstrates an opportunity to be flexible and creative. However, preconceived notions about radio still frame his decision making which influences his level of flexibility: "we have regular shows, which is your sort of regular breakfast, mid-morning, afternoon, drive time, the core things that radio stations have". His use of the word "regular", coupled with his claim that these shows are "the core things that radio stations have" evidences an informal disciplinary influence, which impacts the practices that occur within a community radio context. Because of this, these stations adhere to ideas about scheduling, despite not needing to.

Scheduling was also mentioned in my conversation with Pete (2017) when I questioned him about the freedom that he has to alter and change his practices. Discussing the scheduling of programmes at his station, he recognised that it could be seen as creative to change the schedule and break away from the traditional structure. However, in practice, he did not "think it's ever gonna go away from breakfast, mid-morning, afternoon, drive-time. I mean those core, four core programmes, I don't think we're ever gonna go away from that". This innate understanding of how radio *should be,* in terms of scheduling, was similarly supported by Andy (2018), who explained that he was given an evening slot for his show to fit "with the ethos of community radio broadcasting… specialist shows tend to be after seven

o'clock". Therefore, these traits of radio can be framed as anchoring radio practice and shaping the UK radio industry, and radio as a medium.

In addition to station scheduling, within a particular hour of an individual show the clock format is frequently used to structure features and music (Hendy, 2000: 95-96; McLeish, 1994: 158; Crisell, 1994: 73; Keith, 2004: 106- 114). I discussed the purpose of the clock format in chapter one, but I want to revisit this programming tool to reflect on the way that radio practitioners themselves discuss it. For some, the imposition of a radio clock is not looked upon favourably. As Myers (2012: 37) reflects:

> I was given a programme clock for my breakfast show and I noticed that at 8.10am it said, and I quote, 'Funny link'. That's right, the clock was planned so I would have to do a funny link straight after the first song following the 8am news bulletin. I did my best but after one show I was called in for a 'feedback meeting' where it was pointed out that I'd failed to follow the clock and say something funny at the allotted time.

Therefore, he implies that scheduling restricts the freedom of individuals because their practice, down to the type of speech that they have to convey, is dictated. For some of the research participants, planning to this extent was similarly discussed. When she started her voluntary role, Amy (2017) had a preconceived idea of what a radio broadcast should be like and adhered to this through her practice. When first commencing work in radio, she shadowed other volunteers and read books about radio presenting techniques, and she believes that this formulated her preconceptions. Alongside this, when she began her voluntary role, she presented a show with a co-presenter and articulated this experience as providing less autonomy and flexibility for her to adjust practices and output. As a result, she formally structured each show and planned various segments to cover.

Similar to Amy, when Andy (2018) first became a community radio volunteer he was "more organised" because he created scripts and planned timings. The radio script includes a variety of features such as the information that should be included, and the number of time checks that are required (McLeish and Link, 2016: 213). An additional purpose of script

generation, as initially used by Andy (2018), was the establishment of written content that he could read aloud. However, aligning with a recognition in literature that scripting can remove the sense of spontaneity (Wilby and Conroy, 1994: 129; Crisell, 1994; Hendy, 2000), and as discussed in chapter five, Andy (2018) believed that planning to this extent sounded scripted, so he stopped it. This demonstrates Andy's development process, where he initially felt the need to write scripts, but now has more confidence in his own abilities as a radio presenter. As a result, he produces what he would describe as a more natural sounding broadcast and his radio programmes now incorporate less fixed features, primarily including music and interviews. However, Andy did recognise the need to undertake some initial preparation for his shows. Although, due to his existing knowledge of his specialist topic of jazz music, he explained that this does not have to be extensive. As a result, he spends half an hour on a Monday preparing for his show each week. Due to his prior knowledge, limited preparation is required. However, the importance of being prepared for a show was still emphasised, and he stated that being unprepared for a show would be his least favourite part of being a radio practitioner. This aligns with McLeish and Link's (2016: 78) argument that preparing a script can reduce the stress of the radio presenter by acting as a safety net for them.

Amy (2017) also underwent a developmental process as a radio volunteer. When her co-presenter left, she adapted her practice and found what she termed, her "niche". Having less structure to her broadcasts, she believed, enabled her programmes to reflect her individuality. Whilst she did still have a plan for her shows by trying: "to sort of have a schedule for it so the first hour's meant to be for the community, second's care, third hour's creativity", she also allowed herself to blur the boundaries between these elements if she deemed necessary. This highlights the freedom of practice that exists in a community radio context, as Amy is able to make the decision on her own to blur these boundaries; I explore this in more depth in chapter seven. Amy (2017) does not use the 'radio clock' to plan her

time, alluding to one distinction of community radio work, which allows participants flexibility. This seemingly contrasts to work in public service and commercial radio which necessitates stricter planning.

These structures and core practices of radio production create boundaries that shape the work of the individual radio practitioner. Where autonomy and freedom are conceptualisations of radio's creativity, these features of radio work seemingly restrict the level of creativity that each practitioner has. Therefore, activities such as planning, preparation and structuring conjure images that are oppositional to creativity. However, in the remainder of this section, I consider in more depth the specificities of creativity in a radio context. Through this, I demonstrate that the very nature of creativity as shaped by these structures is critical to account for and present an alternative view which suggests that the practice of planning can encourage creativity.

The importance of preparation for a live radio broadcast is noted by Chris Evans (2010: 148) in his autobiography, where he states:

> It's always amazed me the number of people who fall on the air on television and radio who haven't given a second of thought as to what they might want to say. What on earth do they think is going to come out of their mouths that could be remotely worth listening to? I hear this kind of thing all the time when I listen to the radio and it drives me insane, I don't want to hear some halfwit scrabbling around for ideas on the air, I don't want to have to put up with constant streams of ums and ers whilst they are wondering what to say next, having been too lazy to have considered it beforehand.

However, Evans (2010: 144) does sympathise that when first starting as a radio presenter it can be difficult to undertake tasks beyond the basic requirements of a radio broadcast. For example, when he first started work in radio, "…just playing all the records and jingles in the right order and managing to say, 'that was' and 'this is' along with the odd time check proved to be enough of a challenge". Through this, he implies that he was not able to take advantage of the opportunity to adapt his speech in the first few weeks of his role. It also alludes to the fact that planning, coupled with experience, can enable individuals to undertake practices

beyond the bare minimum that is required to broadcast live radio content, such as turning the microphone fades up when speaking.

Out of all the research participants that make live radio broadcasts, it was Pete (2017) who conveyed a sense that he undertakes the most planning and preparation for his two weekly radio shows. When structuring his Wednesday show, Pete develops what he terms a 'script', which includes the features outlined by McLeish and Link (2016: 213). However, as radio scripts in his station have no generic structure, Pete (2017) creates ones that are unique to his style of presenting. This includes the wording of his first link, information about each song that he will play including the artist, the title, information about its time in the UK charts, and a key fact about the song or artist, alongside a fact about the year that the song was in the UK charts. His script also incorporates features that he has prepared, such as 'Guess the TV Theme' and a selected artist that he will focus on (for a sample script see Appendix H).

The creation of a script in this way demonstrates pre-planned and mediated content. However, it can also be framed in an alternative way. Revisiting my argument from chapter one, McLeish and Link (2016) highlight that for the radio presenter it is critical to develop or edit a script to sound spontaneous when using it. They also note that the script should be edited to fit the style of the presenter that the listeners know and expect. This is evident in Pete's (2017) practice, where the use of his script does, to some extent, limit his spontaneity when broadcasting through a self-imposed structure (Wilby and Conroy, 1994: 129), yet he also creates a plan for his show that aligns with his own personal style. This is significant because, as I explored in chapter five, one's ability to bring personality to their work was articulated as an expression of creativity in a radio context, and Pete's use of the radio script demonstrates the practical manifestation of this.

The planning process is also beneficial, enabling Pete (2017) to develop features and collate information that he will use. By spending time preparing for his show he is able to think through his work and focus on the generation of new ideas for content and features. In contrast, if a radio practitioner was to spend no time planning for their broadcasts, they may simply maintain their current practice due to the fast-paced nature of live radio broadcasting. This positive view of scripting is recognised by McLeish and Link (2016: 78) who posit that: "preparing a script provides the opportunity for thinking more deeply and creatively, adding substance, expressing ourselves more accurately, and developing the well-crafted memorable phrase". Therefore, whilst the practice of scripting could be seen as uncreative, McLeish and Link (2016) assert that it is perhaps the very fact of scripting, through the time that it allows presenters to think about, reflect on, and adjust their craft, that enables them to be creative. This reinforces the need to consider creativity in a radio specific context, as this dissertation does. Similarly, Pete (2017) believes that the development of new features and ways of conveying information aligns with conceptualisations of creativity and innovation because, "in terms of the pure radio none of that needs to be done". Through this, he implied that in radio, creativity occurs when individuals undertake activities and create content that exist beyond the lowest common denominator of radio's key characteristics. Producing radio content, at a minimum, involves meeting the requirements of an individual role and recreating features that have been created before. Therefore, the development of new features and undertaking of tasks that do not *need* to be done to make radio content, can be framed as creative. However, Pete also acknowledged the constraints of radio on his creativity, where he believed that his role is, "creative, certainly yes in taking the basic possibilities of what you can do and making the most of them, well more of them, and the most of them that you possibly can". This implies that radio can be creative, but, as it is still radio, it consequently

has boundaries and requirements that the practitioner must work within, and that the radio artefact must fulfil; I explore this in more depth in chapter seven.

Planning is also specific to certain types of radio production, for example preparation is key when producing live radio interviews. The production of a live radio interview is a distinct micro-process within the creation of a live radio show, and five of my research participants described how they have an involvement with this. Amy (2017) and Pete (2017) both regularly conduct interviews on their shows and are involved in every practice that forms this process. In a commercial radio context, multiple staff are involved with the interview process, and John (2018) is specifically responsible for sourcing interview participants for other staff at his commercial radio station to interview. Hannah (2018) also undertakes regular interviews as part of her work, and her manager Mark (2018) has some involvement in this process. The first way that these individuals must prepare for their interviews is by sourcing participants. In doing so, each individual must undertake a decision-making process regarding the suitability of potential interviewees. For example, Amy (2017) seeks to source diverse members of the local community for interviews, whilst Pete (2017) has some recurring guests that appear on his show at the same time each year. He also looks for potential interviewees in the local newspaper, and consequently, part of his preparatory process for interviews involves finding the contact details for these individuals and inviting them to appear on his show. John (2018) books celebrity guests for his commercial radio station, and his work, therefore, differs to Pete (2017), Amy (2017) and Hannah (2018), who interview members of the public.

After sourcing participants individuals must undertake further activities to prepare for their interviews. This is a common feature of their work, but the specificities of practice differ for each individual. For example, Amy (2017) explained that she will conduct background research into the person and the topic that she will be talking about. Once the

interviewee arrives at the station, she will prepare them for the interview, and it is of particular note that she frames this as one example of the way that her work is creative:

> …And in terms of the actual questions that I'm giving out, I feel like I'm becoming more creative with that, the way that I'll actually prep someone for the interview which you'll see, and then they get on air and then they don't realise they're actually on air, they're just talking and I'm like 'aha' I've finally clocked on to what works. So that's where I've had to use my creativity, and I've had to sort of merge it with psychology as well, reading people, working out what they're thinking, what they're gonna say next, I think there's a certain aspect of it, of creativity that you have to master which I think I'm getting better at.

In this respect, Amy contributes to my argument that radio's creativity must be understood as embedded within the specificities of the medium. The artefact of her practice is a radio interview that is broadcast through her community station. Consequently, it incorporates features that make it recognisable as a radio interview, and there are some practices that she must undertake to achieve this. However, her negotiation of the boundaries that this radio artefact has, is what she believes to be an expression of her creativity.

Pete (2017) also talked about structuring his interviews "to some extent". First, he seeks to build a rapport with his interviewees whilst maintaining "free flowing conversation". However, while he chose to articulate his interview style in this way, he continued to talk about the tactics he uses to manage the interview to an extent: "if we get to a particular point and I feel it's gonna stray into something else, I'll jump in, call it to a halt, go to a break, go to some music, and then we'll pick that point up as a new topic". In chapter five I introduced Pete's understanding of creativity, which he described as his ability to have "freedom and flexibility to capitalise upon what happens and what is said", and he suggested that he has this opportunity when conducting interviews. This, he believes is important in interviews, due to the very nature of radio as a medium:

> It's about realising that it's wholly speech and music based, and… all that the people listening at the other end are hearing is what is being said into the microphones, so nothing else in the studio, what people are wearing, or anything else is coming over to

you. You've got to convey what you want from an interview, what they want, the interviewee wants from the interview, solely by what you say.

Therefore, he uses his flexibility to monitor his interviews and ensure that the interviewees spoken content is suitable for the blind nature of radio (Crisell, 1994).

The work of Hannah (2018) differs to Pete (2017) and Amy (2017), due to the number of interviews that she is required to regularly undertake. In contrast to practitioners who have the time to prepare for their interviews, the process is sped-up for Hannah (2018). For example, Hannah explained that she will be told who she is interviewing the next day at about 7pm. As a result, her preparation process involves arriving half an hour before she is due to go on air, setting up her satellite van and talking to the participant. Therefore, she has to be "very quick at reading all the information, absorbing it and relating it to people". I have presented a number of interview techniques and strategies in this section to demonstrate the different radio practices that exist in the radio industry, even when individuals are producing the same type of radio output.

For Verity (2018), as an independent documentary producer, the majority of her research and preparation occurs when she is writing up her full proposal, which she must do to confirm funding for her documentaries. She provided a recent example, which illustrates the nature of this research:

> I'm going to make a three-part series for the World Service this year on night culture, particularly night, underground culture in cities around the world where either politics or…the social status quo is creating a really difficult atmosphere for underground music scenes and artists to survive. So, I've researched three cities in quite a lot of detail, and found people and stories and things like that.

At the time of our interview this documentary series had been commissioned. Therefore, her research was more practical and fitted within the 'planning' part of the documentary process. This includes tasks such as phoning her contacts to check their availability, organising her visit to these locations and developing a schedule for her time whilst she is abroad gathering

content. Scheduling her time was critical, as she had limited time to gather recorded content, and so needed to plan in order to have a productive work trip. These activities that occur during the planning phase align with Cave's (2003: 73) concept of 'humdrum' inputs, which are required to generate economic value from Verity's (2018) creativity. I discussed some of these humdrum inputs in chapter four, but another example from her work that illustrates this is the fact checking activities that she undertakes. When preparing a documentary, she is always aware of the potential audience. This influences her work because she believes that a rigorous approach to verifying all details is required. She rationalised: "I think that I do fact check everything because you know with the BBC that because it's publicly funded, people love to write in and point out when something's wrong". Therefore, in Verity's role, the practice of fact checking is a critical, but non-creative, element of the production process, which contributes to the radio documentary output. To demonstrate the level of detail that is required, Verity (2018) drew on a recent example where she spent a long time trying to verify the specific game that a group of people used to play in order to include this accurate detail in her work. As another example of a 'humdrum' input, she has to occasionally work with a lawyer. For instance, when creating a documentary for the World Service about seafarers and their welfare, she found that some fishing companies had been mistreating their workers. Consequently, a lawyer's involvement was required in order for her to broadcast this information. These restrictions on the work of the documentary producer are summarised by Starkey (2004: 218 226), and include ethics, reporting restrictions, libel and copyright implications. However, in the final section of this chapter, I synthesise the creative practices that Verity (2018) also undertakes, which supports the point I made in chapter four about how individual radio practitioners blur the boundaries between specialist and support worker roles (Higgs et al, 2008).

In this section I have explored the scheduling and planning practices that form part of the radio production process. These traits of radio anchor radio practice, enabling practitioners to produce content that is recognisable as radio. Using narratives from the work of individual practitioners I have highlighted differing views and suggested that paradoxically scheduling, and planning, can be framed as both enabling and restricting creativity. In the next section of this chapter I explore, in more depth, some additional elements of radio production that the practitioner must negotiation: technology, software, the pre-scheduled playlist and radio adverts.

6.2 Negotiating Technology, Software, the Music Playlist and Adverts

I have already explored the scheduling and planning that are key features of the radio production process. Through this, I argued that to understand the nature of radio's creativity we must recognise that it is shaped by the nature of the radio medium. Furthermore, to produce artefacts that are recognisable as radio, individual practitioners must adhere to boundaries that the artefact has. However, it is the negotiation of these boundaries that the research participants articulated as being creative. In this section I will focus more specifically on further elements of radio's conventions that shape the work of the individual radio practitioner: technology, software, music playlists, and the inclusion of adverts in community and commercial radio broadcasts, commencing with a discussion on the former.

Radio practitioners at all levels, from paid employees to radio volunteers or interns, must familiarise themselves with studio equipment. In radio, the operation of this equipment is termed 'driving the desk', a concept explored by Starkey (2004). He explains that to successfully drive the desk, individual practitioners must be able to undertake tasks, including; positioning the microphone correctly, knowing how to switch between CD and alternative music types if necessary, and using the mixing desk to control levels. Providing an

illustrative example of the radio practitioners negotiations of these frames, Myers (2012: 18)

in his autobiography states:

> When the show was ending, you started the music with the audio fader down and then slowly brought the music up to its conclusion. Timing was essential, especially if you had to take the pips from Radio 4. If, for example, the signature tune was 3minutes 54 seconds long, you would start it on pre-fade at exactly four minutes to the hour. The signature tune would end with six seconds to go. You'd then have one second of silence followed by the pips…. it was simple enough to do and you soon got into the swing of things. It was the technique that was important. You'd listen to your own show in one ear and Radio Four in the other. Then, at precisely the right moment. Whack up the Radio 4 fader- job done.

This example demonstrates the skills and abilities specific to radio production, that radio

practitioners must possess. Aligning with my earlier discussion about creative and non-

artistic labour, these skills and tasks can be framed as non-artistic, but still critical to support

the radio production process.

Radio practitioners must also negotiate radio playout software, and in the next section

I will argue that it acts, paradoxically, as both an enabler and impediment to creativity. Using

Pete (2017) to illustrate this discussion, I refer to Myriad, the playout software used in a radio

station environment[3]. Playout software, such as Myriad, provides a computer interface that

enables the radio practitioner to undertake particular tasks and broadcast certain types of

content. This function of the software shapes the work of radio practitioners. Therefore, it

could be suggested that technology limits the possibilities that the radio practitioner has.

However, it must be acknowledged that the system enables practitioners to create radio in a

way that is recognisable as radio, and as demanded by the station that they work for.

Therefore, while to some extent it does inhibit the freedom that the practitioner has, it is

unlikely that they would desire to undertake practices beyond those facilitated by this

software.

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[3] For more information or alternative systems see McLeish and Link (2016: 37)

The function of Myriad that I want to explore in more depth is the "advanced music and link scheduling" (Broadcast Radio Ltd, 2019) that it facilitates. This feature automatically provides the radio presenter with music for use in their show. Some presenters are required to use these songs because they are aligned with the station's music policy. Therefore, the music that they broadcast is framed by this. The creation of a music playlist is described by Jo Whiley (2009: 70) as "… a dark art, involving producers, audience research and passionate DJs". This suggests that a specialist skill set, and knowledge is involved in playlist creation.

Myriad does have a delete and soft-delete option that allows individuals to change the music that they have been scheduled to play. For niche music programmes this is particularly critical, as it enables the practitioner to move away from the standard station playlist. At his community radio station Pete (2017) undertakes two shows that broadcast music that is not part of the scheduled playlist, and consequently, he regularly uses this function. For example, he undertakes an interview with live music each Sunday and as part of his show he soft-deletes any scheduled music to give himself time for this alternative feature. Therefore, the flexibility afforded by Myriad's features allows practitioners to adjust their content. Additionally, the soft-delete feature of Myriad means that he can add scheduled music back in if the interview is not going to fill the half an hour that he has allocated it. This example suggests that technological features such as this can enhance a radio broadcast through the provision of music that enables the practitioner to focus on other elements of their show. Software such as Myriad is also significant when considering radio's creativity because it is able to replicate what may otherwise be an uncreative role that a practitioner would have to undertake. For example, this includes scheduling "adverts and control[ling] collisions of adverts for similar products" (Broadcast Radio Ltd, 2019).

The inclusion of adverts in itself raises an important discussion about creativity. Andy (2018) articulated the requirement to include adverts in his broadcasts to be a particularly uncreative part of his role. He was not opposed to adverts due to their commercial connotations, but instead felt that for him as an individual practitioner they are an element of his practice that is beyond his control and this impacts his work because "they get in the way of you know, the nature of the flow of the programme…". Through this, advertisements are framed as constraining a practitioner's space for creativity. However, upon further reflection, Andy provided an alternative perspective. He suggested that perhaps it is his ability to work around features, such as adverts, that requires creativity. For example, practitioners must be aware of upcoming adverts and use techniques to keep audiences listening to their show over that of another station. The way they do this is a nuance of creative practice that demonstrates the specificities of considering creativity in a structured and formatted radio environment.

In this section I have explored key elements of radio production that shape the work of the individual practitioner, in particular: technology, software, the music playlist and the inclusion of adverts. I have argued that these factors can be framed in two ways. First, it could be assumed that they inhibit practice by creating boundaries that the practitioner must work within. However, I have also demonstrated that it could instead be the negotiation of these factors that enable a practitioner to be creative, whilst still creating artefacts that align with the specificities of the radio medium.

6.3 The Creativity of the Documentary Production Process

Distinctions between pre-recorded and live radio create different radio production practices and processes. As an alternative to live radio creation, the rest of this chapter will focus on the creation of pre-prepared content using documentary production as a specific example. To illustrate this discussion, I will draw on Verity's (2018) narrative of her role as a

documentary producer, working for an independent documentary production company, creating content for the BBC. By working in a different role to the other participants, Verity innately considered her work differently. The object that she produces is different aesthetically, and therefore her practices also vary. For example, she has the opportunity for editing and post-production stages of a production process, which is not afforded to live radio practitioners. Additionally, she must seek commission for her ideas on a regular basis, which I explored in chapter four.

Initially considering the concept of creativity as aligned with radio documentaries, this type of radio output is often privileged in academic literature, where a hierarchy of value is placed upon it. In particular, it is significant that when reflecting on the possibilities of the radio documentary or feature programme McLeish and Link (2016: 319) describe them as: "… exciting and creative areas of radio...". Through this, they imply that the documentary producer has the opportunity to be creative. This idea is reinforced by the former Head of Features at BBC Radio, Lawrence Gilliam (in McLeish and Link, 2016: 331), who notes that documentaries and features offer great opportunities for the radio practitioner:

> It can take the enquiring mind, the alert ear, the selective eye, and the broadcasting microphone into every corner of the contemporary world, or into the deepest recess of experiences. Its task, and its destiny is to mirror the true inwardness of its subject, to explore the boundaries of radio and television and to perfect techniques for the use of the creative artist in broadcasting.

This suggests that documentary production offers increased opportunities for the individual radio worker, as it enables them to exist beyond some of radio's frames, for example, the playlist that I explored earlier. Clearly passionate about creating radio documentaries, Verity's (2018) discussion of her everyday practices and the production process highlighted habitual, everyday routines and tasks that are part of her paid employment. These may not align with the work of other types of radio practitioners, but for a documentary producer they

are everyday practices. This includes: developing an idea, conducting research, planning, gathering content, editing and post-production tasks. I have explored idea generation and the processes of gaining commission in the previous two chapters and discussed planning earlier in this chapter. Therefore, this section will focus on other elements of the documentary production process, starting with the gathering content stage.

I will talk through the process to make one radio documentary or documentary series in a linear way, but Verity's actual working practices are not as simple. Due to the financial pressure to continually produce documentaries and gain commission, a blurring exists within her working practices. Consequently, she works on different stages of various documentaries at the same time. Therefore, she explained that her average day in the office will consist of "… a mixture of researching, recording and editing, like all the time… and writing proposals". At the time of our interview she was undertaking final edits for one documentary, while setting up contacts and interviews for an upcoming documentary that she was developing.

When collecting content to use in her documentaries Verity will conduct interviews and record additional audio, and it is the latter than I want to focus on, as collecting this content is what Verity (2018) believes enables her to add "some colour" to her outputs. This notion of adding colour connects with conceptions of art, where her language draws parallels between her documentaries and works of art. 'Colour' is a choice of language that Hendy (2000: 74) similarly employs when discussing the role of the documentary maker, and he posits that by collecting real world sounds they create a 'more colourful' listening experience. To achieve this, and as a personal preference, Verity (2018) will collect sound effects herself during the recording process, rather than adding fake sound effects and music beds to documentaries during the editing process. For example, she will often record car doors shutting or footsteps of people walking through puddles. Discussing her desire to

record her own effects she reflected that: "…you can find effects, and free sounds and stuff like that but they're never quite what you want, so I'm always thinking right what noises can we get now, and then use them to signpost essentially, or little details later". These recordings are not planned in advance and instead she is able to gather these on the spot with a knowledge of how they will enhance the storytelling within her documentary.

Due to modern recording technology and the ability to edit audio after it has been collected, she noted that some people no longer think about, or develop, their recording techniques. Her recording practices align with Wilby and Conroy's (1994: 123-124) discussion of creative microphone usage, where they posit that those who seek to create creative radio view their microphones as a medium to be experimented with. Her own microphone experimentation Verity explicitly articulated as being creative. Providing an example, she stated:

> So whether you're getting people to move around, and record it in stereo, or you're getting people to maybe walk up to you and start talking, or start walking away and talking… so that's what I'm trying to work on at the moment, because you know, people think oh well I can pan left, or I can pan right, but what about getting people to talk at a distance, difference distances, and getting that kind of spatial awareness I think is really important.

Additionally, she is also experimenting by using the technique of Chris Watson a wildlife sound recordist who uses a coat hanger with two small microphones on each end to get wide left and right stereo in his recordings.

Once content has been collected, the documentary producer must undertake an editing process to create the final output that is broadcast (Wilby and Conroy, 1994: 170; Starkey, 2004: 205-212). Reflecting on her work, and in particular the fact that she was developing a large number of 28-minute arts features and programmes at the time of our interview, Verity (2018) emphasised the importance of the editing process, and aligned it with the concept of creativity:

You just cannot deliver a traditional… programme where there's no creativity. You can't just interview ten people and cut it together, there is no way [laughs]. Because… the programmes got to be creative in the way it's made as well as just talking to creative people.

In academic literature the editing stage of the production process is similarly recognised by McLeish and Link (2016: 44) as enabling creativity, where they assert that the editing process can be "for creative effect to produce new juxtapositions of speech, music, sound and silence". At the BBC an emphasis is similarly placed on creativity through the use of sounds and sound effects, to the extent that Hannah (2018) was required to attend package editing training with a focus on this. John (2018) also recognised the editing process as enabling creativity in a commercial radio context. When prompted to reflect on what it means for him to be creative at work he stated: "to make packages, to edit interviews and not just put it out as it is but to add audio into it, add elements, make a storyline arch, have a theme tune, have a trailer, have a clip of something else and really be creative with it". John suggested editing is a space for creativity, but also acknowledged that this does not necessarily happen. Justifying this, he explained that he does not always have time to edit his packages in a creative way. As a result, framing time as one boundary that the radio practitioner must negotiate and work within (Hendy, 2000: 92), which is significant because as Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea (2010: 59) note, time is required for creativity.

By exploring radio documentary production, I have highlighted a number of practices that can be understood as a manifestation of creativity. However, these practices are also specific to the nature of radio documentary production. Therefore, creativity in radio must be understood as unique to the practice context that it occurs within.

6.4 Conclusion: Making Radio

Building on the previous chapters where I have explored individual nuances of creativity and the nature of being a radio worker, this chapter has explored the process of making radio, examining the way that creativity functions for individuals within their everyday production practices. I have highlighted that the conventions and nature of radio influences these practices, where implicit boundaries or standard elements of radio production shape them. Therefore, the nature of radio's creativity must be understood as embedded within these factors.

I began by focusing on the process of radio scheduling that exists across community, public service and commercial radio. Literature suggests that formatting and scheduling can place constraints on creativity (Hendy, 2000: 110). I noted that these traits of radio do anchor practice, which enables practitioners to produce content that is recognisable as radio. However, I presented the different views of radio practitioners about scheduling and planning, through this arguing that they can be framed as both enabling and restricting creativity. Following this I explored technology, software, the music playlist and radio adverts. These are all factors that further shape radio practice, and this is reinforced by the notion that to produce radio artefacts that are recognisable as radio, individual practitioners must adhere to these boundaries. However, I highlighted that the participants in this research articulated their negotiation of these boundaries as them being creative. Finally, acknowledging differences between pre-recorded and live radio I focused on the radio documentary production process. In this section I explored a number of practices that can be understood as evidencing creativity. These practices are specific to the nature of radio documentary production, and consequently, this contributes to my thesis that creativity in radio must be understood as unique to the context that it occurs within.

To conclude this chapter, I want to turn to a quote from Mark (2018) who stated that being creative requires working within the medium of radio but questioning "…can we get more out of this? What can take this further? How can you push it to its limit...". This quote emphasises the boundaries of radio that shape practice, where individual practitioners have production conventions that respond to the medium of radio, through this creating artefacts that are recognisable as radio. It is this idea of boundaries as shaping practice that I will expand on in the next chapter, titled The Radio Environment: Expectations and Borders. I build on this particular argument by exploring the wider station and industry environments that frame the work of radio practitioners, and the practices that they undertake.

CHAPTER SEVEN
THE RADIO ENVIRONMENT - EXPECTATIONS AND BORDERS

In this dissertation so far, I have explored what it means to be a radio worker, what their nuances of creativity are, and looked more specifically at the practices that they undertake as part of the production process. Academic literature about creative work stresses that beyond placing a sole focus on the work of the individual, we must also account for factors that influence individual creative productivity (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011: 09). Therefore, this chapter will demonstrate that individual understandings and experiences of radio work and creativity must be considered in relation to a specific environment. As I outlined in chapter one, Wolfenden (2014) highlights that the radio presenter has creative agency, but that this agency is shaped by internal requirements and expectations. Using the approach of Hendy (2000: 09) to explore this environment, I focus on the typology of radio with an aim "not so much to establish the existing patterns of radio, but to establish the dynamic forces which are shaping the medium", through this analysing the "context within which radio is produced". In radio, this context includes elements such as political, economic, technological and cultural environments (Shingler and Wieringa, 1998: 1-3; Hilmes, 2002).

As I identified in chapter two, the concepts of creativity and industry can be framed as paradoxical (Knight and Harvey, 2015: 810), where industry "…implies a set of standardised and regulated practices as well as efficiency and management behaviour". In the radio industry these elements must be considered, and, throughout this chapter, I explore a number of these. First, I unpack the influence of the workplace on creativity by exploring the remit of specific roles, and the position that the manager has to shape practice. Subsequently, I reflect

on the organisational context of radio work, where I argue that regulation, policy, compliance, station remit and funding all shape radio practice.

Embedding creativity within these discussions I primarily use notions of autonomy and freedom as introduced in chapter five. However, as I will demonstrate, these concepts have a specific meaning in a radio context. By this, I mean that where freedom is a constructive way to understand the creativity of radio, the radio environment can be articulated as fostering boundaries, borders and frames on this freedom, which conditions the work of the radio practitioner. Radio stations are also workplaces, and this shapes the degrees of autonomy that are experienced by individual radio practitioners, consequently impacting the space that they have to be creative. In this chapter, I argue that these station and industry frames create formal expectations that shape practice but also generate self-imposed expectations that primarily revolve around individualised views that radio practitioners have. These self-imposed expectations are used by individuals to self-regulate and shape their own practice. I discuss both types of expectations in this chapter and conclude by reflecting on the way that these different types of expectations produce varied framings of radio's creativity.

7.1 Negotiating the Radio Practitioner's Workplace

In chapter two, I explained that the creative industries emphasise the management and systems that facilitate creative talent (Bilton, 2010: 263-264), and I explore that in this section by considering what it means when a radio practitioner exists within a workplace. This section also builds on my consideration of the radio practitioners' role in chapter four, to reflect on the way that their workplaces shape the conceptual space that they have to be creative. Initial boundaries are created through the job descriptions that paid radio practitioners have, and the contracts they sign. I reflected on the details of these descriptions in chapter four, but, at this point, it is significant to note that conditions are created through

these role expectations, and individual practice must fit within this. Across both voluntary and paid employment in the radio industry, practitioners also exist within a staffing structure and must negotiate a relationship with their manager who can control their practice to some extent. This has implications for their creativity, where, as recognised by Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2011: 09), individual creative productivity exists within boundaries that result from organisation and managerial requirements. In radio, the embedding of a practitioner within a place of work creates conditions that frame their practice. This has implications for understandings of radio's creativity, by shaping the space and opportunities that they have to be creative. However, the way that they articulate this is particularly significant. Therefore, I pay attention to the specific ways that individuals reflect on the boundaries of their role. The narratives constructed link conceptualisations of creativity with my earlier discussion of freedom, autonomy and flexibility as synonymous ways that we can understand the specificities of radio's creativity.

7.1.1 Remit of Their Role and Managers

When exploring creativity in radio, Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea (2010: 59) posit that the individual must be innovative whilst meeting their employers' requirements. It is this notion that I build on in this section. To start, I turn to John (2018), who succinctly outlined his job role: "I'm paid as a freelancer to bring in celebrities so that's what I have to do. So as long as I'm doing that, that's my remit". Through this, he acknowledged that particular expectations are imposed on him by the title and remit of this role. However, the expectation that he highlighted is output based, evidenced through the celebrities that he books for his station. Reflecting on the way that he achieves this, he explained: "I do my own thing really". Consequently, he articulated a space that is afforded for him to negotiate the practices of his

role in a way that he feels is appropriate. This ownership of his work creates a sense of freedom and autonomy, which can be aligned with nuances of creativity.

Building on John's discussion surrounding the freedom that he has to interpret his job, I want to consider the position that managers play in supporting this. The role of the radio manager is to oversee employees whilst meeting the wider aims of their station or organisation (Keith, 2004: 56-58). When radio managers are in a hierarchical position, they have the opportunity to shape the practice of other individuals by influencing the space that they have to make decisions and act on them. For example, a manager may create policies and provide their employees with manuals or handbooks (Keith, 2004: 56). However, as Myers (2012: 204) demonstrates, management in radio does not necessarily mirror this:

> In my early days my management style was quite hands-on but I soon learned this was a mistake. It was not getting the best out of people and, if you do everything yourself, then everyone expects you to make all the key decisions. To be a true leader, you have to be out in front allowing the staff to follow and make their own decisions and, of course, their own mistakes. This in turn empowers them to succeed.

This provides a rationale that supports my overall research findings concerning the role of the radio manager. These findings suggest that they do not explicitly seek to 'manage' the creativity of their staff or volunteers. Instead, they facilitate a space for creativity to occur by allowing staff to negotiate their roles. As managers do not intervene, a perception of freedom and autonomy was articulated by the participants in this research. According to Amy (2017), who volunteers at a community radio station:

> You get a lot of freedom at [station name redacted], as long as you, like I said don't swear, don't offend anyone…I think [station manager] is quite happy to see me taking some initiative with my show, he was just like go forward and do your thing, so yeah definitively no objections at all which is quite cool.

Therefore, she alludes to a positive relationship between herself and her manager and a resulting freedom for her to negotiate her role and develop and act upon her own ideas. Andy (2018) similarly claimed that at his station he is able to make decisions about the music and content of his show. Recognising that this ability is facilitated by the management at his

station, he described this as having a positive impact on his work, due to the level of trust that his manager places on him. In contrast, he suggested: "I think if you know someone's watching over you then you're not so relaxed naturally are you? And it would make it more difficult so yeah I like being left to it". With the level of freedom that is fostered in a community radio environment, partially by the station manager, practitioners can see an idea process through from creation to broadcast without seeking permission.

This freedom is also facilitated beyond community radio by managers, such as Myers (2012: 204) who explained that in his own commercial radio experience he would "hire people first and talent second. We show them the way to do it and then I very much like to get out of the way…". Through this, he enables staff to undertake their practices and negotiate their role in a way that they deem appropriate. Providing another managerial perspective, Pete's (2017) reflection on his previous experience managing his community radio station also contributes to this. He termed the type of mediation and monitoring that community radio station managers undertake as "invisible control". For example, when discussing regulation, he highlighted that managers at his station have an awareness of particular requirements that OfCom impose and know the importance of ensuring that all volunteers work within this. However, they will exercise a "reasonable level of control over what's happening and what's going out", but they are not upfront about doing so. As a result, instead of explicitly "restricting what people can do", managers will monitor volunteers and only intervene if they stepped away from the station's expectations of them. It is only at the point of this happening that volunteers would have their perceived freedom disrupted through increased overt observation and management of their practice.

Radio stations exist within boundaries such as regulation, which, if broken, would have significant consequences. Stations may also have financial aims that must be met. Therefore, managers, as acknowledged by Hendy (2000: 70) and Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea

(2010: 58-59), must be aware of these institutional aims. This, they posit, creates a tension between the manager and radio producers and presenters, who have an inclination towards creativity. Amy's (2017) conversation about the positive relationship that she has with her manager is representative of the way that the other participants also talked about this topic. I argue that it is self-imposed expectations that result in the lack of tension that Hendy (2000: 70) highlights. This concept of self-imposed expectations is significant due to its contribution to the ideas of freedom that the participants expressed.

Reflecting on why managers do not have to overtly control practice, Amy (2017) highlighted that all the presenters "know not to cross that boundary, and we all have respect for one another, so there's I don't think anybody has to put their foot down in that sense". Respecting the station is an informal influence that was revealed in other interviews too. For example, Mark (2018) explained that editorial, taste and decency considerations limit his practice, but that he knows "well enough what I can do without being told no you cannot do that". When reflecting on his current role as a volunteer, Pete (2017) contributes to this discussion by indicating that managers do not have to act as a forceful control because there is a "trust between the people and myself". A trust that he would not do anything contrary to the station policies. This aligns with Hendy's (2000: 70) observation that "…producers more often claim to be able to 'internalize' their own beliefs and tastes in order to reconcile them with the wider aims of the institutions which employ them". Therefore, providing a valuable explanation for why managers are able to control practice in this 'invisible' way.

This situates radio workers within Draper's (2014) concept of the 'discerned savvy'. Draper (2014: 1126) states that media workers have knowledge surrounding the acceptable levels of creativity. Consequently, they adopt "the perceived expectations of their superiors". In the radio industry, these individual practitioners understand the expectations of their role, and the boundaries of the medium and industry of radio, such as regulation. As a result, they

develop self-imposed expectations that shape their work, whilst they are autonomously undertaking practice. Due to this, the manager rarely has to intervene and formally, overtly mediate their work. Moreover, Pete (2017) and Amy (2017) both align with Hendy's (2000) view that individuals reconcile their own beliefs with that of their station, yet they did not acknowledge an internalisation of their own beliefs to achieve this. Instead, in a community radio context at least, they portrayed a sense of their own beliefs naturally align with their stations due to the community value of their role in particular. So far, I have primarily discussed the networked environment of community radio volunteers and it could be claimed that the specificities of community radio as a broadcasting model shape the relationship between the station manager and volunteers. For example, limited resources and its voluntary nature could result in less monitoring of practice.

To explore the relationship of radio managers and practitioners further, I will now discuss this relationship in a BBC radio environment. Hannah (2018), who works as a live news broadcaster for the BBC, recognises the hierarchical position of her manager, yet believes that in team meetings, in particular, this hierarchy is not enforced. In these meetings, ideas for live news broadcasts are generated and developed, and all voices and opinions are equally considered, regardless of the position of that individual in the staffing hierarchy. While, if necessary, "the manager will put their foot down… and we will listen", this is not a frequent occurrence. As a result, by not enforcing a hierarchy her manager creates an environment for knowledge sharing. This is a benefit of creative networks because staff can draw on the expertise of their colleagues (Bilton, 2010). Mumford et al (2009: 279-280) also acknowledge the fostering of these relationships and the facilitation of co-operation as a key role of leadership in the creative industries. This is reflected in Hannah's (2018) experience. In chapter four, I used Caves' (2003) concept of 'nobody knows' to explore the radio documentary commissioning process, and I want to return to this concept and apply it to team

meetings. Through this, I provide a rationale for the equal environment that is fostered by station managers in the process of idea generation.

Caves (2003: 74) suggests that the producer of a creative good cannot predetermine the value of the product and this rationale aligns with Hannah's (2018) discussion of the idea development process that occurs in her team meetings. She explained that occasionally staff will develop an idea and "just do it anyway", even if other members of the team are not certain about its potential success:

> In some ways nobody knows if it's going to work until it goes out and until it's made so in the planning you could think, this, I often get stuff and think this looks rubbish! But then you just have to make something of it, and other things, you think are going to be amazing and they're terrible.

As an example, Hannah (2018) once interviewed an author who was at a small literary festival in the local area that they broadcast to. The team that she works in were excited to interview her, but the author only gave one-word answers. Using this example, Hannah demonstrated that because nobody can be certain of an idea's success prior to its production and broadcast, individuals are able to emphasise their opinions in team meetings, and the manager facilitates this environment. Hannah's manager Mark (2018) supported this when reflecting on his relationship with his manager. He noted that if he chooses to follow a particular idea then he is accountable for it "…so if it didn't work, you'd be questioned as to why it didn't work". Therefore, he is aware that his manager may question an idea that is not received well by the audience, but if he still has an idea that he would like to see through to fruition he has the freedom to do so.

Considering the relationship between staff and managers in an independent documentary production environment brings another dimension to this discussion. As explored in chapters four and six, documentary production is a role that relies on the generation of commission through idea development. The reputation of independent

production companies revolves around the quality of their work, and the livelihood of these practitioners is directly connected with this. It is these two factors that Verity (2018) used to provide a rationale that justifies higher levels of input and feedback from her manager than were expressed by the other participants. When she joined her current company, she explained that her manager and colleagues kept a "watchful eye" on her work, which she framed positively. Verity feels pressure to make documentaries that meet an expected standard to increase the likelihood of continued commission from the BBC. Therefore, by keeping a "watchful eye" on her work, her colleagues were able to correct her mistakes, providing her with support and guidance, and acting as a "safety net" to ensure that she reached what she perceived as the required standard for her work. Mark (2018) contributes to the supportive role that can be facilitated, by stating "…there's nothing you shouldn't do on the radio really if you do it the right way". Therefore, he implied that at his station his managers 'regulation' manifests through the opportunity that he has to ask his manager for their advice on his treatment of a story.

Reflecting more specifically on the input of her manager, Verity (2018) stated that her boss is:

> … on top of everything and so it's not just me by myself making the programmes, …there's a lot of input from other people so that's nice… it would be quite hard to fail because of the sheer amount of input from everyone else.

It could be argued that the nature of Verity's work, in terms of the creation of pre-prepared audio content, provides the opportunity for increased input from managers. As Verity prepares her content in advance, there is time for this feedback process to occur and she has the ability to make changes. This contrasts to those practitioners who are broadcasting live, where feedback would occur after the content has been created and consumed by listeners. Sanctions for inappropriate content can still be implemented, but this type of managerial monitoring does not act in the same developmental way as other types of feedback. However,

Mark (2018) did clarify that whilst a show is being broadcast live, he is able to communicate with the presenter and give them real-time feedback, for example, advising them to move on from a particular topic.

I have explored the space that individuals have to be flexible and negotiate the remit of their role. To bring another dimension to the discussion of management in radio, I want to consider what happens when individuals want to undertake practice that is beyond their remit. In this case, while the participants articulated themselves as experiencing flexibility within their role, Amy (2017), in her voluntary position, and John (2018), in his commercial radio context, both highlighted that they would need to seek approval from an individual in a position above their own to go beyond the parameters of their role. For John (2018), this may manifest through his desire to create a podcast using content from an interview that he has conducted with one of the celebrities that he invited to his station. As his role does not require him to produce podcasts, he would ask his manager for permission to undertake this practice and create this specific type of output. In Amy's (2017) situation she clarified: "in terms of your show content as long as it's not too provocative or anything you don't really need permission". However, if she wanted to cover an event, such as an award ceremony in her local area, this would sit beyond the remit of her voluntary role. Therefore, she would ask her station manager for permission to go beyond the parameters of her role as a "sign of respect". This implies that at her community radio station, seeking permission from the station manager is not an officially enforced expectation, even to go beyond the parameters of her role. Instead, she indicates that it is a self-imposed informal expectation that results from her respect for the station that she volunteers for.

To recap the main argument of this section, I have highlighted that to understand the specificities of radio's creativity it must be acknowledged that the radio practitioner negotiates workplace boundaries which frame their work; including the remit of their role and

their relationship with managers. Articulations of freedom and autonomy within this are particularly informative. Radio practitioners acknowledge the boundaries that they work within but are still able to undertake individualised practices and rarely need to seek explicit permission from their station managers. Understanding how this works from a managerial and business perspective, Pete's (2017) term 'invisible control' aligns with Draper's (2014) notion of the discerned savvy. This means that radio practitioners understand the expectations of their role and the boundaries of the medium and industry of radio, such as regulatory expectations. Consequently, they align with this in their own role, whilst autonomously undertaking practice. As such, the manager rarely has to intervene and formally, overtly mediate practice; this creates a perception of freedom. However, as I have alluded to in this section, there are elements of radio's organisational context that must be accounted for. These factors influence the practices that occur at individual stations, consequently, providing a boundary on practice that the individual practitioner must negotiate. Therefore, to understand the nature of radio's creativity, these contextual factors must be accounted for, and I will discuss these in the next sections of this chapter. I start by exploring the way that different broadcasting models influence practice, before looking at the impact of regulation.

7.2 Specificities of Radio: Radio's Organisational Contexts

Several boundaries and contexts that the radio practitioner negotiates whilst undertaking their everyday working practices result from the broadcasting model and the specific station remit and purpose, which is often established within the radio format or key commitments document for their radio station (Lister, Mitchell and O'Shea, 2010: 202; Hendy, 2000: 28). The purpose of this section is to explore the differences between community, commercial and public service (BBC) radio broadcasting. In particular, I reflect on the boundaries that these distinctions create and highlight the way that this shapes individual radio practice. To do this,

I draw upon individual narratives from the research interviews. These demonstrate an awareness of, and reflection on, the impact that the expectations and boundaries have on practice in the UK radio industry. Additionally, as highlighted earlier in this dissertation, considering the specificities of radio contexts and environments is productive because it allows an exploration of the specific nuances of radio's creativity. For example, through articulations of freedom, autonomy and flexibility. Using the differences between commercial, community and public service (BBC) radio, I will explore the ways that these frameworks contribute to consequent conceptualisations of freedom and creativity within this specific industry. I present each of these broadcasting models, in turn, starting with commercial radio.

7.2.1 The Commercial Radio Environment

When commercial radio was established in the UK, as Lloyd (2017: 12) describes, it was anticipated that "the new services would be less formal than that of the BBC". Therefore, he notes that the new Director of Radio, John Thompson "dubbed them 'radio in jeans'". When talking about the "explosion of independent commercial radio", Chris Evans (2010: 85), refers to its "record-spinning possibilities". In contrast to the BBC, commercial radio played more music each hour and "…the voices weren't as posh and plummy as on the BBC and there was more laughing… it was a new voice for a new generation" (Evans, 2010: 86). While commercial radio may have been perceived this way by listeners, for individuals working at these stations the increased choice and informality is not mirrored.

One frame of commercial radio practice results from the pre-scheduled music playlist (Hendy, 2000: 102; Wilby and Conroy, 1994: 50; Hellman and Vilkko, 2017), which I focused on in the previous chapter. As Myers (2012: 285) notes, an importance is placed on playlists and "commercial radio spends a fortune in ensuring they play the right songs at the

right time. It is heavily researched…". As a result, he highlights that presenters have no choice with regards to the music that they play on their show. The extreme extent of this is further articulated when he reflects on how presenters at commercial radio stations could be fired for selecting their own songs to play without prior approval. This view contrasts with the work of Keith (2004: 110) who suggests that some presenters are given a say over the music content that they broadcast, although he does acknowledge that playlists are usually provided and followed.

Equally, the speech element of a commercial radio practitioners' role is heavily controlled, for example, through the routinised language and practices that they must adopt (Hendy, 2000: 57). This is echoed by Scott Mills (2012: 44), who reflects on his time at Heart FM: "…[I] didn't have a lot of freedom to do what I wanted with my show. It wasn't much of a challenge because you weren't really allowed to say anything". In commercial radio more generally, he states that "you're pretty much told what to say, within reason" (Mills, 2012: 53). Where the speech content of commercial radio broadcasts are restricted, practitioners have limited flexibility within their role. Coupling this with the prescheduled playlists that they use, it could be argued that space for these practitioners to negotiate their role is limited. Consequently, where adhering to these elements restricts flexibility, it could be posed that spaces for creativity are also limited.

Providing a counter discussion surrounding commercial radio and creativity, the financial situation of commercial radio could present increased possibilities for radio practitioners. Commercial radio stations run through private ownership, aim to make a profit (Hendy, 2000: 18; Chignell, 2009: 114; Starkey, 2004: 02) and generate income through advertising revenue (Wall, 2000: 181). Due to increased finances, Doyle (2002: 13) suggests that large organisations are in a better position for innovation than smaller ones. Commercial radio is more affluent than its UK counterparts, and as a result, it could be argued that where

there is a greater financial investment, increased resources might be made available to staff. These could enhance the opportunities of staff, and as such, this can create a condition that fosters creativity for them.

Keith (2004) proposes that radio is a form of show business, where the 'business' side must be considered in addition to the entertainment side. Therefore, resources may be preserved for business purposes, such as cutting costs. Linking finance and resources to considerations of creativity, Myers (2012: 229) discusses Saga Radio and its previous manager, Ron Coles, stating he "…felt a bit sorry for Ron because as far as I could see he was never given the appropriate budget to really do something quite unique with the radio stations, despite being owned by a company that had substantial funds". Where creating something unique aligns with conceptions of creativity, it is significant that Myers concludes that having an increased budget would increase the possibilities for creativity. Consequently, facilitating the creation of unique, novel content. However, the reality for some individuals is that finances are still considered to be restrictive. John (2018) articulates the financial side of his role as providing 'parameters' for his practice. When questioned about how often he will assess his practice and make decisions to change it he justified that he knows that his work is good when it achieves the remit of his role. To change his practices, he believes that he would require money, and this is 'out of his control'. Therefore, he explained: "I do the best I can do in the parameters I'm set". Through this, John is framing the financial situation of his station as a constraint, which provides another illumination of the commercial radio boundaries that these practitioners must negotiate, or work within.

7.2.2 The Public Service Radio Environment

I want to transition now to consider flexibility, freedom and constraints in the context of public service, BBC radio. On Monday the 21st of July 1997 Chris Moyles (2006: 267-268) started his work at BBC Radio 1:

> I left Baker Street and hailed a taxi. Bizarrely, the first cab to stop was a bright yellow one advertising Capital Radio. I walked through the doors at Radio 1. I was immediately unimpressed. The reception area was like that of any boring office anywhere. It wasn't flashy or impressive like Capital Radio's building. There were no pictures on the walls of the DJs past or present. And it was so small there was hardly anywhere to sit.

Providing a rationale for this, it could be suggested that the financial situation of the BBC influences the physical environment, where the majority of their income must be invested in their content and outputs, to justify their license fee. As a result, the development of their physical environment, beyond improving functionality, is not a priority. Where his observation of the BBC setting opposes the idea of an aesthetically pleasing environment, Moyles' (2006) statement "I didn't care" is significant, because it highlights alternative motives for his desire to work there. The BBC, who are the UK's public service broadcasters are an institution, discussed in literature as reliable and respectable (Barnard, 2000). For example, in his autobiography, John Peel (2006: 87) states that he was "…genuinely ridiculously proud to have worked for the BBC for as long as I have". This echoes a point I made in chapter four when I suggested that the BBC is an aspirational place of work.

In particular, the public service remit is a factor that influences the practices of individuals, the content of broadcasts, and the listeners' perception of the BBC. According to Lloyd (2017: 260), who reflects on his transition from commercial to public service radio employment, "life is different at the BBC". He suggests that these differences manifest at all levels, including the terminology that is used: "programme promotions were 'trails', journalists were 'beejays' (broadcast journalists); shows were always 'programmes' and

'workplace' was a mysterious team that would mend things in the office" (Lloyd, 2017: 262). However, differences at the BBC go beyond a different language among workers.

The BBC's (n.d.) mission "to act in the public interest, serving all audiences through the provision of impartial, high-quality and distinctive output and services which inform, educate and entertain" also influences the content of radio broadcasts. Consequently, the decisions of practitioners regarding their work are shaped by their awareness of this remit. This mission of the BBC was reflected by Hannah (2018) in her work, where she emphasised that through the production of her live news broadcasts she seeks to achieve the values of the BBC: "…I really do try to uh tell people about things, you know a bit of education, learn something". While this shapes her practice, it is not articulated as a negative influence, which is important to note. Instead, for Hannah, it is the public service remit of the BBC, and the values that they hold, that contribute to her enjoyment of her role and the passion that she has for her work. The values of the BBC were also discussed by Pete (2017), which is significant because he works for a community radio station. When asked for his opinion on good radio he stated:

> Good radio is something that holds your attention, it goes back, I think, to John Reith, it's educate, entertain and inform. And I think he was spot on with those things. It needs to, to hold your attention. One of the ways to hold your attention is to be entertaining, and at the end of it you should come away from having listened to it knowing something you didn't know before.

Through this, Pete (2017) is adopting the formal BBC values and applying them informally as a frame that shapes his own practice.

In 1952, Steiner (1952: 197) noted a paradox that exists within all types of radio broadcasting models; a desire to "satisfy as many people as much of the time as possible". This, he notes, results in difficulty when prioritising work. This statement is still valid, and at the BBC in particular, the aim to serve all potential audiences poses a challenge. As explored by Lloyd (2017: 267), "the BBC has the dilemma of having to prove itself as being

sufficiently universal to justify a licence fee, and yet also remain distinctive". When the

Radio Centre questioned the BBC about their costs, they invited John Myers in to conduct an

investigation. Reflecting on this experience, and particularly the time that he spent observing

the work at BBC Radio 2, Myers (2012: 285) reflects on the way that the BBC achieves this

distinctiveness, particularly through a discussion of music selection:

> I told someone very high up in commercial radio that Radio 2's success was based on playing the songs that commercial radio rejects. If you compared the music on this station versus that of commercial radio, the cross-over at the time I did the analysis was something like eight per cent.

Whilst commercial radio created playlists and strict music schedules for staff to follow, at

Radio 2 their approach to music was relaxed: "I watched as experienced presenters and

producers just went into the music system and played what they felt was right. Even to me

there were some wild choices". A music format is a condition for work, therefore, individual

workers who were able to work outside of this were formally granted autonomy in terms of

music selection. Informally, however, as a conversation that Myers had with a presenter

demonstrates, these individuals' choices are still influenced. For example, instead of choosing

music that they want to hear, one individual acknowledged that if a song is deemed a

'commercial success story', and consequently played on commercial radio frequently, it

should be played by the BBC. Therefore, individuals would choose to play this song,

although "not as often as some other songs that were more acceptable to their own audience"

(Myers, 2012: 286). Through this, the audience of radio is presented as another factor that

shapes radio practice and influences the decision-making process of individuals. As a brief

interlude, drawing on my own experience, during my first few weeks at hospital radio, I

distinctly remember one of my fellow volunteers enthusiastically introducing a song on-air,

conveying a great sense of passion and admiration. When the song started playing, they

turned the volume of music in the studio down and exclaimed: "I can't stand this song". This

particular individual recognised the tastes of their audience, who may like the song, and conveyed that as part of their 'on-air persona', which was distinct from their own taste.

Another factor to account for is the fact that the BBC has less money to invest in its radio broadcasts than commercial radio. Where my commercial radio discussion argued that less money results in less creativity, this is reversed in a public service context. Keith (2004: 66) states that an "obsessive preoccupation with making money… has resulted in a serious shortage of high-quality, innovative programming". Therefore, it is significant that the public service research participants suggested a lack of money can increase their creativity. However, Keith posits that financial motivation results in the recreation of formats to guarantee listeners, but this is not the same way that my research participants talked about finance. Mark (2018) explained that the ethos of his work is "make as much as you can with what resource you've got". Hannah (2018) goes further to state that she perceives a lack of finance at the BBC as encouraging creativity, which "makes you more creative…it's a bit of hardship makes everyone creative". This was explored when discussing the way that she will source the guests that they interview in her live news broadcasts. As these participants cannot be paid, the staff at her station must think creatively to source the most suitable individuals for particular stories. Although, the reputation of the BBC was noted as a factor that helped them gain interest from participants, who wanted to appear on this platform.

7.2.3 The Community Radio Environment

According to Andy (2018), a community radio worker, the environment is almost opposite to the models discussed previously. He stated: "I think I'm spoilt by the autonomy that I've got. If the BBC said come and do exactly what you're doing now, and we'll pay you to do it then yeah I'll do it". This quote contributes to a debate about the levels of freedom that are afforded by work in different broadcasting models. Andy's perception is that community

radio offers volunteers a greater level of flexibility than the BBC would. He believes that if he was to receive payment for his work, his practices would have additional requirements imposed on them. In this way, it could be inferred that community radio work provides a greater space for individuals to be creative because volunteers can negotiate their role and develop their own practices and broadcasted content. While this may be the case, there are still expectations that are placed on community radio volunteers due to the wider community radio environment, and this shapes any understanding of creativity.

The community focus of community radio's remit (Lewis, 2002; Fleming, 2010: 69-70; Hendy, 2000: 16; Newton, 1995: 70) particularly resonated with the volunteers that I interviewed; this appeared to be a factor that motivated individuals to volunteer where no financial reward is offered. As I have already highlighted, this may manifest through volunteers who are from the local area, yet for individual practitioners, the community requirement is more than this. Using Pete (2017) as an example, his idea of volunteers as "rooted in the community" moved beyond geographical considerations. Instead, through his discussion, he pointed to informal assertions that are embodied in his understanding of what community radio means. These were revealed through his suggestion that for volunteers to be 'successful' at his station and remain there for a long period of time, they would be individuals who engage with the local community that they are broadcasting to.

This perspective was supported in my discussion with Andy (2018). For him, volunteering for community radio is about "being connected to the local area", and in practice, this takes the form of "providing a service to the local area". This is a purpose of community radio that literature similarly highlights (Mhiripiri, 2011: 109; Gaynor and O'Brien, 2011: 436). For example, one service that he outlined was the companionship that radio can provide:

> You know someone told me the other day about a relative of theirs, that was an old lady in her 80s or something and it was a lifeline for her, and she'd regularly ring

during the day to the station and um you know just for a chat. Not to request anything, just for a chat (Andy, 2018).

This story initially aligns with Norberg's (1996: xi) suggestion that radio can be framed as a personal companion, or that radio is distinct through its ability to keep the listener company (Hendy, 2000: 02; Fleming 2010: 20). However, to Andy (2018), this story also demonstrates a difference between community radio and BBC or commercial radio, where he does not believe that they would have the time to talk to and connect with their listeners in this way. Alongside achieving a connection with the local community through their content, community radio practice also requires individuals to engage with alternative outputs such as events. As identified by Amy (2017), community radio stations such as her own:

> … have done stuff with charities, youth organisations, and to me it's just [pause] I think they've also got a way of engaging with elderly people as well, and sort of making them feel like they're still current, they're still cared for which I think is really great. The outreach programmes are fantastic, so I do think they are trying to make an active step to connect with the community…

The positive way that community radio volunteers speak about their stations in terms of the impact that they have on the local community through local content and outreach programmes is important to note. However, while the local remit of a station provides boundaries that volunteers work within and stations adhere to, these should not be framed as constraints.

The financial situation of community radio in the UK provides a further frame that influences the nature of work within this broadcasting model, and, consequently, shapes the creativity of its volunteers. In chapter one, I highlighted how community radio stations are not-for-profit and have particular financial limitations imposed on them due to their agreement with OfCom (Hendy, 2000: 16; Coyer, 2006: 129), but I want to look particularly at the way that individuals discussed this. Pete's (2017) discussion of community radio's financial situation is revealing, explaining that while they are not registered as a charity they

have "restrictions not dissimilar to those of a charity, in terms of what you can do, and how you can operate". The use of the word 'restrictions' demonstrates the way that their financial situation provides limitations on the station. For example, these restrictions include a "fixed revenue allowance' of £15,000 per financial year from paid for on-air advertising and sponsorship" (OfCom, 2017).

The not-for-profit status of community radio also impacts the amount of money that these stations can generate, which, consequently, requires them to adapt. For example, Pete (2017) described how his station is good at:

> Sailing close to the wind… is probably the best way of putting it, but making sure you know, we know what we can do, we know what we can't do, and we make sure that we don't do those things that we can't do because there's too much at stake.

What's at stake is the wider impact of breaching their funding conditions. If a community radio station generates too much income or too much income from a single source, this could result in the station losing their license. Therefore, adhering to their financial boundaries is highly important.

Where these financial conditions exist, I want to consider the way that stations respond to this, and the effect that this has on the work of individuals. Talking more specifically about the way that the station exists within the boundaries of funding, Pete highlighted that they will keep running costs low. As highlighted by Hendy (2000: 36), station overheads include costs such as "building, transmission, engineering, staff, management, administration and marketing", and in a community radio context, these costs could cause financial difficulties. For Pete's (2017) station specifically, broadcasting from a rent-free premise enables them to minimise costs and continue to exist within the financial boundaries placed on them.

Considering the impact of station finances in this way ties to discussions around freedom and precarity. Where finances are low, a resulting lack of equipment and resources

could provide limitations for practice. However, as an alternative view, it is possible to suggest that minimal finances require the development of innovative solutions to ensure that these stations are not restricted by their situation. For example, this is evidenced through the methods that these stations use to generate income. Providing one example, Pete (2017) explained that his station will offer a PA service for community events such as carnivals and Christmas lights switch-ons. Additionally, Andy (2018) noted that corporate events, fetes and local community activities can also help to generate income for the station. At the time of our interview, according to Andy a current target at his station was to raise £20,000 from these community events.

Pete (2017) holds a strong belief that funding and the financial situation of his station does not, and should not alter the practices at the station in a negative way. When questioned if, to gain additional funding, they would adjust their practices and create different content, he stated:

> I think, slash, hope that we would never be in a situation where we were so reliant upon a single source of funding that we had to do something, or change something that we didn't want to do. I hope we would have enough guts to stand up to people [potential sources of finance], say no sorry, and if you want to do that you go elsewhere.

In this way, Pete acknowledges that the financial framing of his station does exist, but he does not infer that radio practice and the financial situation of a station are at odds with one another by framing finance as a boundary. Instead, he suggests that the financial contexts exist, and so does practice, but they are not necessarily interconnected. Instead, at Pete's station at least, the practices that they undertake already fit within the boundaries that are 'imposed' on them by their funding streams. If this was to change, they would be proactive to change the boundaries, not their practice, although arguably this is a luxury that is afforded to community radio more so than other broadcasting models. I have explored the way that the broadcasting model environment shapes practice. There is one further element of the

broadcast environment that I want to explore; the regulatory landscape, and I will turn to this in the next section of this chapter.

7.3 The Regulatory Landscape

In the radio industry, one additional element of the radio environment that is external to individual stations is regulation. The UK regulatory body, OfCom, create policies that shape the radio industry and monitor the content of radio broadcasts (Fleming, 2010: 180; Ramsey. 2017: 90; Hardy, 2008: 87). Therefore, regulation serves various purposes including shaping the radio landscape through the allocation of licenses, giving listeners the right to complain, and most significantly in a consideration of creativity, regulation provides boundaries that shape broadcasted content and practice. It is the latter that I want to focus on at this point. Regulation places formal expectations and requirements on radio companies and stations, which consequently influences the work of individual practitioners. Radio scheduling and output is impacted through the requirement that stations have to stick to the speech, music and service commitments that they have agreed with the regulator (Lacey, 2002). Furthermore, the expectations of a station are set out in the station format or key commitments document, which establishes the conditions that they must fulfil (Hendy, 2000: 28). These conditions relate to elements of radio broadcasting including "music output, news provision, other types of speech content, amount of locally-made programmes, co-location arrangements, programme sharing arrangements" (OfCom, 2019a: 01). I explore the influence of regulation in each broadcasting model in turn, starting with a discussion of commercial radio.

7.3.1 Commercial Radio Regulation

I will begin my exploration of radio's regulation by focusing on it in the context of commercial radio. John Myers (2012) frequently provides his opinion on radio regulation in his autobiography. His view is well summarised in the foreword to his book, provided by Jeremy Vine (2012, in Myers, 2012: ix): "John's contempt for regulators is subversively glorious". While working as a member of the main board for the Guardian Media Group, who owned Jazz FM in London, Myers (2012: 222) recalls regular discussions with OfCom regarding the format of the station, where they received "…a lot of stick from the regulator about the kind of music we were playing…". The music choice of the station was limited by the requirements of their format, and so it was problematic when the station chose to widen their range of music. Myers recalls the regulator informing him that the station "was close to being out of format", consequently risking a fine if action was not taken. With the possible implementation of a fine for broadcasting beyond the permitted remit of the station (Lacey, 2002), the extent of these formal regulatory boundaries is emphasised.

Myers (2012: 186) does explain that he took his role seriously, stating that he "took the business of radio seriously but the business of on-air entertainment was even more important. We certainly were not going to be put off by petty regulation and rules we thought were just plain daft". Reflecting on time before increased regulation, he recalls greater opportunities for spontaneity:

> The night-time phone-in was hilarious and I loved it because in those days you could get away with a lot more than you can today. SO much fun has been taken out of radio over time by regulatory creep and a fear of complaints that the output we hear now is much more vanilla in sound and, for that reason, it can be less entertaining.

These memories are significant because they illuminate a perception that the development of content and entertainment is at odds with regulation, where regulation is restricting.

In 2007 and 2008 OfCom ran Future of Radio projects which resulted in the simplification of formats that consequently relaxed some of the strict requirements that

commercial radio stations previously had to adhere to. However, the general principle of these formats still requires stations to outline the "character of service", which describes the type of station that they are and the general type of content that they broadcast (OfCom, 2019a: 01). As worded by OfCom (2019a: 02) in a letter to their licensees:

> Given the cut in the amount of detail within each Format, it should be emphasised that the "spirit" of the Format will be firmly regulated, and our regulation will continue to have sampling at its core. Stations will still be monitored to make sure they comply with each Format. So while the new style Formats do not include quotas, for example, requiring a given percentage of music from a certain era we will apply a common sense approach to enforcing them should there be any disputes. If, for instance, a stations Format requires it to be mainly classic pop, we would not accept that 51% classic pop and 49% heavy metal was a sensible interpretation of the Formats spirit.

Therefore, the radio format still acts as an agreement between the station and OfCom, which creates boundaries that influences the content broadcast by each station. Where content is shaped through this, the individual practice of radio practitioners is subsequently influenced, as these individuals must create content that adheres to these requirements.

7.3.2 Public Service Regulation

The formal influence of radio policy and compliance also shapes the everyday practices and routines of radio work that I explored in chapter six. Using Hannah's (2018) work to demonstrate this, her awareness of policy impacts on the planning of live news broadcasts. She explained that "there's a policy for everything". Mark (2018) provided an amusing but illustrative story in this respect. One of his friends wanted to use animals to predict the outcome of the election. To do this, they had to fill in a compliance document because they "…couldn't be seen to be biased so they had to make sure the way they were doing it was completely fair". Therefore, avoiding bias is another policy that frames the work of practitioners. However, in Mark's opinion, this particular feature was worth the paperwork

because "it was a fun piece of radio". Therefore, he implied that to create original, entertaining radio these hoops must be jumped through, with beneficial results.

Other examples of policy that were discussed by Hannah (2018) include gaining permission from parents to interview someone under the age of 18, and similar to the theme of avoiding bias, when covering a topic with multiple viewpoints she has to "give the other side the right to reply". Verity (2018) also reflected on how policy affects her role. She emphasised that ensuring compliance is critical, yet there is some level of flexibility within her own work. As an example, whilst creating a documentary about dancers and singers in Texas, "they use the C word a lot" and she knew that this could not be broadcast on the radio. However, when she made a programme about a controversial comedian from the 1960s featuring Lenny Henry, "he uses the N word and Mother Fucker (sic) all the time…". To broadcast this documentary, she had a conversation with the Head of Editorial Policy for BBC Radio 4, who worked with her to ensure the content could be broadcast. Specifically, the editorial policy team reviewed the script, which included an opening introduction from the presenter that highlighted the "comedians' edginess and his littering of … expletives". This message was reiterated halfway through the programme, and it was broadcast late at night.

Media law was another form of policy that was discussed in both a public service and commercial radio context. Hannah (2018), in her role as a live news broadcast journalist, has to be particularly mindful of this: " if somebody is arrested and had been charged or about to be charged…you can talk about what happened but only absolute facts". Building on this in a commercial radio context, John (2018) used the Ant McPartlin drink driving case as an example, because "it's an open court case, you can't discuss it [and] you can't interview Ant". This demonstrates restrictions on his role that result from policy, yet John did not articulate this as restricting. Instead, John suggested that it is working within these legal requirements

that increase the need for creativity. In particular, the way he approaches the stories within the limits imposed on him requires a creative approach: "…well you can get a celebrity journalist to talk about Ant's life, you can get motor experts talking about car crashes, you can get um a psychologist to analyse what Ant's like, that's being creative". This contributes to a wider theme of this chapter, which seeks to demonstrate that creativity in radio can be recognised as the response that people have to the situation that they must create content within. For example, in relation to regulation, individuals find ways to work within the rules and restrictions, whilst still creating radio outputs that are unique to them.

7.3.3 Community Radio Regulation

Community radio also has an agreement with OfCom regarding the remit of their station, which takes the form of a Key Commitments Document. To discuss this, I will be referring wholly to Pete (2017). Amy (2017) and Andy (2018) did acknowledge that regulation exists but they did not provide the same level of detailed discussion as Pete (2017). This is significant in itself because it points towards the fact that for volunteers who present and produce content, this external regulation is not as much of a concern for them as it is for those who have, or have previously held, managerial positions at community radio stations.

Providing guidance for community radio stations, OfCom (2019b) state that "community stations typically provide 93 hours of original and distinctive output a week, mostly locally produced". Therefore, one formal expectation that is imposed on many geographical oriented community stations by their agreement with OfCom is evident; the need to include local content. The local remit of community radio manifests in different ways. For example, as I noted earlier, community radio volunteers are "rooted in the community" (Pete, 2017). Beyond the selection of suitable volunteers, broadcasted content is also influenced by the localness requirement. Using Pete as an example, he explained that

responding to the demand for local content he will "…work at all levels with the local authority, with members of parliament, we, you know, we have a Saturday political program, and we have local councillors, local, the local members of parliament in…". Therefore, it is no surprise that he rationalises external regulation as shaping his work:

> We sign up, effectively sign up with OfCom to say that we're gonna deliver this service, so much speech, so much music. We are very careful in making sure we never, I mean obviously within a given period you can stray a little bit one way or other within, you know a percentage, but we make sure we stick within those.

This demonstrates that while there is a small amount of flexibility, the requirements that are placed upon the station by their agreement with their regulatory body formally shape radio work. Consequently, this has an influence on the space for creativity because it occurs within this formal frame.

In this discussion, I am careful to avoid framing these formal influences as *restricting* creativity, because they are an integral part of what makes the UK radio industry what it is and were not discussed negatively by the research participants. Reflecting on the role of OfCom at his community radio station, Pete stated:

> … we've got a good working relationship with them, and they're not an ogre, they're not looking to catch you out… so I'm not at all worried about them, their regulation of it, I mean, I understand and appreciate why they're there, what they're doing and it's all for the public good, so I have no issues with them at all.

This statement portrays a sense of respect that Pete has for regulation and an appreciation surrounding the purposes of this regulation through its ability to enhance radio content for the consumer. Mark (2018) also shares this view of regulation, where he clarified that in general the content that they create at his local BBC station already fits within the regulatory requirements, and so they are not conscious in trying to limit their practice to fit within this. Instead, regulation shapes practice to some extent, but should not necessarily be framed as restricting.

7.4 A Narrative from a Radio Worker's Journey

I now want to use the journey of my research participant Amy (2017) as a narrative to explore the differences in terms of the degrees of freedom and autonomy that are afforded by the type of radio station that an individual works for. Amy's experience is particularly productive to consider because she has worked and volunteered for unlicensed, BBC and community radio stations. Therefore, she reflected on her transition between these broadcasting models. Before volunteering for community radio, Amy working for an unlicensed, 'pirate' radio station, and undertook work experience at the BBC. At the BBC, in particular, she claims that she was able to "actually get the professional standard of learning how to do radio". Talking about her experience at pirate radio, she received no training and acknowledged that they were not abiding by OfCom. Her comparison between this experience and her work in public service radio indicated her awareness of the distinction between 'professional' and 'amateur' radio. Due to the 'professional' nature of BBC radio broadcasting, they have practices that their staff must adhere to, and a type of output that must be created. Consequently, Amy was taught to fit within this. Therefore, this is one boundary that the radio practitioner must negotiate when they are employed by the BBC. Having to adhere to these particular practices and create a set type of output implicitly impacts on the freedom of practitioners. For Amy, the 'professional' and more 'mainstream' nature of BBC radio broadcasting, in comparison to pirate radio, posed a challenge. In particular, she questioned if she would lose her identity while trying to fit within the structures and style of BBC radio. Therefore, she implied that having her own identity is an embodiment of freedom. Furthermore, she recognised that this freedom could be restricted by the boundaries of BBC radio work.

Her transition to community radio provided her with fewer boundaries regarding the style that her presenting should take. Therefore, a resulting new level of freedom was

permitted. This freedom of community radio was also alluded to by Verity (2018) who volunteered at a community radio station before starting her role producing documentaries for broadcast by the BBC. While talking about this difference, she believed that in a community radio context "you just do what you want". She was expected to make a programme every two weeks, but that was the only expectation that her station had. In comparison, now that she works creating content for the BBC, "there's a lot more at stake essentially". Through this statement, Verity aligns with Amy's (2017) assertion about distinctions between professional and amateur radio broadcasting. For the BBC, who must justify their license fee and face more scrutiny than community radio, my research suggests that this pressure is felt by individual workers. This professionalism is used as a rationale to justify the greater degree of boundaries that the radio practitioner must negotiate. Therefore, both Amy (2017) and Verity (2018) were in agreement that the freedom of community radio was/is beneficial because it provides them with a space to learn and develop their own style. In chapter five, I suggested that this is one manifestation of radio's creativity. According to Amy (2017), "it's been an interesting couple of years, just learning my style of presenting. 'Cause I felt like after I came out the BBC I had that style of talk, that archaic just [puts on a voice] 'Hello, Welcome', and it wasn't me". If, as expressed by Amy, the BBC produce cookie-cutter radio practitioners with similar language and tones of delivery, this detracts from the ability that these practitioners have to be individuals. Consequently, for Amy, this decreases the degree of creativity that she was able to undertake in a BBC radio context. Having left the BBC, Amy posited that, when volunteering in community radio, "…eventually you start to get into your own kind of zone, and you know how you sound and you develop your own style". In Verity's (2018) experience, community radio allowed her to learn interview recording techniques and ask questions about technical problems that she was

experiencing. This was beneficial because it provided her with the opportunity to make mistakes and learn her craft before she commenced her paid radio employment.

Discussing public service in this way implies that the professional nature of BBC radio results in the imposition of more expectations than alternative broadcasting models, for example, through the requirement to justify their license fee. As a result, this provides frames for practice that shape the nature of freedom and creativity. However, when looking at other elements of practice that exist within radio, it is possible to see how working within public service radio can also be freeing in terms of the opportunities that it can afford. Throughout my discussion of broadcasting models and radio regulation, I have demonstrated a variety of views that exist. For example, some individuals consider regulation to create boundaries for practice, while others believe that their practice fits within the guidelines provided by regulation. Therefore, considering the position of creativity within this is complex, but reinforces my argument that creativity should be understood as framed by the specific environment that it exists within.

7.5 "I'm Creative But…"

When focusing directly on the nature of their creativity, all of the participants articulated their thoughts on how and why they are or are not creative by drawing on personal opinions, traits and practices, as I explored in chapter five. However, this was followed by a link to the context and environment in which they work or volunteer. This emerged most significantly when I asked them to describe elements of their work that they deem to be creative. Through the construction of their responses, whether intentional or not, a privilege was placed on their practice because they discussed this first, before the majority of them subsequently expanded to link this practice to the context in which this occurs.

Therefore, while the radio environment, as I have explored, frames their work, influencing their decisions and the type of content that they produce, it is not always explicitly talked about in this way. By this, I mean that when talking about their work they did not consistently state that, for example, 'because my audience is this age, I produce this type of content'. Instead, they talked about their work and practices first, and it was often only as an afterthought or prompted through further questioning or specific discussions about the context in which they make work, that they articulated their awareness of context as shaping their practice and decision-making process.

Varying degrees of creativity were highlighted by different participants, and for those who do not see themselves as creative within their role, or *fully* creative, their context of work was used to provide a justification. As I have discussed in this chapter, this context produces requirements that they must fulfil, and they perceive this as leaving limited space for negotiation and subsequent creativity to occur. As a celebrity guest booker working for a commercial radio station John (2018), in particular, articulated his work context in this way. He believes that the remit of his role does not principally require creativity: "…you have to follow your remit. If you are known to be creative then yeah you do, but I'm quite limited with how I can be creative and also work within your place". In this case, his remit revolves around the requirement to book celebrity guests that will be interviewed by other staff at the radio station that he works for. Therefore, this role is particularly functional and does not necessarily align with notions of creativity, which John himself acknowledges. However, it is possible at this juncture to propose that his role can be aligned with creativity when the concept is conceived as requiring novelty and relevance (Uzzi et al, 2013: 471). Working within the remit of his role, he selects guests that are appropriate for the audience of the commercial station that he works for, therefore, making his work relevant. These guests are

also new to the station or have something new to talk about, and so a sense of novelty is created for the listener.

For those who did articulate themselves as creative within their role, the context in which they work was often discussed subsequently to provide a justification as to why, while they believe and articulate themselves as creative, the way that they are creative is framed by their environment. This was emphasised particularly well by Pete (2017). When questioned if his community radio station is a creative organisation, Pete suggested that creativity could be at odds with the nature of a radio station as an organisation: "…within the confines of what you're doing. You know we are a radio station, so there's a limit to what we can do. But I do, you know, I push the envelope…". Therefore, Pete views these contexts as providing confines for practice, where the nature of working for a radio station itself limits possibilities of work. However, at the same time, Pete does still view his work as creative, because he pushes these boundaries as much as possible. This reinforces the assertion that creativity must be acknowledged as specific and unique to radio.

7.6 Conclusion: The Radio Environment – Expectations and Borders

Building on my previous chapters, where I have explored the nature of being a radio worker, their specific practices, and their nuances of creativity, throughout this chapter I have discussed a number of elements of the radio environment that shapes the practices of individual radio practitioners. First, I explored the remit of the specific role that an individual has and the position of their manager. Using narratives from radio practitioners I highlighted that to understand the specificities of radio's creativity we must acknowledge that these factors foster boundaries that the radio practitioner negotiates. However, despite this these individuals still perceive themselves as having a sense of freedom and autonomy. This suggests a unique sense of creativity within the radio industry. Providing a rationale for this

sense of freedom, I turned to Pete's (2017) phrase 'invisible control'. I explained that while managers would intervene and overtly mediate practice if necessary, this is rarely needed because individual workers have self-imposed expectations. It is these expectations that influence their practice and result in them naturally aligning with the requirements of their role, and the expectations of their manager.

Having discussed the remit of individual roles, and the role of the manager, I continued my discussion of radio's contexts by exploring the influence of broadcasting models and elements such as regulation and funding. In particular, this discussion highlighted differences in opinions among radio workers. I highlighted that in commercial radio, it could be argued that a large budget could increase creativity. However, in a public service environment, it was suggested that responding to a lack of finance requires creativity.

Throughout this chapter, I have been particularly keen to emphasise that whilst all of these areas create boundaries that influence the work of the radio practitioner, and consequently the space that they have to be creative, these contexts are not articulated by practitioners as restrictions. This is significant and emphasises the fact that to understand radio's creativity we must acknowledge that this creativity is specific to the radio environment in which it exists. Finally, in turning to specific discussions relating directly to creativity I have highlighted the complexity of understanding radio's creativity, where individuals all embody different opinions. Despite this, I have noted a common theme, where all of the participants articulated their thoughts about their creativity first, before continuing to reflect on the fact that their environment does create both formal and informal boundaries that shape their perceptions of this creativity. In the following conclusion, I will combine my findings in this chapter with the arguments put forward in chapters four, five and six. Through this, I present the overall thesis that has developed in response to the research findings that I have presented in this dissertation.

CONCLUSION
THE CREATION OF CREATIVITY IN
RADIO

From researching the concept of creativity within the context of the radio industry I have

found that the nature of creativity must be understood as aligned with the specificities of the

medium in which it exists. The purpose of this dissertation has been to explore contemporary

discussions of radio as a creative industry and to understand the implications that this has for

conceptualisations of radio's creativity. Drawing on the fields of radio, creativity and creative

industries studies, I have developed an innovative approach to facilitate this research. By

exploring the complex narratives of individual radio workers, and employing academic

conceptualisations of creativity, I have found that radio's creativity can be understood as

fluid and is articulated in different ways by radio practitioners. Therefore, to comprehend

creativity in radio we must account for the specific understandings of individual radio

workers. Consequently, there is no one neat definition of radio's creativity, instead, I have

demonstrated that it can be articulated and understood through four specific lenses. Firstly,

the nature of work in the radio industry can position its workers as creative workers.

However, my research has emphasised the distinct elements of individuals' work that are

unique to their roles within the radio industry, and this alludes to the importance of

acknowledging that the nature of creativity is shaped by the radio context. Secondly, the

articulations of radio's creativity presented in this dissertation align the concept with the

specificities of the medium. For example, it is expressed through the individual's ability to

make something *different* to existing radio, or through the freedom that an individual has to

negotiate their role, make their own decisions, bring their personality to their work, and

conduct their work with a degree of spontaneity. However, these phrases align with the paradox of radio that results from the routinised production of new, but familiar outputs. Thirdly, radio's creativity also manifests through the practices and processes that individuals undertake when making radio. Finally, to be creative through their practice, individuals must respond to the environmental and disciplinary context in which they are making radio artefacts. I have found that the medium of radio, the station and wider industry environment provide boundaries for practice. I have argued that a sense of freedom and autonomy is facilitated through the opportunities that workers have to negotiate their environment. The nature of this environment, which is shaped by socio-political factors such as funding, regulation and ownership, means that the broadcasting models and stations featured in this dissertation each provide a different scope for creativity. Therefore, I suggest that the nature of radio's creativity can only be understood as tied to the specificities of the radio workplace, practice and wider environment. This thesis is presented in chapters four to seven, which sought to provide a holistic understanding of the ways in which creativity is defined, practiced and negotiated in the radio industry. To explore this topic, I focused on key areas of discussion outlined in the next section; synthesising the gaps in literature that I have identified which creates a unique contribution to knowledge.

8.1 The Creativity of Radio

In chapter four, I outlined the nature of radio work and explored the role of the radio worker through paradigms of creative work that are presented in creative industries literature. I noted the diverse nature of work in the radio industry, which incorporates both paid and unpaid employment and a variety of roles. Therefore, I highlighted that in line with this diversity, creativity manifests in different ways and the use of narratives from workers in a variety of

roles is valuable to account for these distinctions. Furthermore, I noted that work in the radio industry increasingly requires multi-skilled individuals who undertake different tasks and activities within their roles. These observations build on chapter two where I outlined distinctions between individuals that undertake creative labour, and those who contribute non-creative labour (Banks, 2010: 305; Higgs et al, 2008) and humdrum inputs (Caves, 2003). My research suggests that radio workers blur these boundaries and incorporate both types of activities within their production practices. Radio work also features parallels that align with discussions of workers in the wider creative industries. In particular, these manifest via the precarity and insecurity that workers face due to the conditions of their employment. Of particular significance, is the acceptance of these conditions that radio workers have. In chapter four, I presented the passionate discourse that is portrayed by workers, who convey genuine enthusiasm for their role, often articulating a sense of privilege to have a job in an industry that they love. I suggested that this acceptance is also encouraged by radio organisations who are able to increase the productivity of their staff. This is noteworthy because work in the radio industry is framed as flexible, which creates a sense of freedom and autonomy for individual workers. However, this freedom comes at a cost where workers self-commodify and exploit themselves in order to seek and maintain employment within an industry that they are passionate to work in. Due to their passion these individuals are unlikely to challenge these conditions. Therefore, my findings suggest that the precarious employment conditions of the radio industry should be addressed through policy initiatives. However, this would require a change to the assumption that 'flexibility' is a benefit of creative industries work, to instead recognise and respond to its negative implications.

Freedom and autonomy, as introduced in chapter four, are productive ways to conceptualise the manifestation of radio's creativity, and I revisited these terms in chapter five. In this chapter, I demonstrated that individual radio practitioners convey various notions

of creativity, emphasising the fluidity of the concept. However, their articulations all align with the specificities of the radio medium and industry, which contributes to my central thesis that its creativity must be understood in this way. To research radio's creativity I believe it is critical to seek and use the terms and discourses that are constructed within this industry. By accounting for industry terminology, this provides a unique avenue beyond academic interpretations of creativity, allowing a synergy of ideas. In this dissertation I have presented notions of originality, difference and freshness (Caves, 20002: 04; Kaufman, 2004; Sawyer, 2006; Boden, 1990; Wreen, 2015), as productive ways to synonymously recognise creativity in a radio context. However, as Andy (2018) expressed, a tension exists between originality at a conceptual level, through the creation of something wholly new, and the tangible manifestation of originality through the practice of individuals that must negotiate the framework of the medium that they work within. This further manifests through the paradox of radio that results from the routinised production of new, but familiar outputs. Where work in radio is framed, there are specific ways that radio workers communicate a sense of freedom to conduct their role. This includes the ability to bring their personality to their work, to improvise and to be spontaneous. This impacts the way that they make radio and the resulting content that they broadcast. These synonymous phrases and articulations of creativity present a foundation that can be used in future research. In particular, building on my argument in chapter three, I believe that when questioning practitioners about their work it will be productive to continue using these accessible phrases. In chapter two, I highlighted that individualised perspectives are often presented in literature that explores creativity. While this literature has transitioned away from ideas of the individual 'genius', it still acknowledges the knowledge and skill expertise demands of creativity (Boden, 1990: 12). Skilled labour is evident in the way that radio practitioners talk about their work, and through their language choices, they draw parallels with their work and other forms of creative or

artistic activity. As a result, I have found that radio can be considered as an art form, where radio work is artistic, and the idea of storytelling is also a feature of radio practice, particularly in relation to documentary production (Wilby and Conroy, 1994: 170; Starkey, 2004: 207). These articulations of creativity provide tangible ways to see it manifested through practice and future research could focus in more depth on each of these areas.

As I have noted, articulations of creativity align with radio practice and in chapter six I explored the process of making radio, examining the way that creativity functions for individuals within their everyday production practices. I found that these practices respond to the requirements of the radio industry, and medium. For example, the need for familiarity and predictability for the audience, results in the scheduling and planning of radio content. As Hendy (2000: 110) argues, this enforces a "powerful array of constraints upon the producer's room for creativity, which have the precise effect of making radio production a largely routine activity". In this chapter, I proposed that these traits of radio anchor practice, which enables practitioners to produce content that is recognisable as radio. I also suggested that scheduling and planning can be framed as both enabling and restricting creativity. For instance, the inclusion of radio adverts at set times, and the use of music playlists, create boundaries that workers must adhere to. However, the negotiation of these boundaries, to still create original and different content, was articulated by individuals as *requiring* creativity.

I continued this consideration of boundaries in chapter seven, responding to literature which suggests the importance of accounting for factors that influence individual creative productivity (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011: 09). The radio industry includes a number of these factors, and, as Wolfenden (2014) argues, they shape the creative agency of the radio practitioner. I found that these factors not only shape creative productivity and agency but also influence the very understanding of what creativity is in a radio context. For example, freedom and autonomy are two nuances of creativity that were expressed by the radio

workers featured in this dissertation. This implies that individual creativity can be understood by reflecting on the way that a workplace environment fosters it, through the opportunities that individuals have to negotiate their role. Therefore, through a practical application of my findings radio workplaces could evaluate the autonomy that they offer their staff, in order to increase the creativity of their workers.

The remit of the role that an individual has and the position of their manager fosters additional boundaries that the radio practitioner must negotiate, which I explored in chapter seven. Despite these boundaries, I have found that individuals still perceive themselves as having a sense of freedom and autonomy. Providing a rationale for this sense of freedom, my participant Pete's (2017) notion of 'invisible' control is particularly useful. Managers only intervene and overtly mediate practice if this is necessary, yet this is rarely needed because individual workers have self-imposed expectations. These expectations are formed by their awareness of their role, and the expectations of their station. Therefore, the radio practitioner, either consciously or unconsciously, mediates their own practice to align with these requirements. External boundaries also influence broadcasting models and include the funding and regulation of the radio industry. However, my research has discovered a difference in opinion amongst these workers. For example, in commercial radio, it is argued that a large budget could increase creativity, while in a public service environment it is suggested that a lack of finance requires creativity. Where these different views exist, the importance of collecting varied individual narratives about radio practice is emphasised.

8.2 New Directions for Creative Radio Research

The purpose of the research conducted for this dissertation was to explore the creativity of the radio industry in response to the Government's positioning of radio as a creative industry in

the United Kingdom (e.g. DCMS, 2001). This invites questions about radio's position within sectoral, government and academic formulations of the concept. As I explored in chapters one and two, there was also a unique opportunity to bridge the gap between the academic fields of radio studies, and research on creativity and the creative industries. Creativity is a key focus of creative industries literature. However, there remains a lack of clarity surrounding the concept (e.g. Bakhshi, Freeman and Higgs, 2013: 06). Due to this, creativity is explored in a range of fields and framed in multiple ways. However, a number of perspectives emerge that are particularly valuable when seeking to consider the meaning of creativity in a work and industry context. This includes the assertion that creativity manifests through practice and often exists in a process (e.g. Lombardo and Kvålshaugen, 2014; Thornham, 2014). Additionally, creative industries research that explores the roles and workplace environments that facilitate creative labour (e.g. Banks, 2010; Mumford et al, 2002) are beneficial due to the organisational nature of radio. However, in the radio industry, the concept of creativity remains "a loosely define quality but one that is recognised on the principle that 'we know it when we hear it'" (Wilby and Conroy, 1994: 19), and radio studies often uses the phrase creativity without questioning the meaning of the concept. Therefore, this research has identified a need to broaden studies of creativity, to research the concept as manifested in the radio industry. Consequently, radio's creativity was an original object of study that I researched and discussed in this dissertation. To do so, I have combined these fields of scholarship, by examining theoretical conceptualisations of creativity as tied to the specificities of the radio industry. This combined framework was particularly valuable through the provision of a rich set of approaches and concepts that aided the research strategy that I used and enabled a reflective consideration of creativity in a radio context. Therefore, drawing on this diverse field of literature supported the development of the arguments that I have established in this dissertation.

Through the combined framework for studying this research object I have developed a methodological approach that frames radio as a creative industry and researched individual, station and industry conceptualisations and framings of radio's creativity. This provided a holistic view of the nature of creativity when it is tied to the specificities of the radio medium and industry. In order to do this, I used a multi-level, and multi-method approach. These levels encompassed several aspects of radio. I investigated the radio industry and radio station environment by exploring station documentation and radio policy. I also explored the individual radio practitioner's experience by undertaking in-depth interviews, analysing autobiographies, and initially observing practitioners at work. Using this combined methodological approach, I was able to respond to the lack of specificity surrounding the concept of creativity in literature, and the limited consideration of the concept in radio studies, by specifically looking for the meaning of the concept in a radio industry context.

I have contributed to the fields of both radio studies and creative industries research by thematically interrogating the data aligning the narratives of radio work that were gathered through my research with theoretical discussions surrounding the nature of creativity and work in the creative industries. Applying theoretical conceptualisations of creativity to the understandings that radio workers have has highlighted a tension that exists. Therefore, I believe that practitioner perspectives should continue to be accounted for in future research. I also incorporated ideas from political economy and critical media industry studies approaches to research. This enabled me to understand radio's creativity through a consideration of the environment in which it exists. My investigation revealed that this is critical, because the understandings the practitioners have of their own creativity, is shaped by the workplace and industry environment that they must negotiate as radio workers. This approach provides a direction for future research of creativity, where a combined methodological strategy focusing on individual, workplace and industry framings will generate a holistic overview of

the nature of creativity within each industry to which the approach is applied. The importance of the radio environment has also been emphasised throughout this dissertation, where workers motivation and justifications of practice are influenced by this. My research has focused on the impact that this has on articulations of creativity, however, practitioner's knowledge of their environment also influences the type of practices that they undertake and the content they create. This reasserts the need for radio studies to incorporate a political economic focus when studying radio practice.

Whilst this research has provided a new contribution to knowledge I have also identified three key avenues to further develop and expand the field of study that focuses on radio's creativity. Firstly, to explore a variety of roles in the radio industry and present in-depth narratives, this research could only incorporate the perspectives of a certain numbers of workers. Therefore, using the approach that I have presented in this dissertation future research would be of value to gather the perspectives of individual workers in a greater variety of roles. Secondly, this dissertation focused on community, commercial and public service radio practitioners and I have found that each of these models provides a different scope for creativity. Therefore, it would be of value in future research, to explore work in other radio models, such as unlicensed radio, digital radio and podcasting. This would indicate if the understandings of radio's creativity that are presented in this dissertation are mirrored in alternative broadcasting models, for example, those that exist beyond the regulatory conditions of the radio industry. Finally, beyond academic research, this thesis has implications for creative industry policy research, which could examine the individual discourses explored in this study, and the implications these have for radio policy and funding. Furthermore, beyond academic research, the findings that I have presented in this dissertation can have a practical application in the radio industry. I hope that the layers of

creativity that I have explored can be used as a framework to encourage stations to reflect on

their scope for creativity and develop their innovative practice.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

A sample interview conducted with a radio industry worker. Identifiable information has been removed for ethical reasons.

Interviewer: So, I guess the first thing I'm really interested in is how you ended up working in radio to be honest?

Hannah: Uh so I um [pause] wanted to work in radio, I'd done bits of TV and uh film, I was a performer and I liked radio because you can go out and do it all yourself. And you don't need to go out with a camera man and a big team of people, big team of researchers, you just go out and you're there and you just do it. So that's why I like radio and I'd always listened to Radio 4. So I started volunteering at [station name redacted] as I was at University there, and um then eventually they would pay be for doing a piece and then eventually I worked there more and more and then applied for jobs all over the country and uh I got a staff job straight away in Nottingham which was really good but as a broadcast assistant yeah.

Interviewer: So was your degree in a kind of media related field?

Hannah: Yeah, documentary production yeah.

Interviewer: That's interesting, so you kind of went straight from uni into the world of radio really?

Hannah: Yes, yeah.

Interviewer: Did you have any kind of, so on your degree you got kind of the documentary side of things in terms of radio production training, did you have any other radio training beyond that?

Hannah: Um no, just then volunteering there, seeing what they did and how they wanted it.

Interviewer: Do you think you'll stay in radio for as long as possible then?

Hannah: Yes.

Interviewer: Is that where your passion is?

Hannah: Yes!

Interviewer: So since you've started in the role have you have and kind of, if you think about maybe your development since you've started working to where you are now, how have you kind of developed or trained in radio?

Hannah: Yeah well the BBC constantly send you on training courses, yeah whatever is their flavour of the month really. So it's not always about actually making the radio [laughs], sometimes it's just health and safety, um a lot about um ethnic minorities, um and uh being fair and balanced, and not taking things at face value. Um and then there are things like speed package making, there are live, you know courses on going live, courses on presenting, courses on interviewing uh yeah so there are fairly regular, they are very good at that.

Interviewer: That sounds quite good! So do you think, thinking about your particular role there were there any particular areas of training that were very useful to get you to where you are now?

Hannah: Um so you know what's really good is the sort of confidence things, so [pause] balancing your life, stress, all that kind of stuff actually I like that kind of stuff. I think a lot of what I do is natural to me, uh but it's having the confidence to do that and, and then there are techniques and I try to think of them yeah and use them. Yeah so all the way along definitely, they are very good at training yeah

Interviewer: What's your favourite thing then about being a radio practitioner?

Hannah: Meeting people, all the time, every day. I go out two or three different places and really get to meet people in their, usually in their work life or in their home life and I'm straight in there and they're telling me uh all about themselves in quite, in quite an in-depth and personal way. Yeah so it always feels quite privileged really.

Interviewer: To have part of a snapshot of their lives?

Hannah: Yeah that's right.

Interviewer: How do you find those people then to contact them?

Hannah: How do I find them?

Interviewer: How do you get in contact with them and build the relationship to get to that kind of level?

Hannah: Um we do it all incredibly quickly so [laughs], so like this afternoon they'll be trying to find people for me to speak to tomorrow morning, um so we get press releases emailed in. We uh look on social media to find things. We read you know normal newspapers, um and a lot is people who just know people, yeah we just know, so every morning we all come together and put forward random crazy ideas.

Interviewer: Do you have any specific times of, because, what's your kind of title for your job role?

Hannah: So it's broadcast journalist, which is very broad title, but I'm radio car reporter, live reporter into breakfast so um yeah.

Interviewer: So do you have any particular types of stories that you prefer to report on or find easier to report on?

Hannah: No actually, because it's local radio there's no specialism and so you know we had this big explosion in [name redacted] and so I was out at that and then I'll do really silly little things I did this morning on the history of business cards, do we still use business cards. And I could be talking about, well I did samosas as well this morning, Friday I did pies.

Interviewer: For pie week last week?

Hannah: Yeah and do you know I can never remember… what did I do last week… so it's really really really varied, and there are serious stories, we're interviewing people with whose children are dying or have died, we're interviewing people who want justice, you're intervieiwg people who've witnessed big national events, people who are going to meet royalty. Um [pause] yeah, people who are poker players by night making millions.

Interviewer: Wow that's interesting.

Hannah: Yeah a lot of ordinary people do it, it's through the night, they play in America I guess.

Interviewer: Wow.

Hannah: Housewife by day, international poker player by night.

Interviewer: So do you have a kind of standard day then in your job?

Hannah: So yeah I go in at 6 and then at 6:15 I will talk on air about what I'm going to be doing, and then I go out and then I do probably 2 pieces into breakfast, one btween 7 and 8 and one between 8 and 9, and then um I come back and we have the news meeting where everyone gives ideas, and they can be as random as they like and like that. And once you say

something someone says 'oh yes' you know, and then when we sort of hone it down to what we want to put in the breakfast show the next day and then I make a few phonecalls for the next day to set up stuff, and that's it.

Interviewer: It's a very quick turn around then?

Hannah: Mmm it is, it is.

Interviewer: Where do you get your ideas from? If you're thinking about the type of things you want to cover do you get inspiration maybe when you're cycling in or…

Hannah: Yes, yes, so I write it down in there [points at phone] and uh, and it is everything I see and that's what it is really if you want some [scrolling through phone]. Oh yeah yeah yeah, lots of people are doing pilgrimages now, pilgrimage roots and the BBC's got a series coming out on Friday about that, walking the you know to San Diago. [place name redacted] Universities got it's first menopause café, just so many things. Do men and women have different taste buds? Might to that this week for science week.

Interviewer: That's an interesting one.

Hannah: Yeah, for mothers day interviewed a foster mother.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Hannah: Um and lots of people I know, I do try and keep in contact with lots of people so the children are at school so all the parents from there and we're at a big church so all the people from there and that's really useful.

Interviewer: So you have lots of contacts anyway?

Hannah: Yeah and over doing it for years um you make contact with people, and remember them vaguely and then you can look back in the system.

Interviewer: So when you meet these people do you have any kind of, do you spend an hour with them beforehand or would it kind of be you just meet them and then you're live on air doing the interviews?

Hannah: Pretty much! So you have to be very quick, so I get emailed the night before what I'm doing the next day, I get emailed about 7 at night and I'll have a look at it and a think, and then I like to arrive half an hour before I go on air, but then I've got to set up a satellite van and do all the technical stuff, and then chat to them and then go live. So I get very quick at reading all the information, absorbing it and relating it to people. Um so you may

have um, what did I do last week… I can never remember what I've done… it's like coming home from school, you can't remember what you did. Um [long pause] really can't remember, but whatever it is you've got to try and relate it to everybody. So you may have lost somebody, maybe, maybe someones died, you've got to relate it to people out there with children who've also, everybodies experienced loss in some way, so you've got to think that as you're talking and then think what is the most interesting thing that is going to appeal to the most people? And, and hone in on that because actually you're only on air for about 4 minutes so you've got to know beforehand I think, what is the best thing you want from them and go from the best thing straight off.

Interviewer: Have you ever had any times when it's gone completely wrong live on air?

Hannah: Yeah this morning it went wrong, this morning he couldn't make the samosa on time. And I wanted the [laughs], I wanted the sound of it frying and I wanted me crunching into it, 'cause you've got to think of sounds for radio uh to make it yeah creative. And they were just, they didn't get there in time and they were just setting up, you know 'cause it's a restaurant and resturants are open till late at night, they don't want to be doing stuff in the morning really so yeah that was a bit of a disaster because um I kept [laughs] waiting to see if he would finish making the samosa in time to get the frying and he didn't and I just had to leave it really.

Interviewer: And I guess if it's live really you can't just ask him?

Hannah: Yeah and interrupt him. I should have said get one ready like Blue Peter, it was all ready to go, but it was all, they were trying to set it up while I was talking to them.

Interviewer: I guess if it's their lives with the restaurant as well.

Hannah: Yeah, we had pancakes day, I went and they hadn't had the delivery of flour to this restaurant that was doing pancakes. They were doing um like Gin and Tequila pancakes, pancake cocktails and something.

Interviewer: That's part of radio I guess though, the fact that it is live, that it is quick turnaround .

Hannah: Yes, yes that's it, and the sort of sad part of it seems that it's sort of gone then you know, unless it's repeated, sometimes they'll repeat a piece on the drive programme or the late night show.

Interviewer: Do you have any least favourite things then about working for radio?

Hannah: Um [pause] no I don't really, I get annoyed where it's not what you thought it was when you get there, like the information is wrong [laughs].

Interviewer: I guess you have to think on your feet then too.

Hannah: Yeah often the information is wrong because it's, there's so few people working in it so little staff. Often it is, mostly I can cope with it, but if I really can't see the wood for the trees, I'm tryna get through to what actually is happening um like the samosa thing you know… we thought it was samosa week this week, national samosa week, and, and it's not it's on the 9th and it, we got this information that it was a pop-up samosa shop in the city centre, as far as I could work out there isn't. Um [laughs] the whole thing was just, just yeah.

Interviewer: I'm sure it still sounded very professional on air.

Hannah: Well yeah, there you go, you know, no one would know, no no, but there you go.

Interviewer: And I guess because it is a quick turn around, at least it's over now and you're ready to move on to tomorrow.

Hannah: And you've got to do that, you've gotta let it go and yeah, so thanks for bringing it all back again!

Interviewer: Yeah, sorry!

Hannah: [laughs]

Interviewer: So thinking a bit about then the fact that you work for the BBC as a public service provider, do you have anything that you particularly like about working for them?

Hannah: I do actually, I do like that it's public service and I really do try do uh tell people about things, and you know a bit of education, learn something. Um but we have gone much more towards entertainment, trying to still inform but doing it in an entertaining way, and you can see from listening the way things have changed.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Hannah: It went very dry, you know when John Burk was in charge it was very news orientated and very dry, and it's gone much more about personality and entertainment, um but yeah and that sort of just trying to get people to listen really, audiences. But I do like that it's public service, and I think we do amazing stuff, just day-to-day it's just incredible you know the amount of ideas, every day.

Interviewer: Would you ever consider working for a different type of station? Like a commercial or community station.

Hannah: Uh no [laughs] I've never considered it. They don't um they just have pure presenters, they wouldn't have my job. Just pure presenters in a studio and they, you can't go out and record stuff, I think it's all done over the phone and not much at all.

Interviewer: Would you ever consider a different type of job within radio, or is it your job that you are really passionate about?

Hannah: Yeah I am, I do wonder what will happen when I get old, like really old because it's very tiring. Yeah.

Interviewer: Do you remember the recruitment process that you went through for this role?

Hannah: So I didn't have one for this role, but because what happens is someone else is away and you stand in, and then you end up getting it. For me I was doing this job and then I got pregnant you know. And then stopped, and then came back to it about 8 years later something like that.

Interviewer: Had things changed in that time that you noticed?

Hannah: No not really. I'm better now and more focused, less of me, more of them [laughs]. Yeah so when I, yeah when I first started out I was much more natural and just gabbling away but now I do try to be much more focused.

Interviewer: Do you mind roughly saying how long you've been at the BBC, and then in the particular role, you can give a rough figure.

Hannah: No it's fine, I've been at the BBC for I think 22 years, and in this role it's hard to say because um you know I was doing it on and off, so sometimes it's on a rota and then they decided so maybe, how old was I when I did my first radio car…. I was really young… really… maybe about 15 years ago I did my first radio car piece on a Saturday, and then you just do it on and off really whenever you can, and then moved around and did different jobs and came back to it. It was always my best thing and my favourite thing.

Interviewer: Do you ever use any kind of programming software? You've talked a bit about the technology but are you able to kind of expand a bit on that?

Hannah: So, so in the BBC you have [pause] I have a satellite van, so I have to set that up, connect it to the satellite and then use a radio microphone to go from where I am to the satellite van and then out. And a radio receiver pack, [pause] but I can also just do it all on my phone to be honest. So we have LucyLive so I can broadcast live to any station in the country, I just

	plug a microphone in and speakers and then I have a recording package and then I can record and I can send material into any radio station in the country and online, immediately.
Interviewer:	It shows what technologies done now hasn't it? If you think about however long ago when you had to go out with the huge microphone and the massive kits and now you can just do it all on your phone.
Hannah:	Yeah.
Interviewer:	And still get good quality audio as well.
Hannah:	Yeah, I think it's amazing, yeah. I love the phone thing.
Interviewer:	Do you have any kind of training manual or anything, maybe that you were given when you first started or that you still have now?
Hannah:	No, there's nothing much written down for anything, there's no job descriptions or training manuals. Ok so there might be on the BBC intranet gateway, uh there probably is somewhere there, but basically you just go in and then someone tells you how to do it.
Interviewer:	So do you more learn on the job?
Hannah:	Yes definitely, definitely. And the technologies changing all the time, I started out with tape and you cut the tape and uh we've had so many different recording devices since then. And editing packages, we've just swapped to a new editing package and a new play-out system, a new studio. And then the computer system is going to change shortly as well, yeah that we use.
Interviewer:	So thinking a bit about the audience then, how do you, you've mentioned already trying to make your content relevant to the wide audience, do you know who your particular audience of the station is?
Hannah:	Yeah so they're 50 to 7... 50 year olds really and older uh although they're tryna get it younger and it's younger for some, it's younger for breakfast, people driving to work, and it's younger for sport but they're our core audience. And obviously [place name redacted] Uh it tends to be C2, D and E [4]people who listen. Um yeah.
Interviewer:	How do you make sure your content kind of appeals to them then?

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[4] C2: Skilled Manual Occupations
  DE: Semi-skilled & unskilled manual occupations, Unemployed and lowest grade occupations.

Hannah: Uh so you change it so it does, so if you're doing a story about schools, I keep mentioning Grandparents because it's Grandparents we're talking about, and [pause] yeah and we're aiming at especially towards women as well, so actually we often ask if you have a female guest when you phone a company, can you put up a female instead and that's quite interesting 'cause women often give totally different slant, more more personal slant on something. Uh and you just try and make it, find a common denominator, like even so going out to the cattle market, well not many people go out to a cattle market, or are particularly interested but you try and find something in it, so I found a woman who, who treats her pigs like her babies, you know she's got photos of them on her phone and loves them and uh so people can relate to that you know. You try to think what will people remember from this piece when they've finished… never finishing the samosa [laughs].

Interviewer: So how do you know what works then in your broadcasts?

Hannah: Uh you just know, 'cause it works and it sounds good, um and they do say well done at the end. Actually I do get that 'cause the producer at the end [laughing] if it's good he says something like 'well done Helen, that's really nice' and if it's not I don't get anything.

Interviewer: So then you know.

Hannah: Yeah [laugh].

Interviewer: Thinking a bit about the station again then, thinking in terms of how it's funded, do you get any kind in insight into the budget of the station or the BBC in general?

Hannah: Um only that we're constantly told that we're over budget and there's no money, constantly. And there are national negotiations to do with our pay, to do with cutting jobs, constantly they're cutting jobs. Um [pause] yeah. And I don't have like, there's no budget for the programme or anything, everythings begged, borrowed and stolen, because you know.

Interviewer: Yeah, you can't pay your guests to be on the show or anything like that?

Hannah: No, nope, no. Everything is just the good will of people really.

Interviewer: Do you find it helps having the BBC kind of label?

Hannah: Mmmm! [drinking]

Interviewer: When you go to talk to people do they want to be on the BBC?

Hannah: Yes! Yes I do find that, and that's really nice, mmm. Yeah.

Interviewer: Does kind of your awareness of the funding situation ever influence your own personal practices in making radio? Or not really?

Hannah: Um [pause] No, I mean there's just never been any money really and so yeah. Just find ways to get around things, yeah.

Interviewer: You might not have an opinion on this, but do you think that money or the financial situation of the BBC makes you more or less creative?

Hannah: Probably does make you more creative, yeah. It's a bit of hardship makes everyone creative.

Interviewer: In terms of your managers then, do you ever get told things that you can and can't do, would they ever put their foot down in a meeting and say no we're not gonna go with that idea, we're gonna go a different way?

Hannah: Definitely yeah, but everybody has a say and the manager will put their foot down, yes I suppose they will and we will listen. But then there are times when we will just do it anyway, um so yeah you do feel their voice has more weight, but other voices have weight as well. Because in some ways nobody knows if it's going to work until it goes out and until it's made so in the planning you could think, this, I often get stuff and think this looks rubbish! But then you just have to make something of it, and other things, you think are going to be amazing and they're terrible. We were flagging up, we were interviewing, do you know [author name redacted].

Interviewer: Yeah.

Hannah: Yeah so she was speaking in [local place name redacted] which is really small little literary festibal and uh we were going to interview her live on the programme and everyone was excited cause we all read the books and she was just so not up for the interview, she was just like 1 word answers and it was really, real struggle for the presenter, and a real disappointment to listen to. So sometimes you just don't know so it can't be that one person uh knows what will work and what won't. 'Cause, so I suppose that gives it a bit of freedom.

Interviewer: Are there any kind of policies, maybe in terms of regulation that you have to fit within?

Hannah: Lots [laughs] have you heard of you know BBC producer guidelines?

Interviewer: Yeah.

Hannah: Yeah so there's a policy for everything. So you know some of the big ones are to do with media law, so if somebody is arrested and had been charged

or about to be charged, you can't talk, you can talk about what happened but only absolute facts. You can't have people saying what they think happened or why they think it happened. And children if they're under 18 you have to really be getting permission from the parents. We only use their, if they're at school and we got permission we only use their first names, um [pause] yeah. And it's funny sometimes you don't know how old people are when you're out on the street and you're voxing you sort of say 'how old are you?' and yeah. So there's lots and lots of guidelines and you've got to always give the other side the right to reply, so that's tricky, you've got to bear that in mind if you're um somebody else is criticising their organisation, you've got to get their response. Um [pause].

Interviewer: Do you ever feel restricted by those policies?

Hannah: Yes, yes, but you work around them and they're ok. I was trying to get hold of someone who's presenting a hamper of [place name redacted] food to Princess Anne and she's 15 and I had her number but I had to find the mums number, get somebody to give me the mums number so yeah. But yeah, you do, and getting this right to reply is time consuming.

Interviewer: I guess if you've got a quick turnaround aswell.

Hannah: Yeah.

Interviewer: and then you're trying to get people to sign consent forms to say their child can talk to you and things like that.

Hannah: That's right yeah.

Interviewer: Do you ever plan stories further in advance? So mostly it's the day before but have you ever planned them say 2 weeks before for something big perhaps?

Hannah: Um yes if there is like [details redacted], a big story yes you do yeah. Plan in advance. Sometimes you have, we've just had a themed week about mothers. So yes but even that was only planned the week before. This week is science week but we've only done Monday and Tuesday, don't know what's happening after that [laughs] but yeah every now and again we get ourselves together. But that is quite, um difficult and that is down to lack of people because everybody's just busy setting up the next day.

Interviewer: What's the kind of staffing structure in your team then?

Hannah: Uh so in the whole station there is the Station Editor and then there is the Assistant Station Editor and then there's a news editor and a programmes editor, and then pretty much everybody else is, we're all in this wide classification of Broadcast Journalist so there, so you've got producers,

presenters, reporters and they're all in this big wide category and that is something the BBC is changing at the moment. So there is no real hierarchy there except really I suppose who shouts the loudest and um [pause] who's got more experience.

Interviewer: Yeah, does that make it quite a nice place to work though? That there's not a massive hierarchy?

Hannah: Yeah I do think so and everybody gets listened to because everybody has good ways of doing things, and you do get judged more on your work.

Interviewer: Yeah, so have you got a job description, you said you haven't really got one but do you have kind of any remit for your role specifically?

Hannah: Written down…?

Interviewer: Mmm

Hannah: I don't think so. I don't think so. No. And that's how they get you [laughing] because at any moment you could be taken off and put on another job, um and it could, you sign a contract and it could be any day of the week, any hours, 24/7 7days a week. Um yeah. So [pause] nobody from the top to the bottom as you see in high profile presenters, presenters, everybody could just be taken off at the drop of a hat. They have to keep paying you, they can't sack you but they can just move you to…

Interviewer: So you could suddenly be told 'we want you to be the breakfast presenter'?

Hannah: Yeah.

Interviewer: and you'd have to accept it?

Hannah: Yeah, yeah.

Interviewer: Wow. I guess because you've got that title of Broadcast Journalist, and everyone has…

Hannah: You've got that broad title and they can send you to work anywhere in the country. They can do, yeah, you sign away, yeah. So I mean in reality you can negotiate things, yeah.

Interviewer: I guess it would be a last resort to say send you down to Cornwall suddenly?

Hannah: Yeah, yeah that would be yeah. But um yeah they don't tend to send you away, but they do move you around, so you know you could be used to

working Saturday, Sunday and then they want you to work Monday, Tuesday. So and people work shifts, pretty everybody works shifts.

Interviewer: Do you mind me asking if you're on a permanent contract?

Hannah: Yeah I'm permanent yeah and I've been permanent for 22 years [said quietly].

Interviewer: How often do you work with kind of the managers of the station then?

Hannah: How often do I work with the managers?

Interviewer: Yeah or like do you have a line-manager or is it less…

Hannah: Yeah I have a line-manager.

Interviewer: How often do you work with them?

Hannah: Everyday, you all work together every day.

Interviewer: That's nice!

Hannah: There's not enough people not to [laughs]. Yeah, you're all, so the news editors my line-manager. Um [pause] yeah and it's uh a guy now and he's just, just in it the same as all of use really, just doing the same thing.

Interviewer: That's quite nice though I think to have that kind of team work environment.

Hannah: It is very much, yeah you've got to.

Interviewer: Other than kind of the 'well done' if you've done a good piece of news, do you get any other feedback, or do you have any kind of formal IPR reviews or anything like that?

Hannah: Yeah, yeah there's an annual appraisal and so the annual appraisal just about happens… it's always a month or so late, but it just about happens, and they're supposed to be bi-annual and all sorts but that never happens so no. Um yeah it's kind of like, if you're doing a good job they don't say much to you, but if you're doing a bad job hopefully they'd say something to you before they take you off air [laughs].

Interviewer: That's probably quite nice though because I guess it means they kind of trust you to kind of get on with it and if you are doing it well then you can get on with it.

Hannah: Well it is yeah, all, you ask anyone in broadcasting, they always want more feedback. They always want more. They always think they don't get anything, but...

Interviewer: Do you ever get particular types of feedback more than others when you do get it? So would it be more about I don't know the topics, your ideas, the way you present?

Hannah: It um, it would be the way I present yeah and the way they want it done yeah.

Interviewer: Do you have a particular structure to your news segments?

Hannah: [pause]

Interviewer: So would you say introduce the person, then do...

Hannah: Oh do I have a structure to the way I do it?

Interviewer: Yeah.

Hannah: Yeah I would, so the structure is to describe where you are because it's radio, try and get some sounds of where you are and really I try and make a sound. Often there is no sound and I Just have to get something going, um [laughs] and then yeah describe, introduce the person and then try and get straight to the nub of it, the most interesting thing. And, and a nice finish is nice, if you can do it. So I'll try and think of something nice to finish with, finish on a high almost.

Interviewer: In terms of the technology then, do you have any dedicated technological members of staff in the BBC or at your station? Or would it kind of be you if something went wrong, would you have to fix it?

Hannah: We have an engineer but we only have one engineer and when he's on leave there's no cover for him and he works shifts as well because we might do gardeners question time at night so uh so that is something he complains about a lot because it used to be two and three engineers at the station. So if something goes wrong I try and fix it myself, phone a friend [laughs], try all these things. I could try and phone the engineer but more than often he doesn't answer. And then it does go wrong and then eventually I can phone a BBC help desk nationally and they will get someone to phone me back. So I did have not long ago the satellite dish wouldn't go down and you physically can't and you wouldn't anyway drive it with the dish up so fortunately I was at a building and not in a field somewhere so I was at headquarters of Whiskers and Pedigree pet food and I tried all sorts you know take the back off, put wires in and it wouldn't go down so um had to leave it there and get a taxi back. And the engineer

went out with a big hammer and just hit it to get it back down, that happened. And then sent it off to the people who made it, 'cause they're quite, they're very specialised vehicles.

Interviewer: I guess you wouldn't want to be the one to hit it with a hammer!

Hannah: Yeah so there's yeah. In a way I wish I knew more technologically, but the engineers, our engineer's very old fashioned and sort of doesn't want you to know and fiddle with things. I used to fiddle with wires, then he put glass casing on them so I couldn't get to them.

Interviewer: Oh Wow!

Hannah: Yeah, he's not like supportive of lets you know learn more…

Interviewer: I guess maybe because of cuts he's probably thinking "if they can all do it themselves.."

Hannah: Yeah "I'll lose my job"

Interviewer: Putting glass casing seems a bit extreme though to stop you playing with the wires.

Hannah: I know! Honestly I tell you, it's unbelievable!

Interviewer: So I want to kind of move on a bit if that's alright to talk more specifically about the creativity side of things. I'm not looking for a right or wrong answer, like I said a lot of the academic literature doesn't really talk about radio so I'm just interested in your own personal opinion of what it means. So don't think I'm kind of trying to trick you with any of these questions or anything.

Hannah: Ok, ok.

Interviewer: So to you, what is good radio?

Hannah: Um right so if you're busy doing something you hear it and you think 'oh what's that?' and then you stop what you're doing and you keep listening to it and then you tell your friends about it.

Interviewer: How would you personally define creativity?

Hannah: Umm now thinking outside the box, um [pause] often turning a story on it's head and [long pause] yeah, looking at it from a new angle.

Interviewer: Have you got any particular examples of a piece of radio that you think's really creative, either from your station or that you've just heard as a listener?

Hannah: So for valentines day there was a barista in a coffee shop looking for love, and so I took him out on the streets of [place name redacted] to try and get someone to go out on a date with him. And we found someone who said they would, and he was so happy!

Interviewer: Aww!

Hannah: Yeah and I interviewed him beforehand and recorded a nice piece with him, um [pause] you know sort of a bit of who he was, a bit of a dating fact file.

Interviewer: Have you heard from him since?

Hannah: Well unfortunately she pulled out before the date.

Interviewer: Oh no! That's really sad!

Hannah: Yeah. She was, but in saying that it made great radio at the time. And then we just had to drop it really on the day and not mention it, 'cause I think this was the week before. Um and he said he'd had a great time anyway.

Interviewer: Still a good experience I guess, but you kind of hope that it'll end up like they get married or something like that!

Hannah: Yes, that's right!

Interviewer: I guess life's not quite like that sadly.

Hannah: No, no!

Interviewer: Do you have any particular radio practitioners that you think are creative?

Hannah: Ummm so well I grew up listening to um Chris Evans yeah and I think he is very creative and very good at yeah he's genius really.

Interviewer: Is it kind of just the way he talks and the way he tells stories?

Hannah: Well he'll get straight to the nub of it and he, I you know he used to ask celebrities how much is a pint of milk and things like this. Um he made pie festival such a big thing, you know when pies were not fashionable but they're always nostalgic and um so he's just very good at… and he can talk up the most boring story and make it really interesting, and that is something, that is something you have to do a lot really. 'Cause you can always find an interesting element to the most mundane issue.

Interviewer: And he sounds genuinely interested about what he's speaking about, it's not like he, it sounds forced.

Hannah: Yes! No, and he is interested yeah. Um yeah I'm just trying to think if any, you know, people I work with really. After that it's just people I work with who, who are good at this or that or the other. Uh there's a guy [name redacted] at the moment who presents on our station and he's just so genuine, like a block down the pub and he's just being himself and yeah. And he's just so, and you've got to have a great character yourself, you can't hide it, you can't fake it. Or you bring out your character whatever it is.

Interviewer: So thinking about your own kind of practice then, what does it mean to be creative? And how often do you think you are creative?

Hannah: Um so for me to be creative I've got to have thought about the piece and changed what they've given me [laughs], thought of a new angle, a new way of doing it and going there and do it and get out. Don't hang around, short and sweet, leave them wanting more. So it's having that time to think about it and really to think of a new angle on it. So you know this, I'll go on again… national samosa week it's not that interesting really, and we don't normally do them… I don't know why this was set up… we never do weeks!... uh and so really, and I didn't, I should have thought of a new angle but I was a bit all pied out really after the… so with pies I tried to be creative! [Laughs] So with a pie, the pie one you'd expect, anyway I went and it, it sort of worked. I said look have you got a pie I can taste and stuff, but actually it was just the award ceremony and they were only serving the winning pie. So there was only one type there and um, they only really had enough to give everybody, they didn't want me… later he said I'll give you some that had been on display. But anyway, just before we were about to go on air um he said you can't. SO then we did it like, why, I just said to him 'why do you love pies so much?' and he just went, he talked about it like it was this most precious thing, and so I described how he's holding it like the crown jewels. And I said 'can I have some?' and he's like 'no, no you can't, this is very precious, this is the winner… the best!' and I said can I touch it, because he was describing the pastry and he was like 'no, no' [laughing].

Interviewer: That's such a good way to tell the story of pies really, because to most people it would just be a, you'd put it in the oven and have it as a quick meal on a cold day or something, but to hear someone talk about it and actually be that passionate about it, it's really nice.

Hannah: Yes, yes and that is a good way with anything to find people's passion, why they like it so much. Whatever they're doing, people are enthusiastic about what they're doing… hopefully.. hopefully they are! If they're not you're a bit lost [laughs]. And often people are quite cold when you first arrive, like

this pie man was. Because he was trying to set up for lunch for 120 pie people from all over the country and I wanted him to move is car so I could put my van right outside the door to get a signal and, and he was not keen but you just have to be really really polite. Being, you've got to be a nice personality, and polite with people. And then so by the time we went on air he was loving it and that's often like that. People quite wary at the beginning, and you're often turning up when they're busy doing something else.

Interviewer: Yeah, because you want it to sound like it is a live environment.

Hannah: Mmm and it's an event happening, yeah so they can be, or they didn't want to do it in the first place. One of the nicest was, I was interviewing a guy about sheep who'd been, actually had their throats cut. And when I arrived the farmers wife came over and she just gave me the dirtiest look ever and it was when the snow was coming down like a blizzard and I said "Oh I'm really sorry, I'm just interviewing.." and she said 'I know, he think's its good idea to do it, I don't' and she said 'we've been up 36 hours, rescuing lambs who are being born'.

Interviewer: Yeah I saw all that in the news with the snow and everything.

Hannah: Yeah and so I said look its going to be very quick, and sorry and stuff, and if there's anything I can do let me know. And then he came, as we were doing the interview she walked up holding 2 brand new baby lambs uh and they were shivering so I just ran over to her live on air and said 'oh what've you got here? What are they then?' and she would talk you see, she'd just like calmed down a bit and she was just stressed.

Interviewer: Yeah you can understand why in that situation.

Hannah: Yeah but it was the best, because the lambs were doing that little 'mm…baaaa' thing and they were just so new and shivering and so it was really, she's a better talker, again I think 'cause she's a woman about that. That was more interesting that what I'd gone for originally. So it's going with your gut feeling and not being afraid to change entirely what you're doing.

Interviewer: Yeah 'cause I guess that can feel quite daunting, live on air to suddenly change and think actually I'm gonna go interview you instead or something like that.

Hannah: Yeah so you got to have the confidence to just do that and not think oh what's the producer going to say, go with your gut instinct, what's the most interesting thing. Yeah and keep it going on longer if it is interesting, but shorten it if it is boring.

Interviewer: [laughs] Have you ever had anyone who kind of just talked and talked and it's hard to stop them?

Hannah: Yeah! Yeah! Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah yeah… They always say do like this [waves arms] and I don't tend to and I get yeah that's quite difficult for me, I get in sort of a monotomy listening and I think they're answering all my questions as they're going along and I'm desperately trying to think how to interject. Um because it just does get boring actually if it's just them.

Interviewer: Do you have any particular practices that you think aren't creative but that you have to do maybe like paperwork or anything like that?

Hannah: Uh the one thing that we don't do that they're always on at us to do is to put things in a planning diary uh that the whole of the BBC can see. So it's in our local one, but they want it in a national planning diary. It's a different computer programme and so people don't, we're not very good at doing it. I don't do it that much uh because it's just another job to do.

Interviewer: Is that so other people can see 'well you've covered this story so we'll just use some of that content again' or….

Hannah: Yeah, that's right, or they can, you put the contact numbers in so they could contact them. Um and it is useful because we look at, see what TV are doing and we can just phone them up and set it up. But then you've gotta check with them aswell. So it is a good thing but then you've got to, it's just another thing to do that is not vital for getting your piece on air, but that is the only thing really. There are health and safety forms.

Interviewer: They seem to have that everywhere now don't they?

Hannah: Yeah, yeah… but that's quite quick and I don't tend to fill them in. The producer should really for me.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Hannah: Um yeah I think that's it really, there's not too much paperwork.

Interviewer: Is it important for you to be seen as creative in your role then?

Hannah: Yeah, yeah definitely, definitely. There's a big emphasis on being creative.

Interviewer: When you first started then was it something that came up with either explicitly saying we all need to be creative? Or was it kind of, did you feel like there was that expectation that you would be creative in the role?

Hannah: Um, uh yeah there… so what do you mean? When I first started in the BBC John Burt was the editor and it was much, of the whole BBC, not the

editor… uh but he, and it was much more about factual, getting your facts right and telling the news. Um and people were still creative, but actually programmes was very different from news and you had news programmes, and programmes and I was news and so there wasn't an emphasis on being creative for the news programmes which is breakfast and drive. And then uh it changed with different directors of the BBC, and with market research. They did market research the BBC and discovered people thought of them as dull and boring. Like a larder, very reliable but not very creative. And so then they decided yeah you gotta all be creative… you gotta all have personality, we literally had personality workshops or training or something like that… how to bring out your personality. And we all felt like the BBC had kind of you know got you in and then quashed your personality and then you know now it's like oh no we want it.

[Participant left to get a drink]

Interviewer: Do you think of your station as a creative organisation?

Hannah: Yeah, yeah.

Interviewer: Do you have any particular reasons why?

Hannah: Why is it creative? Oh my gosh, 'cause the amount of creative stuff that people do every day on the radio. The ideas people come up with, yeah all those things, the same… doing it every day, day in, day out, and that's what's so impressive because it's ok to do it, to plan for maybe one you know production, but to do it day in, day out is really hard.

Interviewer: Do you think that creativity's something you can teach?

Hannah: Well um, uh don't know… lots of people on the station think no. Think managers, BBC mangers think you either got it or you haven't. Um [pause] I would say you probably could, but I don't think, uh I don't know, don't know. Is creativity something you can teach? I suppose you gotta be pre-disposed to it, or not.. yeah probably not really.

Interviewer: So would you say the closest you've ever had to being trained as such to be creative is that personality training? Is that the closest you've ever got?

Hannah: No they do, when they do like package making, well a lot of the creativity focuses on sounds, sound effects, um because it's radio. So it used to be that that was more the focus, getting interesting sounds to be creative. But actually now it's doing things in lots of different ways, anything goes, so you got the freedom. So you do train, you had to make an interesting piece and they play you bits of interesting pieces that people have done. Um and using, just using you know the phones when it first came out, they said, these was just filmed on an IPhone. Yeah, yeah so you remember those,

that's really good to be shown creative bits of radio that people have done. And they're trying to push you all the time to be more creative.

Interviewer: Are you ever asked to be innovative?

Hannah: Can you define that more? What do you mean?

Interviewer: It's one of those difficult words, similar to creativity. A lot of people say innovative is similar to kind of making something new, or with redoing something that's old, trying to think of an example but…

Hannah: Oh Yeah! Well all the time because the same old things come up so Christmas, Easter, summer holidays [laughs] so the same things come up every year, so you've got to be innovative to broadcast about it.

Interviewer: So kind of bit a different spin on the same topic?

Hannah: Yeah, and if there's a better way, yeah innovative is… if there's a better way to do something you can do that. Yeah and um I've been, I've found a better way to get the car washed so they come to us, we don't have to take it to them.. satellite van.. so that's one thing. Um I'm just trying to think what else [pauses] well I just done simple thing like they used to put the directions to where you're going, the address on a different piece of paper, different line in the programme running order than the cue so I got them to put it all on the same page so you're printing less and it doesn't block up the running order as well. Yeah just simple things like that.

Interviewer: But it still improves the work?

Hannah: Yeah, yeah it does, yeah [pause] yeah they'll write, at the top of cues there's a space to write something like why is this story important, yeah or what's the main thing about this story. [Pause] which yeah I didn't come up with but somebody did, which is a good thing, but often doesn't get filled in. But [laughs] but it is a good thing to do.

Interviewer: So if I gave you the words creative, artistic or innovative do you think you more closely identify with one or two of those over the others?

Hannah: Oh probably creative, yeah.

Interviewer: Why that particular one?

Hannah: Um [pause] because that's the main focus of it, that's what you want to hear on the radio yeah. If you, I think to be artistic you need more time to create a piece of art, an amazing piece of art. Which some people do um but my line is much quicker, don't have time to do that. And, and then

yeah. I don't think yeah. I haven't really thought much about innovating yet, but I think I will now! [laughs].

Interviewer: So do you think that radio in general should be considered as a creative industry then?

Hannah: Mmm yes!

Interviewer: Have you got any reasons why?

Hannah: Because that's what you wanna hear, yeah. And they used to be technical people, but there just isn't the technical people anymore, everybody has to do everything so everybody's on the, everyone's at the front. Everyone has to be producing stuff to go out on the radio, there are no, there used to be secretaries, there used to be assistants but the assistants to everything and the journalists do everything.

Interviewer: So you all have to be multi-skilled then as well?

Hannah: Yeah you do, you do yeah. And even the managers often present programmes and record stuff so it all has to, it's all what's important is what goes out on the radio.

Interviewer: I think that's it in terms of my questions and topics, but it's been really interesting hearing about it all and the news side of things because I've not got much background in that side of radio. So it's been really interesting hearing about how it all works and everything like that.

Hannah: Yeah, yeah, it's been nice talking!

Interviewer: It sounds like you really enjoy the role as well which is nice.

Hannah: Yeah, I do, I do, I'm very lucky to do this role yeah. And lots of people want to do this role, um yeah, because it is fun, you get the adrenaline going uh yeah.

Interviewer: Thank you so much for speaking to me as well!

APPENDIX B

A blank copy of the consent form that each individual signed before taking part in this research project. Completed consent forms cannot be included for ethical reasons.

The Creation of Creativity in Radio: How does radio as an industry define, practice and negotiate creativity?
(Subject to amendment)

Consent Form

This research project aims to explore the ways in which radio practitioners talk about their work and particular practices that they undertake within their role as a radio practitioner. This will be explored primarily through interviews with radio practitioners, and subsequent ethnographic study; involving the observation of the practices that occur within a radio station environment.

This research is part of a funded PhD thesis, with the above title (subject to amendment). It is led by Emily Bettison from Birmingham City University and has been designed in accordance with the University's ethical guidelines for research activity. Please read the following information regarding the study carefully before beginning your participation in the project. To register that you have read and understood these terms and conditions, please enter your name and email address in the space provided at the end of this document, or read and sign the paper copy provided to you by a member of the research team. If you have difficulty accessing or understanding all or part of this information, please contact a member of the research team.

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

This project has been approved under the terms of BCU ethical review procedures, and your understanding and agreement of the information in this document are a condition of that approval.

ABOUT YOUR PARTICIPATION

In this study, you will be interviewed by Emily Bettison about your work as a radio practitioner, additionally your work practices will be observed by Emily Bettison and supplementary conversations may occur. Any information that you share will be anonymised but may be used and published in the above titled thesis. This information may also be used in conference presentations and journal or book publications relating to the project outlined above. In addition to this, you will provide some personal information, including name and contact details, to Emily Bettison who is leading this project. All personal information you have provided is not and will not be publicly available, and it will be stored on a secure server at the university. At the end of the research process your participation will come to an end.

PARTICIPANTS' RIGHTS

You may decide to stop being a part of this research project at any time without explanation. You also have the right to ask that any data you have supplied be withdrawn/destroyed if you are unhappy with the way your views have been represented.

If you would like to stop participation, please inform the research team immediately. Your decision to withdraw will not influence the nature of your relationship with the researchers or their respective institutions either now or in the future. If you have any questions as a result of reading this information, you should ask one of the research team before the study begins.

BENEFITS AND RISKS

Although you might not benefit directly, it is hoped that you will enjoy expressing your opinions on matters which could have potentially useful outcomes for the design and implementation of any future iterations of this research project. It is hoped also that the findings derived from this study will help inform further research in this area.

There are no foreseeable risks to health or wellbeing as a result of participating in this research project. Your participation in this study is voluntary and as such there is no provision for financial reimbursement of any kind. This includes loss, theft or damage to personal equipment (mobile phones, laptops, tablets) that may be incurred during the course of participation in the project.

CONFIDENTIALITY/ANONYMITY

Any information collected during the course of your participation will not be provided to 3rd Parties without your consent.

All personal information collected will be anonymised upon publication in the above research project, and supplementary conference presentations and journal or book publications.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

More information can be sought at any time by contacting Emily Bettison (Emily.Bettison@mail.bcu.ac.uk) including information about the final results of the study. Additional questions concerning ethics can be directed to Dr. Hazel Collie (hazel.collie@bcu.ac.uk) who is the Ethics Officer in the School of Media.

<u>DECLARATION</u>

I have read and understood the above consent form and desire of my own free will to participate in this study.
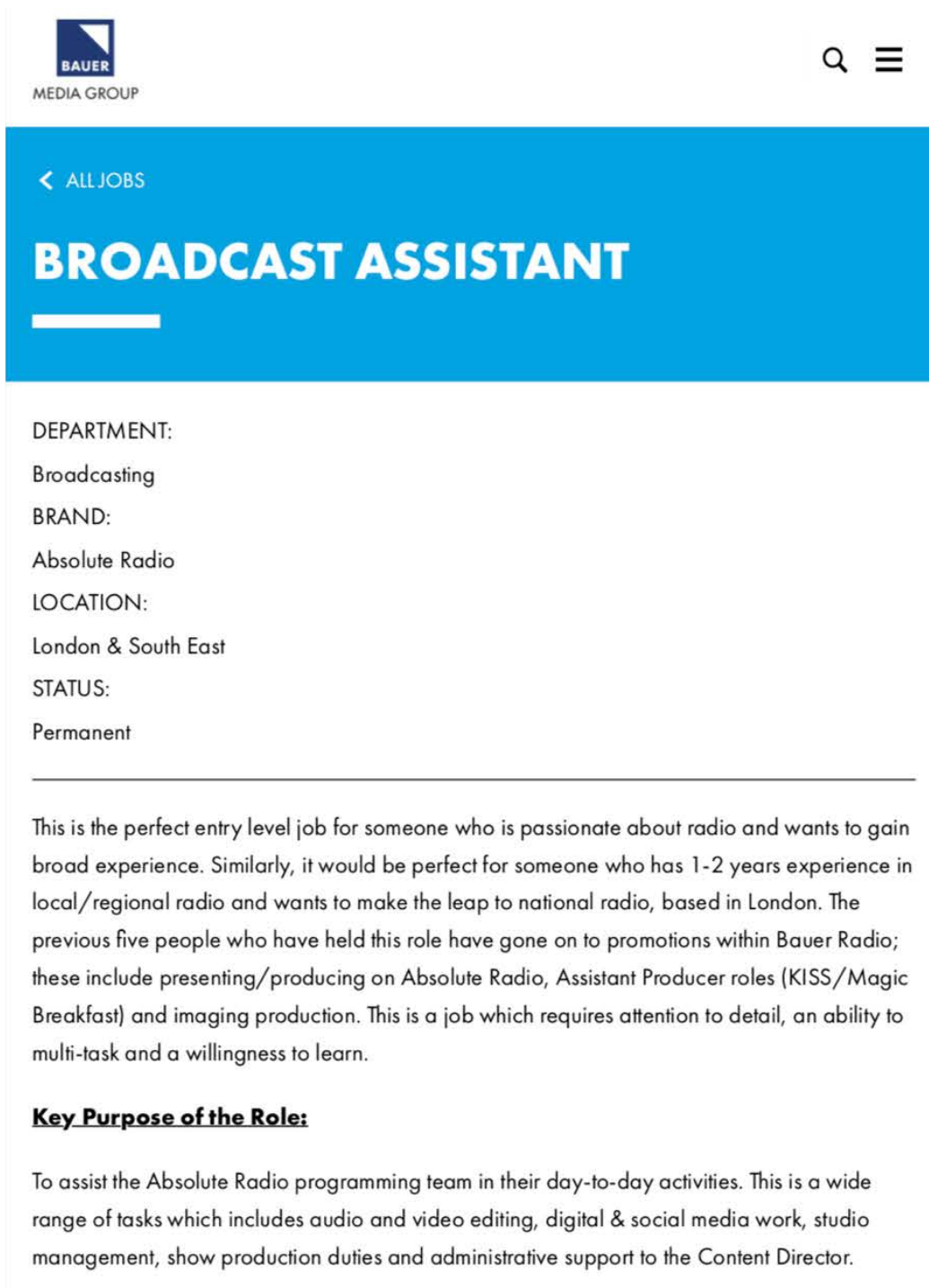
NAME:

EMAIL ADDRESS:

DATE:

APPENDIX C

A job description for a Broadcast Assistant role at a UK commercial station, Absolute Radio.

BAUER
MEDIA GROUP

‹ ALL JOBS

BROADCAST ASSISTANT

DEPARTMENT:

Broadcasting

BRAND:

Absolute Radio

LOCATION:

London & South East

STATUS:

Permanent

This is the perfect entry level job for someone who is passionate about radio and wants to gain broad experience. Similarly, it would be perfect for someone who has 1-2 years experience in local/regional radio and wants to make the leap to national radio, based in London. The previous five people who have held this role have gone on to promotions within Bauer Radio; these include presenting/producing on Absolute Radio, Assistant Producer roles (KISS/Magic Breakfast) and imaging production. This is a job which requires attention to detail, an ability to multi-task and a willingness to learn.

Key Purpose of the Role:

To assist the Absolute Radio programming team in their day-to-day activities. This is a wide range of tasks which includes audio and video editing, digital & social media work, studio management, show production duties and administrative support to the Content Director.

Main Duties and Responsibilities:

- Edit audio using Adobe Audition and place into the station's playout system.
- Edit video content of programmes and managing the amplification of content.
- Music scheduling and research tasks using GSelector
- Maintain the network EPG and ensuring the programme guide is always up to date
- Assist the Visualised Content Manager with filming and editing when required
- Assist with the management of selected social media accounts.
- Show feature production
- Studio management/production
- Act as Assistant Producer when required
- Administrative support to the Content Director and team
- Assist at station events

Skills and Competencies:

- Technical dexterity
- Willingness to learn
- Attention to detail
- Time Management
- Project Management
- An understanding of social media and how to amplify content
- An understanding of the OFCOM Broadcast Code
- Adobe Audition (preferred)
- Zetta (preferred)
- Sprout Social (preferred)
- Premiere Pro (preferred)

Station: Absolute Radio

Base: Golden Square, London

HOW TO APPLY

Please apply by sending applications to Becky Evans on
becky.evans@bauermedia.co.uk

Closing Date for applications is Saturday 01 December 2018

APPENDIX D

The job description for a Music Radio Producer for Somethin' Else, a production company that create "a wide range of shows across the BBC Pop Music Networks – Radio 1Xtra, 1, 2, 6 Music and Asian Network" (Radio Today Jobs, 2018)

RadioToday JOBS

Music Radio Producer

UK   London   Posted 1 week ago

Somethin' Else   Website

Somethin' Else produces a wide range of shows across the BBC Pop Music radio networks – Radio 1Xtra, 1, 2, 6 Music and Asian Network.

We are looking for an experienced producer to join our team based in our busy London offices near Old Street to work on a major project. This will include live production of a significant daily BBC Radio programme.

The ideal candidate will have national or major network experience (in commercial or BBC Radio) and a passion for music genres including RnB, soul, funk, Hip Hop and disco. They will also have a passion for entertainment radio, with audience features and interaction at the heart of the show.

You must be able to demonstrate a brilliant knowledge and understanding of live programme making, the music, the BBC network and their audience. In addition to regular programme production you would be expected to contribute to wider creative projects in radio, TV, social and other content production. Full training will be provided on unfamiliar systems, if required.

Responsibilities:

- music programming
- music reporting
- studio production
- talent management
- client liaison
- social media management
- script writing
- editorial judgement
- managing assistant producers
- generating ideas

Experience:

- previous experience as a network/national radio producer
- used to working in a team and supporting co-workers, as well as managing assistant producers
- strong editorial judgement and knowledge of the BBC's editorial guidelines
- excellent talent management skills
- strong social media management and strategy skills including a good knowledge of Photoshop
- good connections within the music industry
- creative flare for ideas generation, both for a weekly show, and as part of the bigger picture.
- excellent organisation skills
- strong client liaison skills

APPLY FOR JOB

HOME   ADD A JOB   SHOP   MY ACCOUNT

APPENDIX E

The job description for an Operations Engineer at the BBC.

JOB DESCRIPTION

BBC

Job title	Operations Engineer		
Job family	Operations Engineer	Proposed band	C

Division	Design + Engineering
Reports to (title)	Operations Engineer Team Lead
Location base	London

Additional job specific responsibilities and accountabilities

The prime responsibility of the role is to provide 24/7 IT Support as a member of the Engineering Operations CAS Team within W1 and across other London offices. The department actively helps BBC programme makers create and deliver great content across radio, TV and online.

Based in a dayside or a 24/7 shift which covers nights and weekends the team supports a range of BBC platforms including Windows, MAC and MDM both on site and remotely for our International BBC Bureaux, undertaking a mixture of: 1st line support calls, typical 2nd line IT desk visits, User Admin requests and also a customer facing Laptop Clinic. The role reports back to the Team Leader bringing their attention to any issues encountered during the course of the shift that requires escalation in order that they can assist in reaching a satisfactory resolution.

Work involves end-to-end business support for systems and applications for the related Editorial/Production and Development teams, ensuring duties are performed efficiently, safely and to a consistently high standard.

Key responsibilities and accountabilities

- To be responsible for your own day to day performance, and development
- Responsible for ensuring you understand the purpose of the team in which you work.
- To take part in an effective annual appraisal programme, ensuring that the personal and business objectives set for yourself are meaningful and that you understand them.
- To monitor your own performance discussing with your supervisor or coordinator any issues you may have.
- To proactively look at what training and assistance you may need to fill any skill areas you feel weak in.
- To actively contribute to the development of your Training and Development Plan to ensure that the training remains focused to the business need and your personnel development.
- Use a diverse range of broadcast and production monitoring tools to identify and diagnose complex service impacting issues across a range of technologies and platforms

New - Operations Engineer (C).docx

- The ability to deal with multiple concurrent projects in an efficient, systematic and thorough manner, maintaining accuracy, safety and attention to detail when working to tight deadlines.
- Technical analysis and resolution of a diverse range of incidents impacting live services. Initiate response to service disruption, and support proactive measures aimed at preventing recurrence.
- Use problem solving techniques and technical knowledge to translate alarms from components into real-world impact, to inform and guide incident response
- Logging all incidents accurately, and documenting all investigative activities; including all technical means employed to ascertain the nature of the fault and remedial action taken
- Managing incident and escalating as appropriate and as per defined processes.
- Implementing appropriate contingency procedures in response to planned or unexpected events.
- Thorough handover of incident and environmental information through shift changes to colleagues within the team.
- Keep up to date with operational changes in a fluid environment, ensuring that actions are taken in line with current best practice.
- Use strong communication skills to articulate accurate information to technical and non-technical audiences in the course of addressing an incident, and in related actions afterwards.
- Able to discuss or convey complex technical systems both verbally in meetings, calls etc, and non-verbally in incident tickets and documentation.
- Ensure that the provisions of the Health and Safety at Work Act, Working Time Directive and other workplace related legislation are observed ; responsible for ensuring that risk assessments are completed, appropriate and meet BBC standards; responsible for ensuring appropriate method statements are reviewed and fit for purpose

Knowledge, skills, training and experience
Essential
- Experience in logging and managing incidents in an operational environment
- Strong experience of working with Microsoft Active Directory and SCCM administration in an operational business environment.
- Strong experience of supporting Microsoft Windows Workstation Windows 7 in an operational business environment
- Strong experience of troubleshooting software and hardware issues on windows based desktops and laptops
- Experience of Microsoft Office products including strong knowledge of Outlook configuration in an operational business environment.
- Knowledge of support centre call logging systems.
- Experience of installation, configuration and troubleshooting of laptops with a strong emphasis on remote access via broadband and wireless connections.
- Experience of training novice users in operating technical equipment and software applications.
- Knowledge of TCP/IP over Ethernet networks

- An understanding of the use of content management systems in large internet sites.
- Knowledge and understanding of security issues in a large corporate networked environment.
- Strong understanding of Intel based hardware.
- Familiarity with using a range of diagnostic and monitoring tools
- Broad technical knowledge, including understanding of complex systems built from many separate components
- Experience of operating within, or demonstrable knowledge of multi-platform environments
- Ability to communicate effectively with external providers and internal partners
- Troubleshooting and diagnosing defects in complex systems
- Able to create supporting documentation for the Operations team
- Appreciation of the principles of prioritisation according to service impact, and the ability to work under pressure
- Awareness of current safety legislation and a good working knowledge of BBC safety policy and statutory requirements relating to IT and Engineering - in particular regarding Electricity at Work
- Proven ability to share knowledge with team members for mutual gain
- NVQ Level 5 or above in a relevant technical discipline
- Excellent knowledge of BBC health and safety standards, approaches and processes and other relevant regulatory requirements

Desirable
- Problem solving methodologies
- Experience in media and creative environments
- Knowledge of best practice in IT security, specifically BBC IT Security and DQ policies, standards and procedures if possible
- Ability to work alone and unsupervised
- Ability to work well in and contribute to a team
- Ability to remain calm yet assertive under extreme operational pressure
- Ability to learn quickly
- Experience or understanding of the pressures of an IT call centre environment.
- Experience of working in an environment with a strong customer focus.
- Excellent communicator - spoken and written - with customer empathy, experience of service delivery in a demanding customer service environment.
- An Awareness of ITIL Best Practice.
- A good understanding of the BBC organisation and how their role will interact with other divisions
- An interest in supporting BBC News and it's broadcast activities, showing a demonstrable understanding of the pressures and demands of a fast-moving, news production environment.
- Ability to empathise with staff working under difficult circumstances.
- A commitment to maintaining high Support standards, and to providing an efficient and effective service.
- Experience of supporting Apple MAC OSX in a Networked environment.
- Audio/Video encoding & streaming knowledge.
- Experience using Cool Edit Pro / Adobe audition.

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- Knowledge of BBC MyConnect or Cisco VPN Services.
- Knowledge of BBC implementations of Jupiter / VCS Dira / Viz Rt / Weatherscape / Content Production System (CPS) systems.

Job Impact: Decision making

The role holder will report into the Team Lead Operations Engineer, who in turn reports into the Manager Operations Engineering.

Operations Engineers make frequent decisions towards managing the response to an incident appropriately. This includes decisions on prioritisation, escalation, and technical response. These decisions have an impact on live products or services, either consumed by the audience or fulfilling an internal BBC function, and the consequences can be felt very widely in both cases. The nature of these decisions feeds into monthly reports and determine compliance or otherwise with departmental or team objectives and SLAs.

The role holder will work with a large number of internal and external teams and individuals in the course of operating the BBC's services, products, and platforms. Most of these will have different perspectives on those services, including end users, management, and support. Principle relationships and interactions include:

- Senior Operations Engineer (SOE) - work alongside, ensuring that they work in line with the SOE's guidance and escalate as appropriate.
- Operations Engineer Team Lead - work alongside. Relationship centres mainly on day-to-day operational work but also pastoral work where it is required – one-to-ones and development in role
- Service Managers – work with Service Managers (SM) by way of escalation, or as the intermediary between operational and product teams.
- Systems Engineers – interact frequently with Systems Engineers in the course of fixing issues, and also in a knowledge sharing capacity
- Third Party - Chiefly operational teams at business partners in both a break/fix capacity and also in regular relationship management meetings

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B|**B**|**C**

Job title	Operations Engineer		
Job family	Operations Engineer	Proposed band	C

Job purpose

The aim of the role is to work as part of a team to provide 24/7/365 operational support, incident management and stakeholder communication for the systems used to produce, publish and serve content for a range of BBC platforms, possibly including mobile, tablet, desktop, and IPTV.

Work involves end-to-end business support for systems and the applications for the related Editorial/Production and Development teams, and is shift based to reflect the nature of the operational work.

Key responsibilities and accountabilities

- Use a diverse range of broadcast and production monitoring tools to identify and diagnose complex service impacting issues across a range of technologies and platforms
- Technical analysis and resolution of a diverse range of incidents impacting live services. Initiate response to service disruption, and support proactive measures aimed at preventing recurrence
- Use problem solving techniques and technical knowledge to translate alarms from components into real-world impact, to inform and guide incident response
- Logging all incidents accurately, and documenting all investigative activities; including all technical means employed to ascertain the nature of the fault and remedial action taken
- Managing incident and escalating as appropriate and as per defined processes
- Implementing appropriate contingency procedures in response to planned or unexpected events
- Thorough handover of incident and environmental information through shift changes to colleagues within the team
- Keep up to date with operational changes in a fluid environment, ensuring that actions are taken in line with current best practice
- Use strong communication skills to articulate accurate information to technical and non-technical audiences in the course of addressing an incident, and in related actions afterwards.
- Able to discuss or convey complex technical systems both verbally in meetings, calls etc, and non-verbally in incident tickets and documentation.
- Ensure that the provisions of the Health and Safety at Work Act, Working Time Directive and other workplace related legislation are observed ; responsible for ensuring that risk assessments are completed, appropriate and meet BBC standards; responsible for ensuring appropriate method statements are reviewed and fit for purpose

Knowledge, skills, training and experience

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Essential

- Broad technical knowledge, including understanding of complex systems built from many separate components
- Experience of operating within, or demonstrable knowledge of multi-platform environments
- Experience or knowledge of the principles of monitoring and interacting with a range of applications and services
- Experience in supporting a wide range of broadcast and production technologies, systems and equipment including: mixers, linear and non-linear edit systems, camera systems, audio and video recorders, studios, analogue and digital distribution and IP content networks, routers, communications systems, video and audio servers, automated scheduling, etc."
- Experience in logging and managing incidents in an operational environment
- Familiarity with using a range of diagnostic and monitoring tools
- Ability to communicate effectively with external providers and internal partners
- Troubleshooting and diagnosing defects in complex systems
- Able to create supporting documentation for the Operations team
- Appreciation of the principles of prioritisation according to service impact, and the ability to work under pressure
- Awareness of current safety legislation and a good working knowledge of BBC safety policy and statutory requirements relating to IT and Engineering - in particular regarding Electricity at Work
- Proven ability to share knowledge with team members for mutual gain
- NVQ Level 5 or above in a relevant technical discipline
- Excellent knowledge of BBC health and safety standards, approaches and processes and other relevant regulatory requirements

Desirable

- Problem solving methodologies
- Knowledge of ITIL support model
- Experience in media and creative environments
- Knowledge of best practice in IT security, specifically BBC IT Security and DQ policies, standards and procedures if possible

Job impact

Decision making

The role holder will report into the Team Lead Operations Engineer, who in turn reports into the Manager Operations Engineering.

Operations Engineers make frequent decisions towards managing the response to an incident appropriately. This includes decisions on prioritisation, escalation, and technical response. These decisions have an impact on live products or services, either consumed by the audience or fulfilling an internal BBC function, and the consequences can be felt very widely in both cases. The nature of these decisions feeds into monthly reports and determine compliance or otherwise with departmental or team objectives and SLAs.

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The role holder will work with a large number of internal and external teams and individuals in the course of operating the BBC's services, products, and platforms. Most of these will have different perspectives on those services, including end users, management, and support. Principle relationships and interactions include:

- Senior Operations Engineer (SOE) - work alongside, ensuring that they work in line with the SOE's guidance and escalate as appropriate.
- Operations Engineer Team Lead - work alongside. Relationship centres mainly on day-to-day operational work but also pastoral work where it is required – one-to-ones and development in role
- Service Managers – work with Service Managers (SM) by way of escalation, or as the intermediary between operational and product teams.
- Systems Engineers – interact frequently with Systems Engineers in the course of fixing issues, and also in a knowledge sharing capacity
- Third Party - Chiefly operational teams at business partners in both a break/fix capacity and also in regular relationship management meetings

Scope

Finance: The job role has no financial responsibility

Line Management: *There is no line management responsibility*

Ad-hoc teams: May participate in working groups around particular projects, or represent the team as a subject matter expert for a particular service or technology.

Other information	
For Reward team use only	
Job Code	
Definition:	Content

This job description is a written statement of the essential characteristics of the job, with its principal accountabilities, incorporating a note of the skills, knowledge and experience required for a satisfactory level of performance. This is not intended to be a complete, detailed account of all aspects of the duties involved.

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APPENDIX F

The job description for a Software Engineer Team Lead at BBC Sounds.

Job Title: Software Engineering Team Lead (Scala) - BBC Sounds
Department: D&E - TV & Radio Engineering
Contract: Continuing
Location: Pacific Quay, Glasgow
Reports to: Engineering Manager

Job Introduction

We're looking for a talented software engineering Team lead to join the TV and Radio Engineering department, working on the BBC Sounds Radio and Music Services team in Glasgow. The BBC Sounds RMS team work alongside the BBC's television and radio networks to deliver innovative and exciting online experiences around some of the best audio and video content in the world. We're a multidisciplinary team developing services for the web on AWS using Scala and Java, following software engineering best practice and working in a Scrum-based agile fashion shipping incrementally and often.

We work closely with our client teams and editorial in BBC Radio, and as part of the broader TV and Radio group, share practice and knowledge with our equivalent teams in iPlayer. The BBC Engineering community as a whole is a dynamic and supportive one, and there are frequent opportunities to collaborate with other teams. Our Engineers are all encouraged to do 10% time, which typically takes the form of a 'hackday' every two weeks where they can work on pet projects and personal development.

We're looking for Software Engineering Team Lead who cares about creating performant and accessible applications on the web, values communication and collaborative approaches to finding the right solution, and is willing and excited to learn new skills and share their knowledge with others.

Role Responsibility:

Over the next 12 months you will:

- Lead a team of 5-6 Software Engineers working on our suite of microservices
- Drive technical direction and decision-making
- Mentor other engineers
- Develop exciting new features for BBC Sounds
- Build out the Radio and Music infrastructure on AWS
- Learn new technologies and techniques
- Advise product managers and project managers on the complexities of planned work, including providing time and resource estimates in the planning of projects

Skills & Experience

Essentials

- Knowledge and experience of API development using Scala
- Experience of working with Play, Spray, Akka
- Developing on the cloud, especially AWS
- Experience of writing unit tests and TDD

Desirable

- Familiarity with version control systems (We use Git)
- Understanding of Continuous Integration and build systems (we use Jenkins)
- Experience of project and issue tracking tools (we use Jira)
- Love of radio and music

About the Company

We don't focus simply on what we do – we also care how we do it. Our values and the way we behave are important to us. Please make sure you've read about our values and behaviours in the document attached below. You'll be asked questions relating to them as part of your application for this role.

The BBC is committed to building a culturally diverse workforce and therefore strongly encourages applications from underrepresented groups. We are committed to equality of opportunity and welcome applications from individuals, regardless of their background.

APPENDIX G

A job description for an Assistant Producer at the BBC

JOB DESCRIPTION   **B B C**

Job title	Assistant Producer		
Job family	Content Production	Proposed band	C

Job purpose

The Assistant Producer will originate and produce excellent content.

These roles will contribute creative ideas, bringing highest quality content production skills which may involve research, technical operations, audio, online and interactive production activities.

Key responsibilities and accountabilities

- To support the development, management and creation content on a variety of platforms.
- To work effectively with other departments, suppliers & partners (internal & external) ensuring the BBC maintains excellent relationships throughout.
- To ensure all content is of a first class standard: thoroughly researched and accurate, in-keeping with audience needs and expectations.
- To ensure that output complies with BBC editorial, technical, design and accessibility standards, and that BBC Health and Safety policy is observed.
- To be technically proficient to the requirements of the role.
- Direct and coordinate resources in a busy, production environment.
- Nurture and develop junior members of the team
- To ensure BBC output reflects the needs of our audiences.
- Creative self-starter with initiative and tenacity and ability to see how their work fits in with the wider needs of department.
- To use a variety of specialist production skills in a multi-skilled environment.

Knowledge, skills, training and experience

Essential

- A knowledge of BBC editorial guidelines and other compliance policies, or has the desire to glean this knowledge quickly.
- Understanding of the importance of the BBC's values in accuracy and impartiality.
- Experience in creating first class content.
- Demonstrable experience of working in a broadcast or content production environment
- Familiarity with research techniques and sources for the verification of the accuracy of material.
- Experience of writing clear and concise material which may be used for briefs, scripts, or digital platforms.
- Ability to use IT proficiently, including a range of software packages.
- Experience of influencing, negotiating and communicating effectively both internally and with external agencies/partners.
- A strong communicator and ability to simplify complex problems. Proven ability to influence decision-making at all levels and experience managing commercial and contractual relationships with third party suppliers and partners.
- Effective planning and organising skills. Ability to concentrate on several areas of work at one time, prioritising, delivering consistently to deadlines and reacting positively to changes and conflicting priorities.
- Ability to prioritise a conflicting workload efficiently and to maintain standards of accuracy and attention to detail when working to deadlines or changing priorities.

JOB DESCRIPTION

BBC

- Able to use firm judgment and understanding of when to seek guidance from experts / escalate issues where appropriate
- Ability to develop creative ideas, which engage diverse audiences in a demanding creative environment.
- Demonstrable high level of creativity - able to bring fresh new approach and bring out creative ideas in others.
- Oversee and where necessary, direct the work of other resources and manage positive working relationships with staff, contributors and talent
- An up to date knowledge of the BBC's diverse audiences and their needs and expectations and use this to shape creative and engagement output.
- The ability to problem solve and suggest effective solutions.
- Awareness of financial responsibility and budgets.

Job impact

Decision making

The Assistant Producer may report to various roles, depending on the area of which they are working in, but can range from a Producer to an Executive Producer.

The job holder will receive an appropriate level of editorial guidance and direction.

Scope

The role of the Assistant Producer is to assist the Producer/Executive Producer or similar to create content for a specific area of interest, and to supervise different stages of the production process using broad production skills gained with experience in a production environment.

Other information

For Reward team use only	
Job Code	
Definition:	Content

This job description is a written statement of the essential characteristics of the job, with its principal accountabilities, incorporating a note of the skills, knowledge and experience required for a satisfactory level of performance. This is not intended to be a complete, detailed account of all aspects of the duties involved.

JOB DESCRIPTION

BBC

Appendix

There may be sub-sets of the generic job described above which require additional technical skills. This appendix to the generic job description can be developed to cover such situations.

Division	Radio & Education
Reports to (title)	Editor
Location base	New Broadcasting House

Organisation structure	

BBC Radio 1 aims to entertain and engage a broad range of young listeners with a distinctive mix of contemporary music and speech; BBC Radio 1Xtra plays the best in contemporary black music, with a strong emphasis on live music and supporting new UK artists. Working closely together the stations look to connect the BBC with the next generation of young audiences and be the leading voice in young UK culture.

The successful candidate will be expected to have an understanding, passion and knowledge of a wide range of the music genres featured on BBC Radio 1 and 1Xtra; and an instinctive understanding and appreciation of modern youth culture and cultural trends

Additional job specific responsibilities and accountabilities

- Plan and produce content on multiple platforms, in accordance with BBC and external legislation and guidelines and under the editorial guidance of a more senior editorial figure.
- Contribute and pitch ideas for programmes, packages, contributors, online content, events and interactivity
- Assist with the preparation and production of music or speech content both for live and pre-recorded programmes and events and on multiple platforms.
- Interpret and implement creative briefs from senior staff or commissioners and to work within the resources allocated.
- Studio produce and produce outside broadcasts under the direction of a producer as required
- Operate broadcast equipment, portable recording equipment, self-operating studio equipment and digital editing and interactive systems. This includes ensuring that the sound quality broadcast is of a high standard.
- Ensure all content accurately reflects the diversity of our society in line with diversity and portrayal guidelines.
- Develop and manage positive working relationships with staff, contributors and talent. To be an effective and committed team player.
- Comprehensive knowledge relevant to the network or programme (e.g. range of music, culture, trends, heritage of music, talent, popular culture, new writing)
- Enthusiasm for radio and appreciation of how audiences use digital media and platforms.
- Good contacts and ways of finding content from different sources.
- Ability to develop creative ideas, which engage diverse audiences in a demanding creative environment
- Some knowledge of specialist music would be desirable.

NB: This job reports to an Editor as there are no Executive Producers in Radio.

R11X - Assistant Producer.docx

JOB DESCRIPTION

BBC

Approval	
Manager	Head of Production, Radio 1, 1Xtra & Asian Network
HR Business Partner	
Date	**November 2018**

APPENDIX H

A sample programme script used by Pete (2017) when planning his radio programmes.

29 November 2017 – The 70s & 80s Show – Paul Collins

On tonight's show we have 9 songs from the 1970s and 15 songs from the 1980s, including:

- 6 from 'family' acts
- 4 debut singles
- 3 film theme songs
- 3 non-charters and
- just the 1 #1

plus I ask you to **Guess The TV Theme** and dare you to **Venture into the Vinyl Vault!**

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="7">01</td><td>Artist</td><td colspan="6">Police 4630</td></tr>
<tr><td>Title</td><td colspan="6">Roxanne</td></tr>
<tr><td>In UK Charts</td><td>Month</td><td>April</td><td>Year</td><td>1979</td><td>Highest</td><td>12</td></tr>
<tr><td>#Chart entries</td><td colspan="2">18 in period</td><td>Date range</td><td colspan="3">1978-1986</td></tr>
<tr><td>#Top 10s</td><td colspan="2">10 in period</td><td>#1s</td><td colspan="3">5</td></tr>
<tr><td>Notes: 23 April 1979: Blair Peach died in a clash between the Anti-Nazi League and Metropolitan Police</td><td colspan="6">Roxanne came from the album 'Outlandos d'Amour' but failed to chart on its 1st release. Re-released in April 1979, it managed to reach #12 in the UK Singles Chart.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="6">02</td><td>Artist</td><td colspan="6">The Style Council 4789</td></tr>
<tr><td>Title</td><td colspan="6">You're The Best Thing</td></tr>
<tr><td>In UK Charts</td><td>Month</td><td>May</td><td>Year</td><td>1984</td><td>Highest</td><td>5</td></tr>
<tr><td>#Chart entries</td><td colspan="2">19 in period</td><td>Date range</td><td colspan="3">1983-1989</td></tr>
<tr><td>#Top 10s</td><td colspan="2">7 in period</td><td>#1s</td><td colspan="3">None</td></tr>
<tr><td>Notes: 27 May 1984: In a flash flood in Tulsa, Oklahoma, nearly 15ins of rain fell in a four-hour period</td><td colspan="6">After the break-up of The Jam in December 1982 Paul Weller formed The Style Council in January 1983. This was released as a single package called 'Groovin' b/w 'The Big Boss Groove'.</td></tr>
</table>

You're listening to the 70s & 80s show on Black Country Radio with me – Paul Collins

03   **Guess the TV Theme**

This was the theme to a Thames TV comedy about a young widow living with her mother and daughter – 38 episodes of which were shown in 4 series between January 1988 & August 1992 – what was it called?

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="6">04</td><td>Artist</td><td colspan="6">Breathe 3147</td></tr>
<tr><td>Title</td><td colspan="6">Hands To Heaven</td></tr>
<tr><td>In UK Charts</td><td>Month</td><td>July</td><td>Year</td><td>1988</td><td>Highest</td><td>4</td></tr>
<tr><td>#Chart entries</td><td colspan="2">4</td><td>Date range</td><td colspan="3">1988-1989</td></tr>
<tr><td>#Top 10s</td><td colspan="2">1</td><td>#1s</td><td colspan="3">None</td></tr>
<tr><td>Notes: 31 July 1988: 32 people died when a Ferry terminal in Malaysia collapses</td><td colspan="6">Formed by 4 childhood friends and ex-members of Catch 22, this debut single is from their debut album 'All That Jazz' which got to #22 in the UK album charts.</td></tr>
</table>

05	Artist	A-Ha 5445					
	Title	The Sun Always Shines On TV					
	In UK Charts	Month	Dec	Year	1985	Highest	1
	#Chart entries	12 in period		Date range	1985-1988		
	#Top 10s	8 in period		#1s	1		
	Notes: 27 Dec 1985: Abu Nidal terrorists opened fire in the airports of Rome and Vienna	A-Ha is the biggest band to come out of Norway. They formed in 1982 but moved to London 2 years later. This track is from their debut album 'Hunting High and Low'.					

06	Artist	Emotions 5579					
	Title	Best Of My Love					
	In UK Charts	Month	Sept	Year	1977	Highest	4
	#Chart entries	3		Date range	1977-1979		
	#Top 10s	2		#1s	None		
	Notes: 10 Sept 1977: Hamida Djandoubi was the last person to be executed by guillotine in France	Chicago sisters Jeanette, Wanda and Sheila Hutchinson formed the Emotions in 1968. This was their debut single and became both a US Pop and R&B Chart #1.					

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07	Artist	Janet Jackson 4754					
	Title	What Have You Done For Me Lately					
	In UK Charts	Month	Mar	Year	1986	Highest	3
	#Chart entries	9 in period		Date range	1986-1989		
	#Top 10s	3 in period		#1s	None in period		
	Notes: 26 Mar 1986: The New York Times charged former UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim with Nazi war crimes	Janet is the youngest of the Jackson family and began her solo career aged 16 in 1982. This track – her debut single – came from her album 'Control' and was #1 on the US R&B Chart.					

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08	Artist	Pet Shop Boys 3771					
	Title	It's Alright					
	In UK Charts	Month	July	Year	1989	Highest	5
	#Chart entries	12 in period		Date range	1986-1989		
	#Top 10s	10 in period		#1s	4		
	Notes: 5 July 1989: The television show Seinfeld premiered in the USA	This song was originally written by Sterling Void but expanded from 2 to 3 verses by The Pet Shop Boys for this version, which originally appeared on their album 'Introspective.'					

You're listening to the 70s & 80s show on Black Country Radio with me – Paul Collins

09	Artist	Sister Sledge 7555					
	Title	We Are Family					
	In UK Charts	Month	May	Year	1979	Highest	8
	#Chart entries	11 in period		Date range	1975-1985		
	#Top 10s	4 in period		#1s	1		
	Notes: 25 May 1979: John Spenkelink was executed by electric chair - its 1st use after the death penalty reintroduced	Sisters Kim, Debbie, Joni and Kathy Sledge formed the group in 1975 but found their greatest success when produced by Nile Rogers and Bernard Edwards from the band Chic.					

10	Artist	Michael Jackson 3184					
	Title	Wanna Be Starting Something					
	In UK Charts	Month	June	Year	1983	Highest	8
	#Chart entries	33 in period		Date range	1972-1989		
	#Top 10s	22 in period		#1s	3 in period		
	Notes: 13 June 1983: Pioneer 10 became the first man-made object to leave the solar system	This was the 4th single taken from Jackson's album 'Thriller'. It had been written for his 1979 album 'Off The Wall'. It is about rumours and contains an oblique reference to 'Billie Jean'.					

You're listening to the 70s & 80s show on Black Country Radio with me – Paul Collins

11	Artist	Diana Ross 4182					
	Title	Do You Know Where You're Going To					
	In UK Charts	Month	April	Year	1976	Highest	5
	#Chart entries	50 in period		Date range	1970-1989		
	#Top 10s	15 in period		#1s	2		
	Notes: 3 April 1976: Brotherhood of Man won the Eurovision Song Contest with Save Your Kisses for Me.	Also know as the 'Theme From Mahogany', this song was just that – the theme song to a film in which its singer – Diana Ross – portrayed the literally rags-to-riches story of a fashion designer					

Elvis Presley: That's the Way It Is – The Rehearsals
The film *Elvis: That's the Way It Is* was released on 11 November 1970. It featured his Summer Festival at The International Hotel in Las Vegas that August, rehearsals for which were held between 15 & 29 July and 7 & 13 August 1970.

12	Artist	Elvis Presley 53010					
	Title	Twenty Days & Twenty Nights					
	In UK Charts	Month	--	Year	1970	Highest	--
	#Chart entries	58 in period		Date range	1970-1989		
	#Top 10s	20 in period		#1s	2 in period		
	Notes:	The song was written by Ben Weisman & Clive Westlake and recorded by Elvis in rehearsal on 12 August 1970					

13	Artist	Stevie Wonder 5241					
	Title	Sir Duke					
	In UK Charts	Month	April	Year	1976	Highest	2
	#Chart entries	42 in period		Date range	1970-1989		
	#Top 10s	14 in period		#1s	2		
	Notes: 8 April 1977: The Clash's debut album *The Clash (album)* was released in the UK	Taken from Stevie Wonder's hit album 'Songs In The Key Of Life', this is a tribute to jazz legend Duke Ellington, who died in 1974. It was #1 on both the US Hot 100 and R&B charts.					

14	Artist	Stranglers 4920					
	Title	Always The Sun					
	In UK Charts	Month	Oct	Year	1986	Highest	30
	#Chart entries	20 in period		Date range	1977-1988		
	#Top 10s	9 in period		#1s	None		
	Notes: 16 Oct 1986: The IOC chose France to host the 1990 Winter Olympics and Barcelona for the 1992 Summer games	The band was 1st called The Guildford Stranglers because they operated out of *The Jackpot*, a Guildford off-licence run by drummer Jet Black. The song is from their album 'Dreamtime'.					

You're listening to the 70s & 80s show on Black Country Radio with me – Paul Collins

15	Artist	Bee Gees 5244					
	Title	Spirits (Having Flown)					
	In UK Charts	Month	Jan	Year	1980	Highest	16
	#Chart entries	20 in period		Date range	1970-1989		
	#Top 10s	9 in period		#1s	3 in period		
	Notes: 6 Jan 1980: Global Positioning System time epoch began at 00:00 UTC	The title track from The Bee Gees 13th album – their 1st after 'Saturday Night Fever'. It was a worldwide hit, being #1 in the USA, Germany and Australia amongst others.					

You're listening to the 70s & 80s show on Black Country Radio with me – Paul Collins

16	Artist	Free 7596					
	Title	Wishing Well					
	In UK Charts	Month	Jan	Year	1973	Highest	7
	#Chart entries	7 in period		Date range	1970-1982		
	#Top 10s	3 in period		#1s	None		
	Notes: 14 Jan 1973: More people watched Elvis Presley's Hawaii concert worldwide than watched the moon landings	Free were formed in 1968. This song was on their 1973 album 'Heartbreaker'. After the band broke-up, lead singer Paul Rogers sang with Bad Company and now tours with Queen.					

You're listening to the 70s & 80s show on Black Country Radio with me – Paul Collins

17	Artist	Fine Young Cannibals 9541					
	Title	Ever Fallen In Love (With Someone You Shouldn't've)					
	In UK Charts	Month	Mar	Year	1987	Highest	9
	#Chart entries	9 in period		Date range	1985-1989		
	#Top 10s	5		#1s	None		
	Notes: 24 Mar 1987: The deal to build Euro Disney was signed	Two ex-member of The Beat formed this Birmingham band. The song was recorded for the soundtrack of the film 'Something Wild'.					

18	Artist	Coolnotes 8428					
	Title	Spend The Night					
	In UK Charts	Month	Mar	Year	1985	Highest	11
	#Chart entries	7 in period		Date range	1984-1986		
	#Top 10s	--		#1s	--		
	Notes: 23 Mar 1985: The African and Malagasy Common Organization was disbanded	This 7-piece South London band had a string of UK Chart Hits, including two Top 20s, of which this song fared the best. It came from their only album release – 'Have A Good Forever'.					

You're listening to the 70s & 80s show on Black Country Radio with me – Paul Collins

19	Artist	Lightning Seeds 4612					
	Title	Pure					
	In UK Charts	Month	July	Year	1989	Highest	16
	#Chart entries	1 in period		Date range	1989		
	#Top 10s	--		#1s	--		
	Notes: 20 July 1989: Burmese opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi was placed under house arrest	The Liverpool band was largely the brainchild of writer, singer and guitarist Ian Broudie. This was their debut single and came from their debut album 'Cloudcuckooland'.					

You're listening to the 70s & 80s show on Black Country Radio with me – Paul Collins

20	Artist	Leon Russell					
	Title	A Song For You					
	In UK Charts	Month	--	Year	1970	Highest	--
	#Chart entries	10 in period		Date range	1978-1988		
	#Top 10s	1		#1s	None		
	Notes:	Leon Russell, who died on 13 November 2016, wrote & recorded this song for his first self-titled solo album, which was released in 1970 on Shelter Records. It's a slow, pained plea for forgiveness and understanding from an estranged lover…					

You're listening to the 70s & 80s show on Black Country Radio with me – Paul Collins

21	Artist	Elton John 5223					
	Title	Part-Time Love					
	In UK Charts	Month	Oct	Year	1978	Highest	15
	#Chart entries	53 in period		Date range	1971-1989		
	#Top 10s	17 in period		#1s	1 in period		
	Notes: 27 Oct 1978: Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin won the Nobel Peace Prize	This was the 1st single released from Elton's album 'A Single Man'. Gary Osborne, who also wrote the 1982 single 'Blue Eyes' with Elton, wrote the lyrics.					

22	Artist	INXS 2126					
	Title	New Sensation					
	In UK Charts	Month	Jan	Year	1988	Highest	25
	#Chart entries	9 in period		Date range	1986-1989		
	#Top 10s	1		#1s	None		
	Notes: 8 Jan 1988: The Dow Jones Industrial Average fell 140.58 points, or 6.85% in a mini-crash	INXS were formed as The Farriss Brothers in 1977, featuring Andrew, Jon and Tim Farriss. This is from their 1987 album 'Kick', which topped the Charts in their native Australia.					

You're listening to the 70s & 80s show on Black Country Radio with me – Paul Collins

Our Venture into the Vinyl Vault…

23	Artist	Carole King 15041					
	Title	I Feel The Earth Move					
	In UK Charts	Month	--	Year	1971	Highest	--
	#Chart entries	9 in period		Date range	1971-1972		
	#Top 10s	1		#1s	None		
	Notes:	Fame doesn't always ensure UK Chart success and Carole King is a case in point. The legendary singer/songwriter's chart stats are poor but her body of work is epic and all out on a CD set.					

You're listening to the 70s & 80s show on Black Country Radio with me – Paul Collins

Guess the TV Theme – Answer

The Thames TV comedy about a young widow living with her mother and daughter – 38 episodes of which were shown in 4 series between 04 January 1988 & 24 August 1992 was – **After Henry**. Written by Simon Brett, it has been a successful BBC Radio series. It starred Prunella Scales, Joan Sanderson and Janine Wood. The theme was an arrangement of George Gershwin's Three-quarter Blues by Ray Cook.

The Featured Artist – Rick Nelson

Born Eric Hilliard Nelson on 08 May 1940, Rick's parents were musician Ozzie and singer Harriet. In September 1952 they began appearing on US TV in their own sitcom – *The Adventures of Ozzie & Harriet* – which had been running on radio since 1944. Ricky and his brother played themselves, and, as the series ran until September 1966, they grew up in public.

A massive Elvis fan, wanting to impress a then girlfriend, Ricky got his father to find him a record contract, and in March 1957 he recording his 1st single – Fats Domino's *I'm Walkin'* and *A Teenager's Romance*. On release it got to #4 on the Billboard Charts, helped by performances on the family TV show! He had a phenomenally successful career, releasing over 50 singles, but began to suffer in the wake of the 'British Invasion' led by The Beatles.

Rick's response was to turn to Country Music and he became a pioneer of Country Rock. His 1972 album *Garden Party* marked a brief return to the charts. Signed to Epic Records in the 1970s he recorded 3 albums: *Intakes*; *Back to Vienna* and *Rockabilly Renaissance*, but only the 1st of these was released.

In 1985, Nelson began a 'Comeback tour' with Fats Domino. He put the 'y' back on his name and became 'Ricky' again. He sang the songs for which he was famous and released a greatest hits album. His comeback was cut short when, while on the tour circuit, he was killed in a plane crash on New Year's Eve.

We're going to star our look at Rick Nelson's 1970s recordings with the Rockabilly Renaissance tracks, which were finally released in 1995.

24	Artist	Rick Nelson 53083				
	Title	Send Me Somebody to Love				
	In UK Charts	Month	--	Year	1979	Highest	--
	#Chart entries	1		Date range	1972	
	#Top 10s	--		#1s	--	
	Notes:	The song was written by Tim Krekel and 1st appeared on his *Crazy Me* album in 1979				

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