

**Radio in the Digital Age:
The Evolution of Radio Culture in A New Media Era**

By

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DECLARATION

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CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	1
INTRODUCTION	3
Research Questions	6
Chapter Outline	7
CHAPTER 1:	
A History of Radio Broadcasting: The Development of Wireless Communication Technologies, Radio in Mass Media, and the Culture of Radio	9
1.1 Communication Developments in Wireless Telegraphy and Telephony	10
1.2 Early Radio Broadcasting in the United States and the United Kingdom.....	12
1.3 The Culture of Radio	15
CHAPTER 2:	
2RN and the advent of the Irish Listening Community	19
2.1 Early Progression of Radio Culture in Ireland.....	20
2.2 The Culture of Different Listening Communities.....	24
2.3 Community in the Age of Digital Media.....	29
CHAPTER 3:	
The Digital Question: Emerging formats and trends in modern Radio broadcasting ...	31
3.1 Radio in the Age of New Media.....	32
3.2 New Modes of Interactivity in Radio.....	34
3.3 Problems Facing Radio in the Digital Age.....	38
CONCLUSION	42

BIBLIOGRAPHY	45
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APPENDICES

Appendix A	47
Appendix B	60
Appendix C	72

ABSTRACT

The aim of this research paper is to examine how the medium of radio has evolved since its conception. It will recount the historical development of radio and the adaptation of one-to-one wireless transmission technology to a one-to-many form of mass media broadcasting communication. This paper will examine the subsequent cultural implications of radio as a mass media communicator, its cultural relevance in society, as well as its ability to adapt when met with competition from emerging technologies in the 20th Century.

This paper will examine the rich history of radio in Ireland, and the role it played in solidifying a sense of national identity in a time of political instability. It will also explore the culture and community of radio in Ireland across varying radio formats. How important is the presence of a listening community for radio in the modern age?

This paper also seeks to investigate if radio can adapt to new emerging digital technologies such as Digital Audio Broadcasting (DAB) and online streaming, as well as the convergence of modes that can occur across technologies today. It will study the impact convergence has on the way radio interacts with its audience, the way radio is produced, as well as the relevance of radio culture and community in the digital age.

Finally, this paper will examine which emerging formats are problematic for radio in the digital age. Can radio survive online against competition from music streaming technologies?

Is traditional radio a dying medium? Is it becoming obsolete? Or is it evolving and adapting to a rapidly changing media landscape? Do listening communities still exist in an era of new media? What does this converging media landscape mean for radio culture and its relevance in modern society?

INTRODUCTION

Radio transmission as a medium has evolved emphatically since its inception. The discoveries and developments in the field of wireless communication technology by Heinrich Hertz and Guglielmo Marconi led to the creation of radio-telegraphy, which was a vital form of point-to-point communication, often used for ship-to-shore and ship-to-ship communication. These early forms of radio communication were private in function. When Canadian inventor Reginald Fessenden experimented with multi receiver broadcast, transmitting the first ever signal containing speech and music in December, 1906 (Gazi et al, 2010) no one would have imagined what this could mean for mass media broadcasting. From the early 1900s onwards, a culture began to grow around the idea of radio as a form of entertainment and recreation. Radio would enter the public sphere, and function to re-present society and culture, and bring national discourse to peoples' doorsteps.

Radio broadcasting was an innovation of its time, loved for its ability to reflect the thoughts and lives of the public. It was hailed as a cultural barometer, a medium that could track and reflect important cultural, social and political changes happening around us. It was the “combination of the schoolhouse, the church, the public rostrum, the newspaper, the theater, the concert hall – in fact, all media devoted to the enlightenment, and education of the people” (Hilmes and Loviglio, 2002, xi). It allowed people access to cultural and social pastimes from their sitting room, kitchen, and bedroom. Radio broadcasted information without bias or boundaries, allowing it to assume a new cultural status that could be accessed anywhere by all. Radio gave its audience a chance to participate in social discourse that may have never engaged them before. They could participate in something that was happening possibly thousands of miles away. The radio acted as the centre piece in a household - something that a family could gather around and listen to in the evening. People would tune in especially to listen to certain programmes, a trend that would later spread to television. Radio permeated ideals of nationalism and community at the same time. Radio waves were without boundaries, and served as “an ideal symbol for national togetherness” (Hilmes and Loviglio, 2002, xi). Radio engaged people like no other mass media that preceded it. It acted as a political, educational, and cultural forum, allowing the listener to engage with topical issues from the comfort of their

home. There was no sense of elitism or hierarchy; if your home had a radio you had the power to access the same information as anyone else. Radio could reflect the thoughts of the local community, giving a platform to those that may have been on the fringes before:

The power of disembodied voices to embody powerful social identities, even those at odds with mainstream norms, made radio a site of constant controversy as well as national unity.

(Hilmes and Loviglio, 2002, xii)

Radio took over the households of the United States and Great Britain long before it appeared on Irish shores. In 1926 Ireland's first national broadcaster 2RN was launched. However, very quickly the radio became a central part of Irish family culture. Radio in Ireland emerged at a time of great political strife, and acted as a tool to reinforce our sense of national identity, and nurtured the culture of a nation (Pine, 2002). Radio in Ireland provided a portal to politics, music, drama, and sport. In fact, by 1947 2RN could broadcast transatlantic sports events, airing a live relay from the Polo Grounds in New York of the GAA All Ireland Football Final between Cavan and Kerry (RTE Archives, 2013). Even those who had emigrated could access and participate in national culture and sporting tradition. From the launch of 2RN in 1926, the Irish people engaged immediately with the medium, and radio ownership and listenership grew rapidly (Pine, 2002). Through the 1960's came television, however this did not detract from our love for radio as a nation, it merely changed the dynamic by which we listened. Radio no longer held an exclusive position in the household, and was no longer the sitting room centrepiece. When television first arrived, many radio shows were transferred directly to the television screen, leaving radio gutted. (Hilmes, 2002). Radio adapted and found new ways to engage its audience. Through increased audience participation, and its emerging authority as a music gatekeeper for adolescents in the 1960s, radio developed a new identity. Radio became the provider of everything that was lacking in television. This idea of 'alternativism' in radio would breed one of the most important emerging radio cultures of the 20th century, pirate radio culture, and with it a core listening community. Community radio stations were also set up, allowing communities, both rural and urban, to actively engage with local issues through their own community station. The development of community stations allowed even the smallest rural

towns a wireless voice and helped reinforce the social structures of a local community (Day, 2003). By 1990, the three main forms of radio had been formed: Public service¹, commercial², and alternative broadcasting³ (community, pirate, and niche stations). Each of these formats has an inherent culture and a listening community which keeps radio active as a presence in broader mass media culture.

It is fair to say that radio and television do not have the cultural hold they once did in the 20th century. New technologies such as on demand⁴, and online streaming⁵ mean

¹ Public Service Radio is synonymous with non-profit making, universal availability, centralized control and cultural enhancement. Public broadcasting encapsulates radio, television and other electronic media outlets whose primary mission is to 'serve the people' (Barnard, 2000). Public broadcasters receive funding from diverse sources including license fees, individual contributions, public financing and commercial financing. Examples include the BBC in the United Kingdom and RTE in Ireland.

² Commercial radio is radio on a local or national level, which is run for profit making purposes, usually through the sale of airtime to advertisers. It is the most dominant form of broadcasting in the world (Barnard, 2000). Irish examples include 98FM, Spin 103.8, Cork 96FM.

³ 'Alternativism' within radio refers to stations set up outside the institutionalized parameters of public service or commercial radio. These stations represent a dissent from broadcasting norms and cater to a smaller, localized community. Examples include community and pirate radio stations (Barnard, 2000).

⁴ On demand services allow users to listen to content in a non-linear form. They choose what programme they want to listen to and when. On demand usually allows a listener to listen to a programme in full or to certain interviews etc through podcast.

⁵ Online streaming is the live broadcast of radio content over the Internet or through mobile devices.

consumers now hold a lot of the power; they choose what they want to watch, or listen to, when and where. Jenkins (2006) notes that this convergence of modes blurs the line between different media forms. People have more choice, and access to content than ever before. There are also emerging modes of interactivity to consider such as social media and how these impact on radio production, as well as their impact on listener interaction and engagement with programming and content.

Today, Ireland still has among the highest radio listenership in the world. Figures have shown that 85% of Irish adults listen to the radio everyday, tuning in for an average of 4 hours daily, and over 50% of this is dominated by commercial radio broadcasters (Broadcasting Authority of Ireland, 2013). The latter figure in particular is telling of the changes in the radio landscape, as up until the 1980's it was impossible for commercial local stations to obtain a broadcasting licence. Radio broadcasting had initially been considered to be a public service to be owned and operated exclusively by a public broadcaster to serve in the national interest e.g. RTE and the BBC. It was this monopoly over broadcasting by national public broadcasters that led to the emergence of pirate stations looking to make a political statement or to cater to niche audiences, operating on illegal frequencies (Barnard, 2000).

Research Questions.

There can be no doubt that the landscape of radio today is very different to that in 1906 when Fessenden broadcast his first transmission experiments (Gazi et al, 2010). While the mode or method of listening might be different, it is clear we are still active radio listeners, and today there are multiple ways for people to access radio content. Radio since its inception has played an important cultural role in our daily lives.

Today, it is a medium that spans multiple technology platforms, relying on a much wider web of content and uses multiple sources of technology to interact with its listeners. New and emerging technologies change the way we listen to radio, but do they change radio's cultural role in society? Radio maintains and nurtures an inherent listening community at both a national and local level. New media technologies allow easier access to content. Can a listening community still be nurtured and developed in a digital environment? Do these technologies offer the opportunity to create a wider listening community. We as users have more control over what content we engage with on a daily basis? How does this affect radio and the way it is consumed? What interactive implications do new communication platforms such as social media have for radio? What is the future of radio as a mass media communicator in this age of new digital media? These are the questions that will be addressed in this research paper.

Chapter Outline.

Chapter One, A History of Radio Broadcasting: The Development of Wireless Communication Technologies, Radio in Mass Media, and the Culture of Radio will outline the historical timeline of radio broadcasting, and investigate the important cultural role radio played on an international level. In order to understand radio's future trajectory, it is important to explore its historical development, as well as the cultural impact it had on the public conscience. This chapter will begin to outline the importance and early development of the listening community, and lay the ground for chapter two, where Irish radio culture and the culture of listening communities within radio will be explored.

Chapter Two, 2RN and the Advent of the Irish Listening Community, will focus on Irish radio culture. This chapter will examine the important cultural role radio played in establishing and nurturing a sense of national cultural identity at a time of political turmoil. This chapter will also examine the development of the Irish listening community, as well as the varying forms of radio in Ireland that contain and sustain those communities. It will explore whether listening communities continue to exist if radio adopts an increased online presence? Can modern Irish radio maintain its status as a re-presenter of our society and cultural development?

Chapter Three, The Digital Question: Emerging Trends and Formats in Modern Radio Broadcasting will focus on radio and Irish radio in an age of new media. This chapter will investigate new and innovative technologies in radio today including online streaming, mobile streaming, DAB and on demand playback. It will discuss the increasing convergence that occurs across media technologies today, and the cultural impact this has on radio as a medium and as a community hub. It will also explore emerging trends with regards to user interactivity e.g. social media and the benefits they hold with regard to user integration and participation. Do these emerging technologies allow new communities and cultures to develop? How can radio utilize these technologies while maintaining its traditional ethos and spirit? With online competition from music streaming sites such as Spotify, does radio need to redefine itself to remain relevant in a competitive online landscape? It is clear that there are many benefits and advantages to adapting to online mediums, but does radio have to sacrifice a greater part of itself to fit in to these new media models?

CHAPTER ONE

A History of Radio Broadcasting: The Development of Wireless Communication Technologies, Radio in Mass Media, and the Culture of Radio

If we are to gain an insight into what the future of radio culture might be, it is important to consider its beginnings. This chapter tracks key historical advancements in radio transmission, from the development of wireless telegraphy and telephony to radio's evolution as a broadcasting medium. Examining the historical development of radio is central to this research paper, as it helps frame the cultural implications that came with radio evolving into an information and entertainment medium. Radio's place in the family home, and its role in society is examined in this chapter, as well as its ability to change and adapt with the introduction of new technologies. Before we can understand the cultural implications of radio as the mass broadcasting medium we are familiar with today, we must examine the historical technical developments in one-to-one wireless telegraphy and telephony that laid the ground for radio becoming an important form of mass media communication. This evolution from one-to-one to one-to-many communication is extremely pertinent to the cultural development of radio as an important source of information and entertainment in society in the 20th Century.

1.1 Communication Developments in Wireless Telegraphy and Telephony

It is important to understand the technological developments that led to radio becoming the broadcasting medium we are familiar with today. Barnard (2000) describes the early years of radio as a battle between two technologies: Wireless telegraphy and wireless telephony. Both were developed initially for commercial, military and political interests, rather than for entertainment purposes. They operated on a one-to-one format. This means wireless signals were used to send messages, by voice or code from one location to another single receiver. It is important to track the changes in the uses of wireless communication, the adaptation of a basic one-to-one communication to a one-to-many format as well as the inherent cultural communities that built around those development. It is these advancements in wireless telegraphy and telephony that led to radio becoming the broadcasting medium we enjoy today. Radio as a broadcasting medium brought with it important cultural consequences that must be considered when examining the future of radio in today's context.

1.1.1 The Electric Telegraph

To gain that full understanding we must first look at the developments in electric telegraphy that preceded radio as a means of communication. While electric

telegraphy was developed differently in Europe and the US, the form we are most familiar is that by Samuel F.B. Morse. R.W. Burns (2004) offers a comprehensive history of electric and wireless telegraph communication. Morse experimented with electric telegraphy for years on and off, building a series of crude machines that would take text information, send it through an electrical wire, and present it in a series of zigzag lines that were deciphered on receipt. After being granted a US patent on 20th June 1840, Morse was able to construct a new telegraph machine. He developed a new alphabet of dots and dashes to replace the zigzags of previous machines, and produced a code dictionary to help decipher messages. Now, instead of erratic zigzags, text information was represented by a series of on and off pulses that represented the different letters. These developments in electric telegraphy allowed people to send messages over long distances for the first time. It was faster than any form of long distance communication that preceded it, and laid the ground for wireless communication experiments that would follow. It is this system of point-to-point communication which paved the way for innovative communication technologies such as the telephone, and changed forever the way we communicate with each other.

1.1.2 Wireless Telegraphy Developments in Europe by Guglielmo Marconi.

It wasn't long before this electromagnetic telegraph system was adapted to wireless technologies that had been in development since the early 19th century. Many were investigating different hypothesis surrounding wireless communication at the time, including James Clerk Maxwell⁶, and Heinrich Hertz⁷. However, the man whose name is most synonymous with bringing wireless telegraphy to fruition is Italian inventor Guglielmo Marconi.

Marconi was greatly influenced by the work of A. Righi⁸ and under the professor's supervision, Marconi began experimenting, building some basic communication

⁶ James Clerk Maxwell developed the theory of electromagnetism in 1864, after examining the theories of scientist Michael Faraday. Maxwell predicted the existence of electromagnetic waves, which include radio waves (Burns, 2004).

⁷ Heinrich Hertz proved that electromagnetic waves could be transmitted through the air in 1887 (Burns, 2004).

⁸ Righi was an Italian Professor who had written an obituary for Heinrich Hertz for '*Il Nuovo Cimento*' in April 1894. He also wrote a paper that described experiments illustrating Hertz's work. Upon

apparatus. He started with transmissions over short distances, however by 1895 he was transmitting signals over distances of nearly 3 kilometres. To take his findings further, Marconi would need funding, and he would also need to secure a patent for his invention. Marconi secured a patent for his wireless transmitter while working in the UK as part of the Postal Service, on 2nd July 1897 and founded the Marconi Company Ltd. in 1897, known first as the Wireless Telegraph Trading Signal Company.

the Marconi Company grew, so did their experiments with signalling over open water⁹. Marconi kept in mind the possibility for ship-to-ship and ship-to-shore communication. Marconi's aim was that we could eventually communicate with someone anywhere in the world using wireless. Ireland played a central role in these experiments. We were the gateway to the Atlantic and America beyond¹⁰.

1.2 Early Radio Broadcasting in the United States and the United Kingdom.

1.2.1 The First Transmission of Voice Signals

In the United States, one of the primary contributors to wireless telegraphy research was Reginald Fessenden. Fessenden came from an engineering background rather than a physics background, and aimed to develop new research in wireless technology. While working briefly for the US Weather Bureau, Fessenden offered a demonstration, transmitting voice signals between two masts 1.6 kilometres apart. Fessenden continued to experiment and improve the quality of voice signals across wireless transmission, and on Christmas Eve 1906, Fessenden played Handel's Largo on the violin. This was the first ever musical radio broadcast and was heard by many wireless operators in the US Navy who were stationed in the Atlantic Ocean. Fessenden was unaware of the possible social and cultural applications of radio

reading this obituary, Marconi said that "the notion of wireless telegraphy using Hertzian waves suddenly came to him" (Burns, 2004).

⁹ Marconi found that the distance that signals could be received 'increased almost exactly in direct proportion with the square height' of his antenna (Burns, 2004).

¹⁰ Experiments were carried out between Rathlin Island and Ballycastle in Northern Ireland in 1898, and the first transatlantic experiments in transmitting between Poldhu, Cornwall and St John's, Newfoundland in 1901. Pine (2002) notes how Ireland played host to a number of Marconi stations including those set up at Malin Co. Donegal (1903), Clifden Co. Galway (1905), a transatlantic station in Tralee Co. Kerry (1907), as well as many others set up along the west coast right up until 1914.

broadcast, however, this demonstration is considered to be the first example of a one-to-many voice and music radio transmission, and brought us closer to radio broadcast as it is defined today.

1.2.2 The Emergence of Radio as a Recreational Tool.

The first amateur radio broadcasters were known as ‘hams’ using radio transmission to talk to other ‘hams’ on the radio waves. Hams were amateur radio operators who used radio frequencies for their own private transmissions (Burns, 2004). While these transmissions were not for public listening, these amateur radio enthusiasts were the first to use radio purely for recreational purposes, it was their hobby, and the first time that a form of community was built around radio communication. These communications were a complete deviation from the purely functional point-to-point role of radio undertaken by the military. The ham radio transmissions were halted during the Great War so as not to cause interference with important military communications.

While the hams’ transmissions offered us a hint as to the potential of radio as a form of mass media, there were still no official plans to use radio as a medium that could transmit directly into peoples’ homes. It was in America in 1916 that this notion of radio as a recreational household object was first proposed by David Sarnoff, assistant traffic manager at the American Marconi Company:

I have in mind a plan of development which would make radio a household utility in the same sense as a piano or phonograph. The idea is to bring music into the home by wireless.

(Burns, 2004)

Sarnoff had larger aspirations for radio outside of military communication and saw radio as an important cultural item, that would have a place in the home as important as any other household item. As Barnard (2000) notes this leap of the imagination by Sarnoff was critical to the future of radio, and took broadcasting beyond the world of the amateur and into the realm of mass availability.

While the American Marconi Company did not take Sarnoff’s ideas any further, Dr F. Conrad of the Westinghouse Electric Manufacturing Company (WEM) strived to take the notion of a one-to-many broadcast further. He began communicating with a

number of ham radio enthusiasts via wireless telephony, but rather than having endless conversations decided to instead play music to them using a phonograph to entertain them. Interest grew quickly in these broadcasts and Conrad's employers at WEM were keen to take advantage, believing that radio telephony could be developed as a means of 'wide publicity' rather than just a means of confidential communication. H.P. David, vice president at WEM called together a 'radio cabinet' to cover the Harding-Cox presidential election, obtaining a licence for their station named KDKA from the Department of Commerce in October 1920. On election night between 500 and 1,000 listeners equipped with headphones were able to hear the election returns live. At this time listenership was low, as radio sets were not widely available to the public at the time. This use of radio to broadcast political news and information was another cultural step towards radio as mass media.

Meanwhile, in the United Kingdom, developments in multi-receiver radio broadcasting moved more slowly. The first fully operational station was built in Chelmsford in 1920 with the aim of broadcasting on a worldwide basis. These broadcasts actually preceded those of KDKA in the US, and the station's policy of 'commercial speech transmission' made it the first wireless telephony news service of its kind in the world.

1.2.3 Structure and Regulation

One of the main problems for early radio broadcasting, was the lack of legislation surrounding the medium. In the United States, with more stations were popping up nationwide, signals were interfering and overlapping constantly. The only act regulating wireless transmission at the time was the Wireless Act 1912¹¹ which did not regulate domestic broadcasting. In 1926 an Act of Congress was passed and

¹¹ The Radio Act of 1912 was a U.S. federal law that required all seafaring vessels to maintain 24-hour radio watch and keep in contact with nearby ships and coastal radio stations. The Act also required all amateur radio operators to be licensed. The ongoing conflict between amateur radio operators and the U.S. Navy and private corporations, and the sinking of the RMS Titanic led to the passage of the act.

The provisions of the Act were codified at 47 USCS §§ 51-63. The Act set a precedent for international and federal legislation of wireless communications. However, the Act now stands repealed since the updated Radio Act of 1927 came into effect. (US Legal, 2013)

finally the Federal Radio Commission was established to regulate the industry, limiting the amount of licences in operation and providing some structure for radio operating in the public domain. This paved the way for radio broadcasting to operate as a form of media, transmitting to the American public¹². From then until the 1950's radio networks continued to flourish across the United States, becoming a dominant force in mass media communications.

Meanwhile in the United Kingdom, driven by competition from European counterparts in the Netherlands, Germany and Luxembourg, six transmission firms came together to form the British Broadcasting Corporation. In 1925, they became the British Broadcasting Commission, a communications organisation to be entrusted with the national interest:

With a monopoly of broadcasting...it was envisaged that the Commission would be given the greatest freedom for informing, entertaining and educating the nations populace by radio

(Burns, 2004, p.439)

The BBC was a commission set up with a moral obligation to serve the needs of the nation and is considered to be the first working example of public service broadcasting (Barnard, 2000, p.29).

Radio was no longer isolated for functional one-to-one communication, nor was it for private recreational use. It was now an important cultural medium that had taken its place in the family home, taking the national voice to a local level, into the living room of the people. It played an important social and cultural role on both national and local levels. A new form of community was born worldwide.

1.3 The Culture of Radio

Over the course of wireless technology developments we saw a shift from radio being seen as a static functional medium, to one with great cultural implications. Radio became a recreational form of communication, moving from a private to the public sphere of communication. As with any form of mass media communication, its

¹² In 1926 that the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) commenced regular broadcasting, meanwhile the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) began in 1927 under the guidance of William S. Paley (Burns, 2003).

presence in people's lives held great cultural significance. Michele Hilmes (2002) writes in his essay 'Rethinking Radio' how radio in its formative years was considered the "electronic hearth" in the centre of the American family home. It acted as a centre piece in the household, allowing American families access to information that was beyond anything they had heard or engaged with before. Bruce Lenthall (2007) also discusses this idea in his book *Radio's America: The Great Depression and the Rise of Modern Mass Culture*. Radio gave people a greater sense of autonomy in their lives, helping them understand a world beyond their local cultural knowledge in familiar, personal terms. It brought the wider world to their doorstep. Social boundaries were removed and there was the feeling for the first time of something that could represent the culture of an entire nation. Barnard (2000) builds on this notion of cultural development through radio, noting radio's ability to keep pace with its listeners, changing and adapting its programming as a form of temporary resolution to the anxieties and social changes occurring in their daily lives. This could be achieved through comedy, music and political discourse that reflected the social circumstances of the time.

1.3.1 Radio in the Age of Television.

Radio would have to redefine itself and the form in which it delivered content very early on with the arrival of television. The elements that made radio so successful were quickly taken and adapted directly to television. Hilmes (2002) describes this transitional period for radio, showing that when under threat from a new technology, radio showed the ability to adapt in a changing media landscape. This is where local, community and niche stations were to come into themselves and play an important role offering listeners access to new sources of content that could not be found on television. While it may not have been the centrepiece in the living room any longer, it acted as a companion in many other places in our daily lives: The kitchen, bedroom, car, work, indoors and outdoors. Radio would give us our local and national news, the play by play of our favourite sports, school closings and other emergency bulletins. It served "as our most persistent and ubiquitous media companion" (Hilmes, 2002, p.1). Radio altered its programming. It was no longer just a news and information medium. New forms of programming developed to reflect radios new position in society. Radio, Hyland-Wang (2002) notes, was now predominantly a day time medium. Daytime programming was aimed mostly at women, with chat shows, day time

serials, and homemaking programs, while in the evening television took over in the household (Hyland Wang, 2002).

1.3.2 The Rise of Audience Participation: The Voice of the Listener.

As the format of radio changed, new forms of programming brought more opportunity for interaction from the audience both on a local and national level. Radio became a soap box to air the voice of the people. As Loviglio (2002) notes it was the “untutored voices of average people” that could be heard across the airwaves, facing off against the academics on quiz shows or making sure their opinion was being heard in the latest public forum. Audience participation in programmes became very popular, with networks believing “by turning the microphone onto members of the listening audience, these programmes made new national audience an important part of radio entertainment” (Loviglio, 2002, pp.89-90). A symbiotic relationship of sorts had developed between show and listener. Although there was an increase in participation, it was still the show producers who were choosing what subjects were to be covered, what public voice was going to be heard. Radio was still the one controlling its output. However, it also gave a certain amount of self-gratification to the listener, that they played a central role in a programme, that it could be their voice on the radio next, and that their opinion and input was a valued part of radio’s output as a medium. When it came to national radio, and public service radio, their national reach meant programming came with a sense of national ritual, and a revitalization of national identity (Loviglio, 2002). The dominance of ‘the voice of the people’ on radio is just as prevalent today, perhaps moreso thanks to new interactive media technologies.

1.3.3 Radio and Rock n’Roll

Although using news and information as its central selling point became obsolete, radio became a gatekeeper in other ways, one of which was music. When Television became the more dominant medium, a cultural shift had to happen in Radio if it was to survive. In America a new culture formed, based around those who simply could not afford to engage with television culture. A greater degree of localism entered the radio market, in particular amongst the country’s largest ethnic minority, African Americans. Another minority, America’s youth also came to the fore and with it brought the rise of DJ culture and rock and roll radio (Hilmes, 2002). Television

failed to recognise youth culture, so young people turned to the radio to hear the music that mattered in their lives. Radio played an important role in setting musical taste; it acted as the primary gatekeeper as to what people should be listening to. Radio became a musical trendsetter. Radio today still acts as a music gatekeeper, however, it has new and emerging technologies to compete with such as the Internet.

Radio has proven its ability to adapt and change in order to stay relevant since its formation as a mass media broadcaster. As we have seen, radio from its inception infiltrated the households of societies all over the world. Even today a life without radio in some form would be strange to imagine. As Barnard (2000) notes, even if you didn't have the radio on at home today, you would be likely to hear it in passing, whether that was in the car, in work, or even in the supermarket while buying groceries. Radio is omnipresent in our lives, permeating human activity around the clock (Barnard, 2000). It has had an important cultural impact on society, as a broadcaster of information, music and entertainment. It is radio's presence as a national and local entity, which enabled it to build strong listening communities that could engage with culture and content on a local and national level. Radio played an important role in Irish history. It came about at a time of great social change and political instability, but it allowed us a chance to reclaim our national identity and celebrate our culture in an innovative way. The notion of an inherent listening community is particularly important to Irish radio, and our cultural history. We will discuss the important cultural impact radio had in Ireland, as well as the importance of the communities radio created across different formats.

CHAPTER TWO
2RN and the advent of the Irish Listening
Community.

While Chapter one gave us insight into the early years of wireless communication, emerging broadcasting technologies and cultures overseas, this chapter aims to focus on Ireland's broadcasting history as well as the inherent culture it nurtured. If we are to fully explore the future of radio and the radio community in Ireland, it is important to examine existing cultures and communities in Irish radio broadcasting. The community that exists around a radio station or programme is the essence of all that that station or programme embodies. For that station or programme to be successful it must always have the needs of its community in mind. If radio delivers to its community, it is meeting its central cultural role as a mass media communicator. Radio culture is a reflection of our own social culture, and community. This chapter aims to investigate the importance of these communities at both a national and local level. In particular we will look at the inherent culture and communities of community and pirate radio as well as the communities that exist on a larger national broadcasting level. Firstly this chapter will examine the rich history of radio in Ireland, and its important cultural impact on a country struggling to shape its national identity in a period of political turmoil.

2.1 Early Progression of Radio Culture in Ireland

Over the course of Marconi's experimentation with wireless telegraphy, Ireland played a key role in testing transmission overseas and over longer distances. When it came to broadcast radio, Ireland's developments were tentative in the beginning. Pine (2002) recalls the hesitations of those in power in Ireland at the time. Irish Radio came to the fore at a time of continuing political instability, with many fearing that any form of broadcasting would become propaganda - a means of spreading messages and influence. The timeline between Ireland's achievement of independence in 1922 and Fianna Fáil's introduction to government in 1932, was a time of great instability, with tensions running high between pro and anti-treaty factions. Political relations were increasingly unstable, and it was feared that radio could be used as a vehicle to spread unrest across the nation. In the minds of the Provisional Government, radio needed to be used as a tool to help us rebuild our sense of national identity, and reflect and protect our sense of Irishness (Pine, 2002). When Ireland's first radio broadcaster 2RN was set up in 1925, it was this sense of rebuilding identity that W.T. Cosgrave,

President of Dáil Éireann, spoke about, reflecting on the need to rebuild our state and undertake responsibility for our household. We were all part of our recovery as a nation, and 2RN would play a vital role in that regeneration (Pine, 2002). This was always going to be a tall order, as Gorham (1967) reflects:

It was expected not merely to reflect every aspect of national activity but to create activities that did not exist yet. It was expected to revive the speaking of Irish; to foster a taste for classical music; to revive Irish traditional music; to keep people on the farms; to sell goods and services of all kinds...to reunite the Irish people at home with those overseas; to end partition. All this in addition to broadcasting's normal duty to inform, educate and entertain. And all in a programme time amounting (if advertising time was excluded) to some 5 hours a day.

(Gorham 1967, p.221)

2.1.1 The launch of 2RN, Ireland's First National Broadcaster

2RN was officially opened by head of the Gaelic League and future president of Ireland Douglas Hyde on the 1st of January 1926 (RTE Archives, 2013). Choosing Hyde as the man to speak at its opening indicated the cultural, rather than political identity of the station (Pine, 2002). Making a speech (in Irish) Hyde spoke of the beginning of a new era, where Ireland could take its place among the other nations of the world. Hyde recalled our rich cultural identity of music, songs, games and customs. He believed that this was our time to use the wireless in our native language, reinforce our cultural heritage, and to wipe clean the foreign influence that had plagued us (Pine, 2002, p.147). The link between Irish radio and a sense of cultural nationalism was strong from the beginning, unmarred by the political turmoil ongoing in the country at the time (Pine, 2002). 2RN focused on Irish language, Irish tradition and a national individuality. On opening night 2RN aired performances from a variety of different National musicians and singers¹³. A review written for the Irish Times echoed the sentiments of Douglas Hyde and W.T. Cosgrave, describing wireless

¹³ The schedule included performances from: The Army Band, Seamus Clandillon, Arthur Darley, Joan Burke, Annie Fagan, Joseph O'Mara, James Ennis, Liam Andrews, Maighr ad N  Annag in, Dina Copeman, J.C. Doyle, and The Palestrina Choir. Programming on the first night ran from 8pm until 10.30pm (Pine, 2000).

broadcasting as a powerful instrument of culture, which could act as an international stage for our musical and literary talents:

We have a folk music second to none in the world, and Dublin boasts poets and men of letters whose names are famous in two hemispheres. The object of our 'wireless' directors should be to furnish programmes, which while distinctively Irish, will escape the reproach of parochialism and to interpret the artistic genius of the nation not only to its own citizens but to the whole of Europe.

(Pine, 2002, p.151)

Over the next 6 years, 2RN developed at a rapid pace and in 1932 presented its first outside broadcast transmitting from the World Eucharistic Congress. This was the largest event broadcast in the early years of Irish radio. By this time over 30,000 licences had been issued in the Irish Free State (RTE Archives, 2013). In 1937, 2RN became known as Radio Éireann.

2.1.2 Ráidió Éireann. Broadcasting in Times of War and Political Turmoil.

Radio during World War II, was considered a very powerful tool for the mass dispersion of information. As O'Connor (2002) notes, in Germany it was used by the Third Reich to spread propaganda messages and embed the spirit of national community in the minds of its population. In Ireland, we had the opposite problem, with broadcasting extremely limited so as to retain our stance of neutrality. RTE themselves recall how difficult this time was for radio broadcasting. From 1935 to 1945 all Irish media was subject to censorship under the Emergency Powers Act 1939. Raidió Éireann was placed under particular scrutiny because of its ability to broadcast overseas. Any sense of authorship, opinion or subjectivity were eradicated, personalisation of news reporting was removed, and for those listening in, information was limited (RTE Archives, 2013). Culturally this was hugely significant as people only had access to the information that radio or other mass media provided. With heavy censorship in place, there was never any clear indication of what was happening with regards to the War, and a lack of clarity left people unsure of what sources to trust. This is problematic in terms of developing a sense of commitment,

trust, and community between listener and broadcaster, however neither were in control of what information was available at the time. This filtration of information crept into political broadcasting as well, as political instability continued to split the state. A number of directives were introduced under the Broadcasting Act of 1960 by government ministers in the 1970s to limit coverage given to members of Nationalist military organisations. Section 31, introduced by Minister Conor Cruise O'Brien, explicitly banned RTE from broadcasting statements by spokespersons of Sinn Féin, the Provisional IRA, or any other terrorist organisation banned in Northern Ireland by the Parliament of the United Kingdom¹⁴ (RTE Archives, 2013).

2.1.3 Irish Radio and The Birth of Irish Television Broadcasting.

Since 1926, Radio Éireann had operated as part of the Department of Posts and Telegraphs. However Radio Éireann became RTE (Ráidió Teilifís Éirinn) under the Broadcasting Authority Act in 1960. This was followed shortly by the arrival of RTE's television service which began to air in December 1961. Television broadcasting followed in the vein of Irish radio broadcasting, using its programming as a form of nation building, and as a cultural protection from foreign influence (Brennan, 2013). The arrival of television did nothing to slow down the popularity of radio in Ireland. Both mediums worked in tandem to reinforce Irish culture and identity and constructed a sense of "imagined community" (Brennan, 2013). Radio continued to flourish and in 1972 and 1979 two new stations were launched: Raidió na Gaeltachta and RTE Radio 2, now 2fm. The final station launched by RTE was Lyric, a classical station, in 1999.

By 1990, RTE Radio had been broadcasting for fifty three years and held the monopoly on radio broadcasting in Ireland¹⁵. It was broadcasting in the public

¹⁴ These directives went across radio, and television, and were generally reissued on an annual basis until 1993 when they were revoked.

¹⁵ The Broadcasting Commission of Ireland was set up to issue independent radio and television licences in 1989 and commercial radio entities began to emerge in Ireland. These introduced new levels of competition to the Irish radio industry. According to 2013 JNLR results, today commercial radio holds over 60% of listenership in Ireland while RTE holds approximately 40% (Broadcasting Authority of Ireland, 2013).

interest, producing content that the broadcaster believed would create a sense of community at a national level and strengthen our cultural values. There were no other licences available for competitors, and people unhappy with RTE's limited discourse were left with to seek an alternative that would suit their own cultural needs. It is the needs of these people that led to the emergence of community and pirate radio stations, where a new form of community building was born.

2.2 The Culture of Different Listening Communities

2.2.1 Community Radio

It is clear to see that radio was an important form of mass communication in Ireland as well as a tool of cultural and social reinforcement. However, for those looking for content outside of RTE's remit, there were few available alternatives. People found other ways to get themselves on the airwaves to provide an alternative rhetoric to the national broadcaster. In her paper 'Community Radio in Ireland: Building Community, Participation and Multi-Flow Communication', Rosemary Day (2003) examines different listening communities that exist in Ireland, focusing in particular on the culture of community radio in Ireland. As Day notes, community is built upon four bases: Place, relationship, belief and time. Without these elements present, community cannot be said to exist, nor can it be built. Community radio brought radio to a smaller local level, where a station is run by, and caters for its local area. Community radio operates in a social setting, and their audiences are active participants in that same social system. It is important to consider the importance of community radio in Ireland in the context of its radio broadcasting counterparts. Larger scale radio broadcasting in Ireland operates under two main headings: Public service, and commercial broadcasting. Day considers, like many commentators, that community radio falls under the model of public service broadcasting, albeit on a much smaller scale.

RTE is Ireland's public service broadcaster, and is funded partly by a licence fee from the public and partly by advertising and ancillary commercial services. RTE "has a

remit to inform, educate and entertain and to provide for this in the two official languages of the state, Irish and English” (Day, 2003, p.9). Most understandings of public service broadcasting expect that there will be impartiality and objectivity in news coverage. The RTE authority is appointed by the government of Ireland. RTE is independent from government influence and interference but is answerable to Dáil Éireann and ultimately therefore to the citizens of the State.

The difference between these two types of radio - commercial and community - centres on the relationship with the listener. The World Association of Community Radio defines community stations as follows:

Community radio stations are not looking for profit but to provide a service to civil society. Naturally, this is a service that attempts to influence public opinion, create consensus, strengthen democracy and above all create community.

(www.AMARC.org)

Day (2003) draws on the work of Barlow (1988) who notes that a commercial broadcaster only has financial ends in mind when it comes to their station. They are ruled by a motive for financial gains (Day, 2003). A community station, by contrast, has a social commitment to its locale, similar to how a public national broadcaster has a certain sense of commitment to its citizens. These stations allow people to engage with social discourse on both levels, while also building a sense of local and national identity for themselves. Barlow (1988) notes that community broadcasters promote their local community through content, reflecting the culture of that community at a local, relatable level. Community radio tracks and supports the social and cultural changes affecting their community. Listeners are not an audience member per se, but an active participant in how the community station shapes and nurtures their social structure and local culture.

2.2.2 Pirate Radio

Day (2003) also examines the Pirate station ethos that became prevalent in Ireland from the 1960s. With lax rules surrounding broadcasting in Ireland, it was easy for these stations to run undetected. Similar to community radio, pirate radio lies outside

the two traditional forms of radio (public service and commercial broadcasting). Barnard (2000) defines pirate radio as radio stations which operate using unauthorized frequencies for broadcast. At the time it was most prevalent, commercial radio did not actually exist. It was at its most formidable from the 1960s to the 1990s, as there were simply not that many commercial licences available to start up radio stations. The spirit of pirate radio lies in programmes catering to a niche audience, playing music that other stations are not. At the heart of pirate radio is often a dedicated and committed community. Barnard (2000) discusses the culture of ‘alternativism’ within radio, stations representing a sense of dissent from established broadcasting norms. They provide a reaction against what other stations represent, and garner a dedicated community whose attitudes and beliefs reflect those values. Pirate radio embodies a certain ethos:

Oppositional response against the mainstream, but covers different approaches, attitudes and precepts that are sometimes defined in terms of modern versus traditional, progressive versus conservative, or even revolutionary versus reactionary.

(Barnard, 2000, p.68)

As Barnard (2000) notes, alternativism is built on a different kind of relationship between the audience and the broadcaster. It is about providing something that the audience is lacking from other broadcasters. These stations operate outside of the regulations set out by broadcasting authorities and can often be set up in obscure locations. In the UK unlicensed stations operated offshore aboard ‘pirate ships’ playing American top 40 hits (Barnard, 2000, p.71).

2.2.3 Broadcasting from the Garden Shed: Phantom FM

Dublin’s Phantom FM may now be a fully licensed commercial broadcaster, however preceding that it operated as a pirate station for nearly ten years. When a pirate station with an inherent ethos becomes a commercial entity, what effect does that have on its listening community? Phantom FM’s beginnings were modest, operating out of a rented garden shed at first. It had a unique selling point, playing the music that no other stations were. There was a gap at the time for a station dedicated to independent

music, and station founder and former manager Simon Maher knew they could take advantage of that. Maher (2013) did not realise at the time how much of a community was going to develop around this tiny station until they installed a phone and gave out the number on air:

Whoever the DJ was on the Friday evening gave out the number '2950100' and suddenly the phone started ringing, all the time. It was like 'OK. It's not just us and our families who are listening to this. There's actual punters out there'.

(Maher, 2013)

Phantom acted as a gatekeeper for indie music in Dublin, as well as giving local bands the airplay they craved (Freyne, 2013). Maher (2013) reminisces on how it felt to be that gatekeeper at the time, and what an important reflection it was on the station, its brand, and what it stood for; "I think we knew what we were at, and it's something that I think is underappreciated in radio, we were very confident musically. We'd be willing to go OK nobody has ever heard of this band let's stick it out there, let's give it a shot." There was a clear sense of community surrounding the station. It was a core group of people listening and interacting, supporting Phantom.

Patrick Freyne discusses Phantom's journey to commercial broadcaster at length in his Irish Times article 'Phantom 105.2: The Pirate that went Straight' (2013). Phantom, unlike other pirate stations was run at a remarkably professional level and always had aspirations of becoming a licenced station. It applied for a licence twice in 1999 and 2003 before securing the permanent licence in 2006. While Phantom the pirate had its dedicated audience of listeners, this community, so successful and important to the ethos of the pirate station, did not translate well once the station became a money-making entity. Maher (2013) reflects on the impact of applying a business model to a station like Phantom, and the restraints that come with it:

When we got to the licence version of Phantom in 2006...we spent so much time worrying about paying the bills and making sure that the business operated...We definitely erred on the side of caution.

(Maher, 2013)

Once Phantom became a commercial money making entity, it had to shift its focus from the importance of its community, to the importance of operating the station with the goal of making a profit. The core community it once held was in jeopardy as the station came under pressure to make more money. Phantom had to sacrifice a lot of its pirate ethos to operate a viable business model. Music was playlisted and heavily restricted, and very quickly Phantom lost its title of music gatekeeper for Dublin City. On top of that, popular presenters, some who had been part of the station since its pirate days were jumping ship by their own choice or otherwise. Phantom's most recent JNLR (Joint National Listenership Research) figures, published by the Broadcasting Authority of Ireland, show it only holds a share of 0.9% of listenership in Dublin (Broadcasting Authority of Ireland, 2013). While it is an improvement on its result of 0.7% in previous reports, it is nowhere near the 1.8% highest share it held in 2009. Current programming director Keith Walsh, while talking with Freyne (2013) was optimistic about Phantom's broadcasting future. However, Simon Maher (2013) reiterates that for Phantom to be a success now, it must remember what it set out to do in the first place. It must win back the community that once followed it faithfully, and reclaim the status it once held in its pirate days as a gatekeeper and niche station playing to and for the people:

If people reach a point where they don't care then you're in trouble. How do you make people care again. That's the real real struggle. I suppose, in the sense of us operating Phantom in the corporate world, we should have been an awful lot stronger.

(Maher, 2013)

2.2.4 Listening Communities at a National Level.

While community and pirate radio have a very different remit in terms of how they serve their listeners, the essence of the community they serve affects the culture of radio at a local and national level. The overarching advantage for any radio broadcaster is its ability to transmit information to many people at once, and makes it easy for that station or programme to develop a listening community. Radio on a national scale Barnard (2000) notes, is synonymous with centralized control and cultural enhancement. In particular Public Service Radio is made in the public interest. Barnard considers the ability of national radio to re-present a nation to itself.

He believes this action in itself is unifying, and creates an inherent community spirit. Through content, engagement and participation, national radio presents us with everyday cultural experience at a national level. Radio survives as a medium because of its ability to keep pace with its audience. If a programme is delivering what its audience expects, it is nurturing that community. In an interview with former Head of Digital Radio in RTE Ian Wilson (2013), he notes that a programme like Live Line has a daily reach of approximately two hundred thousand listeners and has an inherent sense of community, dealing with local and national issues and acting as a proxy for people to air their grievances. Wilson (2013) reflects that for any community to exist, they have to be talking about the same thing, otherwise they're not a community. The advantage of radio is its ability to generate that [sense of community] very easily. It is through familiarity and trust that a radio show gains its listeners. If someone tunes into a show like Live Line, a phone-in and interview show, they know what to expect, they know what they are looking for in that show. That is how that show builds its community. If Live Line were to suddenly start playing gangster rap for the duration of its show, its listeners and community would be immediately alienated.

2.3 Community in the Age of Digital Media

Radio as a form of mass media will always be useful, because it has a cheap mode of production and allows information to travel from one point to a large number of people. No matter what format radio is transmitted from, the initial cost of production will remain the same. Barnard (2000) notes that digital advancements have revolutionized radio in terms of content, and production. However, Barnard also notes that technologies such as the Internet bring output to a global level, making it more difficult to secure a dedicated audience. New media technologies such as the Internet offer radio the chance of expanding its audience base, and increase access to those who may not have had access to a station or programme before. Do new media technologies offer the opportunity for a new form of community in radio? Also what would this wider reach mean in terms of the cultural and social impact of radio? 2fm presenter Rick O'Shea (2013) believes that no matter what the format is, the role of radio remains the same: To entertain or inform. If a show is delivering its remit to its community, that community will continue to commit to that show no matter how it is

transmitted. A radio community will still exist as long as people are searching out a programme or station. If people are listening, then radio as a format is working:

With radio, it doesn't matter to us whether or not people listen to us through a radio in the corner, or whether they listen to us on the live stream on our website, or whether they're listening to us through to the app on the iPhone, because all that shows up at the end of the day in our JNLR figures

(O'Shea, 2013)

However, statistics have shown that online listening is still much lower than that of traditional analogue transmission (BAI, 2013). If radio was to commit to a full online presence, a certain amount of investment would be required to educate people on the benefits of switching to a new technology. There is also online competition from audio streaming sites to contend with. Are niche streaming modes such as the podcast enough to keep radio relevant online?

If radio is to maintain a committed community and culture, it must adapt and utilize these new media formats, and use them to enhance its already existing community culture. Chapter three will look at what these emerging technologies mean for the future of Irish radio culture. It will look at how Irish stations can utilize technology to enhance production, to build a larger community through new forms of production, and improve audience engagement and participation. If new and emerging technologies such as online streaming and mobile technologies should open up radio to the possibility of a wider form of community, it will be interesting to see how radio redefines itself in an increasingly digitally dominant world.

CHAPTER THREE

The Digital Question: Emerging formats and trends in modern Radio broadcasting

Gazi et al (2011) believe that one of the central concerns facing us when examining radio is predicting what will be the radio of tomorrow. We have already seen that a central community exists in radio culture, a core listening group that exists across multiple analogue formats. From national mass media broadcasters to local community and pirate broadcasters, each has an inherent community and culture that defines what that station embodies. We have also seen the important cultural role radio played in its early formative years, as well as its ability to adapt when new technologies came to the fore. In this chapter we will examine radio in the age of new media. Can radio adapt once more when faced with competition from new media developments? What cultures do these new forms of media create? This chapter will examine the changing media landscape surrounding radio, and emerging media technologies in the digital age.

This chapter will also look at the notion of media convergence, its impact on radio broadcasting, as well as examining how convergence across different medias can create innovative forms of radio. It will examine the impact of these convergences on user participation and interactivity, and what do these convergences mean for Irish radio's listening community. Finally, this chapter will consider the future of Irish radio in a new media world, and whether radio has managed to once more re-adapt to a more competitive media landscape.

3.1 Radio in the Age of New Media.

Today, radio is available across multiple platforms. It can be streamed live online on the Internet or through mobile applications on smartphones as well as through the DAB (Digital Audio Broadcasting) system which broadcasts online as well as to specially designed DAB radios¹⁶. Technological advancements in radio have been accelerated in the age of digital technology. Initially, the culture of radio was always linked to the culture of sound, but today new radio content is frequently linked to visual models e.g. text, video, web pages etc (Gazi et al, 2011). What implications

¹⁶ A DAB radio set looks similar to a traditional analogue radio set. A DAB set can automatically tune to all available stations, and also carries scrolling radio text giving real time information about the current station and programming. DAB radios are also encoded with time and date that will automatically change when in different time zones. Some DAB set also carry a pause function on live broadcasts.

does this convergence of technologies hold for radio and radio content? If the focus has shifted from sound to image, are we still experiencing radio in the traditional sense? McCauley (2011) iterates that “content is king”. No matter the format, it is what the show embodies that keeps the listener interested. 2fm presenter Rick O’Shea (2013) echoes this sentiment, saying that as long as a show meets its unique selling point, people will listen no matter how many formats that show transmits across.

Gazi et al (2011) note that digital technologies make it possible to produce and deliver media in a wider variety of formats. Distribution is easier, and programming is open to mass consumption by users. Barnard (2000) links the emergence of digital technologies to a new era of convergence in communications, noting a combination of personal and mass communications e.g. telephone, computing and broadcasting across one singular system. It is this ‘convergence of modes’ (Jenkins, 2006), that is the central theme surrounding new mass media consumption today.

3.1.1 The Theory of Media Convergence.

Jenkins (2006) offers further insight into the theory of media convergence, noting that this converging of modes blurs the lines between media forms. A service is no longer provided by one medium, but can now be provided in several different physical ways. Jenkins (2006) believes that this convergence of modes is reshaping popular culture, and changing the audience’s relationship with media and media content. With a convergence of mediums, more choice is handed back to the user, or in radio’s case, the listener. Take for example the emergence of on-demand television, and on-demand listening. Before, there was an entire social culture surrounding the tradition of sitting down to listen or watch a particular programme. Now, you still have that choice to sit down and watch or listen to a programme in real time; however, the user also has the option of watching the programme at a time of their choosing, and not necessarily a shared social experience.

Jenkins (2006) describes convergence as a natural part of culture. There is a cultural logic to it, and it occurs regularly in our day-to-day lives:

Our lives, relationships, memories, fantasies, desires also flow across media channels. Being a lover, or a mommy or a teacher occurs on multiple platforms. Sometimes we tuck our kids into bed at night and other times we Instant Message them from the other side of the globe

(Jenkins, 2006, p.17)

This kind of accessibility and communication over multiple platforms is even more prevalent today than at the time Jenkin's book was published. We can Skype¹⁷ people from anywhere in the world and we can now do it on the move thanks to the smart phone. We can share pictures, audio, video, across the internet no matter where we are thanks to 3G/4G and roaming. Friends who have emigrated are easily accessible. You can chat with them daily on mobile applications such as Whatsapp¹⁸. These multiple platforms are now a natural part of our culture. Technology removes the boundaries of communication, creating a multi-way flow, allowing culture and community to develop and be nurtured through accessibility and user control. While these convergent cultures are inevitable, the question remains, what impact do they have on radio in its traditional form? What benefits do they offer between listener and broadcaster in terms of new modes of interactivity?

3.2 New Modes of Interactivity in Radio.

Communication through traditional radio, even at broadcast level, follows a linear format. It allows information to be transmitted one-way to people, and the transmitter cannot hear the response of those who listen. As we have previously mentioned, radio has developed into a more interactive medium, with the emergence of new show formats e.g. phone-in shows, where a certain level of participation is created for the listener. Technological developments have empowered radio to grow and diversify, and now people can interact with stations in more ways than ever before. Gazi et al

¹⁷ Skype is an Internet telephone and video calling service. Being software based, calls from Skype subscribers originate from their computers or mobile devices, and if the recipient is using a computer or mobile, voice and video calls are free. Access to regular telephones is also available. For outgoing calls, users can dial a landline or mobile phone for a low per-minute or monthly charge, and subscribers can obtain a Skype number to receive calls from landlines and mobile phones worldwide. In May 2010, Skype introduced its group video calling service that lets five people have a videoconference.

¹⁸ WhatsApp Inc. is an early stage technology startup founded in the heart of Silicon Valley. WhatsApp is a pun on the phrase What's Up. Whatsapp is a mobile application that operates as an SMS alternative. It allows you to send text, image, video and audio message to anyone else with the application who has wireless or 3G/4G signal.

(2011) note that it is important to question the way people make use of these new interactive modes. New communication technology opens up a new dialogue with the audience, inviting the audience to participate in the creation of content on the air (Gazi et al 2011).

The term ‘interactivity’ encapsulates all forms of meaningful communication. Gazi et al (2011) say that for interactivity to happen a transaction of information has to occur and be maintained by two active participants “exchanging elements of equal, active and mutual participation” (2011, p.27). In radio, this means listeners contribute directly to a broadcast. Today, this does not necessarily have to be by speaking on the air. Modes of interactivity are evolving every day, with more interactive tools available to listeners than ever before. Texting, blogs, and social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter give the listener instant access to radio shows and their presenters. As Gazi et al (2011) note, radio stations are placing the public centre stage in a lot of programming today, and communication tools like Twitter help put the spotlight on the user, making them the content, and the presenter becomes the curator. 2FM presenter Rick O’Shea (2013) uses social media site Twitter daily to communicate with his listeners. O’Shea reflects on Twitter, saying it offers people an instant direct line to a programme. He believes it works both as a participatory tool for the listener as well as a content source for him. You choose carefully who you follow to source content, but it also enables the listeners to become content, their input shaping what goes out on the air.

When radio shows operated on a call-in switchboard system, there would be an invitation for the listener to become active participants on a limited level. This participation can only happen while the show is in progress, affecting the nature and content of the show (Gazi et al, 2011). Meanwhile online platforms allow these conversations and feedback to occur over an unlimited period. They can even occur outside of the broadcast itself. Presenters may get responses from people who are not actually listening to the show, but are following them online on social media sites like Twitter. A pseudo-program is created on the web, and runs in parallel to the broadcast program (Gazi et al, 2011, p.34). Gazi et al note that web generated content like this can become autonomous, as their contribution surpasses limits originally established by the medium.

There are clear advantages to using new media technologies as an innovative communication tool in radio broadcasting. Parallel communities can co-exist online and offline participating, and generating content for a programme. How can these forms of communication be adapted to the ethos of community and local radio? Can they extend the remit that community radio already offers?

3.2.1 Adoption of New Communication Technologies in Community Radio.

Ricaud (2011) believes the Internet offers new opportunities for diversification, segmentation and interactivity in radio. Especially stations that are situated in scattered communities or target diasporas. Stations can use a website to cater to their communities' needs anywhere in the world. It is the structure of their programming, and their content that clearly identifies their target community. Online communication technologies can extend the reach of a community station, whilst reinforcing the ethos and spirit of that community. Rosemary Day (2011) writes about the adoption of new communications technology in community radio. Day notes that those who adopt new communication technologies tend to adapt that technology to meet their own specific needs, contributing to its development and discovering new benefits and potential within that technology. Ricaud (2011) notes that whatever the radio project may be, it is always designed to reflect the public word, express the public train of thought. New technologies and the emergence of new community forms of expression online (such as social media sites) create a new space for this train of thought to take place. Day (2011) notes that these new online communities promote a two way flow of communication, and can aid in nurturing a sense of genuine participation if implemented correctly. Community radio sees social media as an extension of its current remit to “empower individuals and to connect them to others in their communities...in ways that enable members of their communities to work together so as to improve the quality of life of those communities (Day, 2011, p.198).

In their research on local radio in the digital era, Van den Bulck and Hermans (2011) note the problems facing community stations when adopting new technology. They note that local and community stations lack the funding and the know-how to integrate new technological developments into their existing strategies. In her own research examining the uptake of new communication technologies in Ireland, Day

(2009) found that at the beginning of 2009 only five¹⁹ stations had taken advantage of new technologies. They set up social media pages such as Facebook and Twitter to establish an online presence for their station. This was usually undertaken by younger volunteers in the station. In the stations that did not take advantage of new communication technologies, it was usually due to a lack of education in understanding the concept of social media and other online technologies. Older managers could not conceive the potential uses and benefits of such technology. In their own research Van den Bulck and Hermans (2011) surveyed ninety seven community stations in Flanders in Finland. They found that out of the ninety seven stations, 75% operated their own website, containing multiple forms of content including playlists, show information, photos, bios and podcasts. While most did not have a Facebook or Twitter page, many did operate chat rooms, forums and guest books through their own personal websites, allowing a degree of participation and engagement with their listeners.

With regards to her research, Day (2011) admits that the results for the rate of uptake of Internet and mobile technologies were poor at the time research was carried out (2009). Exceptions were blogs and profiles set up by individual presenters, creating a micro-culture within that community. Only the student stations offered evidence of exploiting the benefits of social networking and online communications:

..using to attract facilitate and foster the participation of members of the community in the station at the higher levels the framework proposed.

(Day, 2011, p.204)

The student stations were able to go beyond the basic function of the social media sites, utilizing the sites to organize events, promote membership in the station and create a multi-way flow of communication, opening themselves to a direct dialogue with their members, creating the feeling of ‘genuine participation’ that Day (2011) notes is an integral part of community radio culture.

We can see that broadcasters at local and national levels in Ireland have begun to develop online strategies to adapt their stations to a new media era. What must be

¹⁹ Cork Campus Radio, Flirt FM in Galway, Wired FM in Limerick, Connemara Community Radio, and Ráidió Corca Baiscinn in Co. Clare.

addressed if radio is to develop a meaningful presence online is the competition it faces from music streaming sites. What impact do these streaming sites have on our radio culture and the cultivation of a radio community?

3.3 Problems Facing Radio in the Digital Age

3.3.1 Competition from Music Streaming Alternatives.

Kurkela and Uimonen (2011) discuss music alternatives online in their essay 'Lost and Challenged Contents: Music Radio Alternatives and Cultural Practices'. Spotify is a Swedish service, now available in twenty five countries (Spotify, 2013), that streams music via the Internet. Essentially, as a Spotify user, you are able to create a music library for yourself without actually downloading the music. You are listening online, and Spotify saves your playlists so that you can grow and expand your music library at your leisure. Another key aspect of Spotify is its 'Radio' service which finds bands and artists similar to those that you currently listen to so that you can expand your music knowledge base (Karkula, Uimonen, 2011). There are similar services operating online such as Pandora, Deezer, We7 and Last.fm that allow you access to unlimited music, and algorithmic playlists online. Essentially these services allow you an unlimited stream of music, streamlined to suit your preferences, with no DJ talking in between. They also allow you access to music genres that you may never hear on the radio. Services such as Spotify are extremely popular, and certainly provide competition for not only radio, but big music storage systems and stores such as Apple iTunes. Are they an indicator of radio's future online trajectory?

3.3.2 Listening habits between different generations

How is radio meant to compete with a bottomless back catalogue of music? Previous research by Karkula and Uimonen in 2009 aimed to study our listening habits. They analysed two groups: One a group of music professionals of median age 41, and the other a group of music students median age 27. They found the professionals listening to the radio as background while carrying out other tasks: Working, cooking, cleaning etc. Those in the student group also listened to the radio in the same way, however, almost 50% listened very little or not at all. Most listened to radio or music on the move, via portable radio, iPod or laptop. Again, it was found the younger age groups were more likely to listen to their own music than to seek out radio online. On the other hand, some of the older generation said that they simply did not listen to music

as much anymore, citing the variety of discursive and informational content as their reason for seeking out radio instead. Those wishing to listen to music said they used Spotify as it presented them with new music, which radio failed to do due to overly stringent playlisting across stations. It is also important to note that there is a community aspect to services such as Spotify, as they run through social media sites. You can see what you're friends are listening to, and discover new artists through their tastes and playlists. There is a blossoming music culture online today. Karkula and Uimonen (2011) note it will be interesting to see who will be holding the reins of the music business in coming years.

Radio still exists across in formats outside of the Internet, however it is clear from a music point of view, these streaming services certainly make an impact on the music culture of radio. People still seek radio out for alternative programming such as topical talk shows. If radio can continue to engage and reflect social cultures in this way, its community will stay intact. Radio stations know how to utilize the Internet for such content, podcasting popular talk shows like The Ray D'Arcy Show, and Marian Finucane daily, creating an archive of rich material for listeners to seek out. However, music plays such an integral role in radio broadcasting, programmers need to find a way to make radio the gatekeeper it once was. However, new media technologies have opened up radio to new modes of interactivity and content generation, creating a new culture within traditional radio programming.

3.3.2 Failing New Media Technology - DAB

DAB (Digital Audio Broadcasting) is Radio that travels over a digital signal rather than a traditional terrestrial signal, and involves the encoding of audio signals in digital or binary form (McCauley, 2002, 508). This means, a clear replication of the original signal, with no interference to the broadcast quality. Once this signal has been encoded digitally, it can be distributed across multiple interchangeable digital platforms. Digitizing radio opens up to wider modes of distribution giving it a wider audience reach. People today can listen to Irish radio live anywhere in the world with an Internet connection.

All major Irish public and commercial Broadcasters stream content online, however RTE as our national public broadcaster were obliged under EU Directive to invest in

DAB technology and set up 6 digital stations; 2xm, Pulse, Chill, Choice, Junior, Gold as well as airing their current fm stations RTE Radio 1, 2fm, Lyric and Raidió na Gaeltachta on the DAB signal (RTE, 2013). As Rick O'Shea (2013) notes, RTE's digital stations were created before Ireland entered recession, and have remained in stasis since then as there is simply no money to develop them further. Scheduling is sporadic, with many shows pre recorded or repeated across the week. Ian Wilson, former head of RTE Digital (2013) believes that for RTE's digital stations to work as a package, they would need to follow the model that the BBC formulated when creating both their National and Digital stations. In the BBC, there are five main analogue channels; Radio 1, Radio 2, Radio 3, Radio 4, and Radio 5 live. Each of these stations has a certain demographic and sound e.g. Radio 1 is a music driven station aimed at 18-24 year olds, while Radio 4 is aimed at an older demographic and focuses more on talk-based content. The digital stations developed by the BBC are designed to compliment the existing analogue formats. Wilson (2013) offers a breakdown of the channels:

BBC 4 has BBC 4 Xtra, which adds on extra services, 5 Live has 5 Live Xtra, and so on. And then on their music services, if you take the spectrum of what they're doing on their music services. The younger more urban end is BBC Radio 1 Xtra, then you've got BBC Radio 1, then you have 6 music, the more adult rocky kind of bit which fits neatly between Radio 1s older audience and Radio 2. And then they have BBC 3 which does their classical music and they have an opt out in that.

(Wilson, 2013)

Essentially, Wilson (2013) admits, DAB has been leapfrogged here. Without the proper investment and structure it is essentially an obsolete entity. However, this is just one technology out of many emerging digital technologies that radio in Ireland has taken advantage of.

We have seen both the benefits and challenges that new media technologies bring to radio culture. However, at the core of all these changes in the media landscape, the core values of traditional media remain the same:

A medium's content may shift...but once a medium establishes itself as satisfying some core human demand, it continues to function within the larger system of communication

options...Old media are not being displaced. Rather, their functions and status are shifted by the introduction of new technologies.

(Jenkins, 2006, p.14)

Outside all the technical advances that surround radio today, one principle that remains the same, is that radio must serve its audience. Without an audience, there is no radio community, no radio culture. As Barnard (2000) notes, structures and institutions have changed, programming has evolved, however radio still acts as a barometer for social and cultural change today. Radio needs to utilize these new technologies to strengthen and nurture its existing community, whilst maintaining its tradition of information and entertainment content to ensure a place for itself in a competitive digital world.

CONCLUSION

Barnard (2000) reflects on radio's history and its ability to navigate through periods of volatile social and cultural change. This is certainly true of Irish radio. Radio was extremely pertinent in reinforcing the cultural identity of a nation in political crisis (Pine, 2002). Radio allowed us to find our cultural voice, and to create an imagined community at a time of opposing national ideologies. As Barnard (2000) notes, structures and institutions have changed, programming today has evolved, however radio still acts as a barometer for social and cultural change today.

When asked about the future of radio, 2fm presenter Rick O Shea believes that radio, in its traditional form could cease to exist. However, with developments in Internet and mobile streaming speeds, he does see a place for radio in the future:

Once you've got sufficiently fast 4G speeds, or universal wifi, you won't need a radio. It will be part of the device that are already in your house, be it a smart TV, be it your smartphone, be it a tablet device that you have. So, physical radios will become antiquated curiosities.

(O'Shea, 2013)

What will count for radio, O'Shea (2013) notes is its core responsibility to the listener; to inform and to entertain. Kurkela and Uimonen (2011) describe the current landscape of radio today as a web of innumerable channels "enabling limitless possibilities of more diversified music, content and services than ever before" (127). With these innumerable channels, come innumerable choices for the consumer. Van den Bulck and Hermans (2011) note the importance of new technologies in promoting selectivism for the user. Radio has taken advantage of this in the form of podcasts, which contain concentrated forms of audio e.g. highlights from an hour long programme, an interview, a debate etc. As consumers of content, we are offered more choice than ever today in what media we choose to engage with. Additionally we are no longer tied to listening to the radio in linear scheduled form. Podcasts allow us to create our own schedule, and that joined with mobile technology Kurkela and Uimonen (2011) note, liberate our listening from the "constraints of time and space" (127). However, as Weckler (2013) notes, while Irish people use on-demand services

such as the RTE Player 90% of the time to playback television shows, with regards to radio, 90% of the time the player is used to stream content live.

While these new innovations and technology exist around us, offering us a new form of mass media consumption, we invariably are creatures of habit, and we find those habits to break. For many, radio listening is associated with their car journey in the morning/evening, day time listening at home or in work, or background listening at the weekend. Radio, in its most traditional form Kurkela and Uimonen (2011) note, frames our own traditional cultural practices. If radio is to maintain its core analogue audience online, listeners must be educated to the benefits of these new formats. This would mean investment on the part of Irish radio stations to maintain their existing community. Analogue radio still has a dominant presence in Irish society. We are still a nation of avid radio listeners, and as Peñafiel Saiz (2011) notes, new technologies allow these modes of programming to go beyond their traditional remit, expanding across the wider spectrum of the Internet. If Irish radio broadcasters can take full advantage of new media technologies, and use them with the traditional spirit of radio culture in mind, radio can certainly exist in a digital future. Radio needs to take what it does now, and harness that within a digital landscape.

What also must be considered is changing forms of interactivity that new media developments present us with. Peñafiel Saiz (2011) believes radio today to be characterized by interactivity in a multimedia system with new formats and services. As Day (2011) describes, new interactive formats such as social media platforms open up a new form of multi-flow discourse between stations and their listeners. The Internet can be utilized as a direct line to the station where information is able to flow easily both ways, offering a new participatory element to listeners that did not exist before.

Barnard (2000) notes that historically, radio's ability to survive in competitive media environments has always depended on how well broadcasters can tap into social and cultural change. How well they can utilize these changes and use them to their advantage. We are in a time of great change and development, and now is the time when Irish radio needs to commit to adapting and developing further their online and digital strategies. Formats such as DAB may be leapfrogged, but we have seen that there are other forms of new media that radio has utilized to further its technological

development. At the core of these developments is the listener. No matter what changes occur, if Irish radio remembers its listeners and its core community, irrespective of the format in which it presents itself, it can survive. What still stands to us is that Irish people are great lovers of radio, and have a rich radio culture that has spanned over 80 years. What the future holds for radio is impossible to predict. There are challenges such as online competition from music blogs and online music streaming software. However, as long as we can preserve that culture and community, Irish radio can survive anything.

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Appendix A

Interview with RTE 2fm Presenter Rick O'Shea

Recorded Tuesday 22 January 2013.

R = Rick O'Shea

L = Louise Noone

R – “My name is Rick O'Shea, I'm a radio presenter, I work for 2FM.”

L – “How long have you worked in radio overall across different stations?”

R – “I've been doing it as a paying job, with actual cold hard cash coming into my pockets since I was 20. I turn 40 this year, so that's 20 years. I was in it about another 18 months prior to that, em, working weekends and doing just, kind of, runner behind the scene, almost what you'd call these days an internship, but in those days it was doing stuff for nothing.”

L – “Did you always want to work in radio or was it something you fell into?”

R – “No, fell into it totally. Em, I wanted to be an astronaut, or an accountant, or...I had no idea what I really wanted to do when I left school. I did an arts degree in UCD because I couldn't get into DCU at the time I didn't have enough points to do communications. I knew vaguely media-esque seemed like a good idea. I did a years worth of an arts degree in UCD. I didn't do my exams at the end of the first year, and I dropped out because I ended up running the student radio station – That was probably a pointer – It probably pointed me in the direction of ‘ah, I might be interested in this’, so I did a year in Ballyfermot, em, doing broadcasting journalism, but it was more, it was a broad based course. It was TV, radio, and journalism all in one. And at the end of that, I had been doing weekends, fillery innery stuff on a local radio station in Wicklow on East Coast. I'd been doing essentially runner, behind the scenes stuff on a sports show. Literally runner, running with stuff from one room to another. It was in the days when everything was still physcial and this is probably part of what you want to talk about later, but, we wo-, if we were getting in sports reports,

they came in. We had to put them on a cart, the cart had to be taken from room A over to room B...physically jammed into something and then you ha-, so it was, it involved a lot of that kind of stuff. And I got offered a job at the end of my first year and I've been working with the exception of 3 months ever since. I have just been working. I've never been out of a job, and you know, continue to touch wood when I say that."

L – “20 years is a long time. Lots of experience in radio...What differences – I mean you already mention there you had to do literally like running was where...where as now, a lot of that happens online. What other, in terms of sourcing content, and in terms of interacting with your audience, do you find it’s much different?”

R – “ Very. There are, I suppose, 3 strands to this. One of which is the physical usage of technology itself for everything. When I started working in radio, and when I was in college, we learned how to edit stuff using razorblades, using pencils, and tape, and actual physical tape that you had to put into a block and you know, I realise that seems insane, when sometimes I go into talk to kids who are in school and are kind of interested in doing media courses later on, and you say to them, we had razorblades, we had pencils, and we sellotaped things back together again, it seems as if you're talking about the invention of fire. But, when I started, that what we did. And it was all that existed at the time. Digital technology hadn't come in. I mean, I was in Ballyfermot in 1992 until 1993, so they had no digital technology in Ballyfermot at that stage. It didn't really exist. So, it's from there to now, where you can press a button and source anything from anywhere in the world and play it instantly on air in a space of seconds. So, you know, it's one end of the scale to the other in terms of the physical technology. In terms of interacting with your audience, when I started in radio doing my first full time gig, I used to do a night time radio show. It was late night love songs. I was 19 at the time. I played love songs for 3 hours a night, and the only way the audience had of interacting with you was.. sorry there were 3 ways: It was either they rang a telephone, which you gave out the number, it was an option. No one ever rang. You might get 4 or 5 calls a night. They wrote you a letter, or, as happened once, they turned up at the front door and rang the doorbell of the radio station which was kind of creepy, particularly at half 11 at night. Em, particularly

when it was a woman, with a love gift for the presenter, who she obviously thought was at least 20 years older than I was. I pretended I was the guy who was just the runner on the show. She wasn't expecting me to be 19 so... Those were the only ways of interacting, that was it. Whereas now, people can see inside your heads instantly, immediately. There are 47 different ways of communicating with you, and em, for most of us who do this, it's a way of, we embrace as many of those ways as we can...."

R – "Again, sourcing content, you didn't. I mean, the only real world content you had was what you saw in newspapers, or magazines. Because you couldn't instantly access anything. By the time I got to 104 (fm104), in 1995ish, the internet was just becoming a thing. So, you could slowly watch websites scroll down line by line by line by line and it would take half an hour to.. So it was starting to become a thing. Whereas again, today, something can happen, can be published on the web at a minute to 2, and I can be talking about it 3 minutes later after the news bulletin, if I've got it open beside me, which I do. So, I.. It's amazing the way things then cycle slowly backwards in the opposite direction because, I'll do something today on the show that I'll have seen yesterday afternoon that maybe the morning radio shows didn't make it to, but I've done, and we've mentioned and talked about, which then will turn up in tomorrow morning's newspapers, which slower radio shows will talk about on their radio show. And sometimes I hear them and I go 'guys we did that yesterday, are you happy with that? OK you're happy with it, OK, fair enough'. So it creates those cycles, and it depends where you're sourcing your information from."

L – "Do you think it makes the information, a bit more disposable?"

R – "Oh everything is. I mean the only way stuff becomes noticeable for anyone is if it really pokes its head above the [indecipherable] and becomes something that's being talked about in quite a lot of places. There's so much stuff that gets flung out there and disappears and 8 people see it and it's gone. Totally. I think one of the great problems if you're doing a radio show and sourcing stuff today is information overloads. It's figuring out what works, what doesn't, what's relevant, what isn't, and what fits in with what you're supposed to be doing for a living."

L – “You’re a big fan of social media sites like you use twitter a lot..”

R – “I see them as a necessary evil.”

L – “Do you enjoy using them?”

R – “No. I enjoy using them but they’re a work tool. I don’t ever use social media outside of work hours. When I leave here in the evening that’s it, I don’t look at it again until I come back in the following morning. I have a very strong line that exists between real world, like, I don’t have a twitter account outside the one we use for work. I have a personal facebook account. I have 12 friends. I think the last time I actually posted anything on it was about 3 months ago. My interest in social media is purely work related. It doesn’t extend beyond that.”

L-“But, as a work tool..”

R – “It’s great.”

L – “There’s a lot of benefits to it. How do you find those now, especially in terms of your users and audience are right there, at your fingertips”.

R – “For what I do, it works 3 ways. One of which is, it’s just the new method of communication with you. Whereas people started by writing me letters and then text messages, emails came before that, so they could email you, and then the next thing along was text messages so they could text you. Now, using social media to contact you is the next wave along. In fact, we are seeing a fall off in people texting us as a radio show and obviously a constant increase in people using social media to talk to you. I throw everything out that we do on the show on Twitter everyday because it’s another way of getting some form of content back in for the show. So anything we talk about I mention there. I’m sure there are people who never hear the radio show and their only experience of it is seeing it on Twitter every day. However, there is an increasing number of people everyday who simply react on twitter the same way they would have with a text in the old days. So I won’t have mentioned something we’re doing on the show but I’m already getting responses on twitter because people see it as being the easier way to communicate with you as opposed to text messages. But it

works both ways, and it's a content source of course. So you've got to follow people, a lot of people, if you're using it for that, because it's almost like the Matrix. You look into it and you go, 'stop, I haven't seen that before, that might be really interesting', and you'll find something that no one else has but turns up two days later in the newspapers and hits their radio shows then. That's the way I use it. Not everybody does. But it's an invaluable content source, particularly I suppose when you've got news stories that are happening quite quickly, it's interesting to keep an eye on. Obviously, you don't believe everything you see or read until you have it confirmed elsewhere, but it's a way of seeing stuff and see, sometimes, take the other morning with the helicopter crashing in London. It's a way of seeing people standing in the street going 'look, oh my god, what has just happened', click picture, and it's something that you will get proper newspaper stories written about during the day, but you've just seen it. It happened 45 seconds ago, a guy took a picture, he put it there, it's here on my desktop here. It's mental."

L – “It is. I find it funny that the newspapers actually get it so much later, or you’ll see it on Sky an hour later.”

R – “Some newspapers are good at it, Irish newspapers are taking their time. You look at something like, obviously the Guardian is selling itself long on online content, on web content and on making sure that they're, to the point where they're doing their own live blogs during important events, simply because they know – twitter is the live blog – if something important is happening people will be just looking at it ...[indecipherable]...they're attempting to create their own official media version of that by doing live blogs. TheJournal.ie do it here as well all the time. RTE do it very rarely, but it's, print media are taking a while to catch up.”

L – “A lot of people say about print media, that it will, it's going to become obsolete and it might just be an all online format soon enough, where you'll find it on your iPad. Do you think radio could go the same way where it might eventually be all online?”

R – “Oh we're already there...”

L – “Yes we're online but it's still a balance between online and live [fm]”.

R – “I think there is a difference between print and us. Print relies on the print version of things to sell newspapers. To make money. They physically sell a copy. Somebody pays €1.85 and that money goes to them. With radio, it doesn't matter to us whether or not people listen to us through a radio in the corner, or whether they listen to us on the live stream on our website, or whether they're listening to us through to the app on the iPhone, because all that shows up at the end of the day in our JNLR figures, which is what is important for us to make money, is that people were listening to us. Were you listening to 2fm between 2 and 4.30 yesterday, yes, bang. It doesn't matter how you were listening to us. So, it's not like we rely on people to listen to us through a radio to make money. As long as they're listening to us it doesn't matter how they do it and we will continue to push ourselves onto every available platform. Because once people are listening to us, advertisers will continue to want to advertise with us. It doesn't matter what format they listen to us on.”

L – “Do you think that is one of the advantages of having an online stream, having mobile applications and stuff like that, is that people can access...you can have someone in Australia listening to you at like 10 at night?”

R – “I think there will come a point where broadcasting things over the radio waves will be as antiquated as using the electric telegraph, using morse code. It's not today or tomorrow but it will happen. Once you've got sufficiently fast 4G speeds, or universal wifi, you won't need a radio. It will be part of the device that are already in your house, be it a smart TV, be it your smartphone, be it a tablet device that you have. So, physical radios will become antiquated curiosities. But it won't be today or tomorrow, ultimately that has to happen, particularly once you get, you know, really fast either broadband speeds or once you get 4G or whatever 2 generations on from 4G is going to be so that you can be wandering around anywhere just in your device. That's where we're going.”

L – “RTE are really the only station in Ireland that has digital stations, in comparison to the UK where they have a few, and the US who have quite a lot...Why are RTE the only ones who have gone for it and why don't you think they push it?”

R – “It’s our responsibility. We have a legal responsibility to push out platforms in Digital radio, because we’re the national broadcaster. Under EU directives, the national broadcaster is the one responsible in each country to push out digital broadcasting both in terms of TV – saorview is ours as well – So we actually have a legal responsibility through TV and through radio to push out those platforms. No one else will do it, because it costs a lot of money. There’s no incentive for private broadcasters to do it and they won’t. I don’t know why we don’t push it more than we do. It does cost money, and as you know, these days, in here, money is everything. We are more financially tight than we have ever been at any point in our lives. Now I realise that’s pretty much the same for every company and every organisation..so therefore, I think digital broadcasting came here at a point just at the tailend of everything being hunky dory, and it’s almost existed in stasis since then. It exists on the goodwill of – we have a very small digital department, who are the ones who just keep everything running. They’re the guys who push everything together. But they’re a tiny number of people in comparison to the number of networks we have out there running and it relies sometimes on the goodwill of digital presenters who create radio for nothing..as almost all of us do. For those of us who work in RTE it’s now starting to be written into peoples’ contracts so that, you know, you create an hour of digital radio a week. That’s part of your contract, whereas it wouldn’t have been before. You don’t get anything extra for it, it’s simply another responsibility, and that’s the way it’s happened. Those people who don’t work in RTE it exists and relies on the goodwill of that. The only thing is that because there’s no advertising being taken in through it, nobody else really pays any attention to it. Nobody is going to come and say ‘well you’re taking in advertising money that’s part of our...’, so independent broadcasters don’t really care that they exist because they don’t show up in JNLRs and they’re not taking any advertising revenue from anyone. The thing is there’s a possibility that digital broadcasting in itself from a radio standpoint may just be leapfrogged.”

L – “That leads onto my next question...It’s a kind of go between FM and online and I always wonder if...”

R – “It has all the same problems and constraints as FM. I mean it has the same problems as FM, it just has slightly better audio quality so if people are going to abandon FM ultimately in droves...that’s going to happen for digital aswell.”

L – “Do you think, in terms of creating more interactive experience with radio, do you think there’s more that can be done online as a whole experience. Do you think radio kind of has to change itself – if you think of online sources now, a lot of big online music sources are sites like Spotify, Deezer where people can listen to whatever they want. They don’t have to listen to a DJ if they don’t want to. They just get their music on demand, whatever they want to listen to. Radio isn’t as big a presence online... a lot of people listen physically in their cars, in their kitchen or wherever. Do you think stuff could be done to make it more appealing, even in terms of web design, the way it’s set up, so that it’s more interactive, that they have everything??”

R – “Have you got an hour? That’s a big question! I’ll start with the last bit you just said. I think, and again just the opinion of someone who has done this for a really long time, I think we are not going to lose any more audience than we lost before when people had CD players, and when people had record players. I think if you want a stream of music that you’ve created yourself, the iPod has been around in everyones’ hand for the last 5+ years now. We should have seen radio disappear if in the last 5 years, whereas that hasn’t really happened. Radio audiences remain roughly stable. The overall percentage of people who listen to the radio everyday – I mean stations go up and down, and shows go up and down, but the number of people listening to radio stays roughly the same. I think those people who want to listen to continuous streams of music that they themselves have chosen, or that they themselves know and love, they’re always going to know that that exists and that spot is there. That’s not what we do. It’s not our strong point. Radio’s strong point is in doing a number of things; it’s in showing new music you’ve never heard before that you might like, but again that’s based on certain presenters whose tastes you know and trust. You listen to somebody because you know that they play the sort of stuff that you like and they’re going to give you something you’ve never heard before. There are still gatekeepers out there. You can say ‘well, sure I can just find that on youtube’ well best of luck with that, in the 800 million videos that were uploaded to Youtube today, which one

of them is going to be the one that you're going to like. There are still tastemakers and gatekeepers for those kinds of music. Now some of them, admittedly will be youtube channels who are run by people who you know and trust. Some of them are always going to be websites that you know and trust. Websites are increasingly becoming the gatekeepers for stuff like that. Whether it's Nialler 9, or whether it's goldenplec or whether it's whoever, or something that Jim Carroll has put up that people go 'Oh yeah that's pretty good, I like that yeah', there are still those people. Radio needs to remember what it's good at. Our job is primarily, pretty much, and I speak broadly, to do one or two things, which is to entertain or to inform. It depends who you are, where you work, it depends on what sort your show is. If you're on that side of the house, chances are your job is to inform, pretty much, usually. If you're on our side of the house, chances are your job is to entertain. And you've got to remember, the only way to survive in the long run is if people like who you are as a presenter, they like what you do, they like the kind of stuff that you find on the internet..because you again become a gate keeper for stuff on the web today as well. You become it, because you've made the effort to go and find stuff that they might necessarily have lost under the avalanche of absolutely everything. So, if people are looking for continuous streams of music, they've been around for a while now, and they know where to find them. If they're looking for either the presence of someone that they like.. – I mean when I listen to radio I listen to it for one or two things; which is either a sort of music that I like and I know I'm going to find somewhere and that I might be challenged by new things I've never heard before, or a presenter I like. Someone who I go 'hey, he's funny, I like him, he found that thing yesterday...[sic]'. So they engage. That's how we survive. We survive by doing that. I think the flipside of the coin then is that so many radio shows that are – sorry, really long answer – so many radio shows that are almost pinning themselves down with online and with interactive. There are radio shows that believe that every radio show has to be driven by online content. And they don't sometimes. Sometimes I hear certain radio shows and they're very good at what they do. But all they do is this avalanche of stuff people have said online, comments on what they've just done, and I'm going 'that's not your job. You're really good at what you do. Just be...' I'll give an example... there are news shows that I like very much. Hard news shows. Hard news shows that involve serious news stories, correspondence from around the world, experts who are very good and know the issues of the day. And then they read out a text from members of

the public saying what they think about it. I don't care about that. If I wanted that I'd listen to Joe Duffy, or I'd listen to the Adrian Kennedy show. I'm interested in hard news. You're very good at what you do, you're brilliant, at this, but because there is a compulsion for every radio show to feel like it is interacting and engaging with the audience and it's seeping into everything, and sometimes it shouldn't. For a lot of radio shows it should. Like what we do, we do nonsense everyday. I mean, my show I'll regularly admit is just bullshit. It's me and him (points to Cormac Battle) sitting down finding nonsense crap everyday, finding a few new tunes that we like the look of, and then we let 'them' (the audience), play with us. The whole nature, the whole raison d'etre of our show, is to find interesting things and then let people be the funny part of what you do. And we've loads of people on twitter, people in on text who say stuff that is more entertaining amusing and funny than you will ever come up with in a million years. You become a spotlight to allow them to entertain everyone else. But the job is still to entertain everyone. If you're not entertaining people when they switch on then they're just going to go 'yeah, whatever', because there are a lot of other options out there on radio and in the real world."

L – “Let’s say 10 years from now, how do you see the radio landscape here looking?”

R – “For radio, the core nub of everything will be the same. It will either be to inform or it will be to entertain, or it will be... the core reasons why we do all this and why people listen will remain the same. The ways you do it are going to be entirely radically different. Some places think that is simply by throwing yourself online as much as you can, by putting web cams in the studio, by making sure that every link is composed of stuff that people have just said to you online, which can be dull, sometimes. I think in 10 years time, if you'd said 10 years ago here's this little box it's going to be in our pockets, it's going to pretty much accommodate almost every other entertainment device that you have in your life; games consoles, the ability to phone, text, video, cameras, eh, you know, you can watch tv on it, you can listen to the radio on it, you can do things you couldn't possibly imagine before that. So trying to take that step 10 years into the future you will need a better person than me. I think...I don't even know if radio, will still exist. Audio services will but I don't know. Because there comes a point when if you can do – I suppose the question is,

why don't we do what we do here now as television.. – Why don't we do it with a visual element? Because it's expensive.”

L – “But if there's television involved, there's a certain conversion there. Does it still make it radio?”

R – “I think you have an over romanticised idea of what radio is. The only reason radio and Tv exist in two separate worlds is radio has always been cheap. You need a microphone, you need a little bit of tech, and there's no whistles and bells about it, and quite a lot of the time you need one person to run it. For most radio shows, outside of big primetime shows, where you have program teams, you only need one person to run it. You go from watching the simplest of tv shows being made over there and there are 8 people behind the scenes. The production staff, you've two camera crews, you've 4 people in the gallery upstairs...Imagine you could do all that with one person. And there will come a point where you will be able to do all that with maybe one, two people, because the technology will be so cheap and incredibly simple. Why only have audio when I can have pictures too. Why not do it all in one lump. It will still be incredibly expensive visual...you need a lot of money to make Downton Abbey, but there will be incredibly cheap ways of doing it. Even look at what they do on the Adrian Kennedy show. The Adrian Kennedy show for the past few years, bless I used to work in 104, I was on before Adrian every night for 5 and a half years. So, even now for the past few years, on city channel, they've had cameras in the studio, so you get to watch them. Now it's dull as fuck, and I've no idea why anyone would want to watch someone do a radio show. Anytime that's suggested to me, putting cameras in down here, I've gone 'why? It's so dull'. All you have to do is see somebody sitting...If you watched me for the whole show, you'd see me sitting, you'd see me drinking coffee, you'd see me on the internet. How dull is that as an idea??”. I can understand for special or specific events. If you have One Direction in the studio it's a very good reason to have a camera in absolutely, off you go. But for the rest of the time it's extremely dull. But that doesn't mean it doesn't exist already out there. It's just a tv channel has made the effort to put the cameras in. There will come a point where everybody will be able to do that cheaply. I don't know beyond that, radio as radio, will people still have radios...other than old fashioned versions. Like the analogue radio signal is going to be switched off. The same with the TV

signal has. It just hasn't happened yet. And the only question then will remain then whether or not people will be listening to us through digital radios, I don't know, or whether or not they will be listening through their mobile devices or through whatever device they have that enables them to hear us through the web."

L – “Bit of a nostalgia question. When you were young, growing up, do you remember radio being a big thing in your house. Do you remember it as something you listened to a lot? Were there shows you would've listened in for?”

R – “I have memories, obviously, of the Gay Byrne show being on on Radio 1. Now that has to have been at points when I wasn't in school because it was mid morning. So maybe it was holidays or it was maybe...That's the only time I remember that...Shy of that, I think I only really properly started listening to radio when I got into music. And I only got into music kind of properly when I was about 14/15. So then I started listening to, instead of going home that night, and doing my homework, watching telly or reading books, or playing with my incredibly primitive console at the time, I would be the one who would go home, do my homework and then go up and listen to the radio. My real radio listening experience started to exist from about the time I was maybe 12/13, maybe I'm pushing it back a little bit, and then I would listen to night time radio. I would listen to night time radio here [RTE] or I would listen to stations in Dublin, the pirate stations that still existed before they closed down in '88. My real frame of reference is only from there. If you're 7,8,9 years old, maybe you hear radio in the car on the way to school with your mum, but if it's not, after that, usually most households don't have the radio on at night at home. Usually it's the Tv is on while dinner is being made. So probably not before that time. Then after that, yeah. But even these days, I don't really listen to the radio, horrifying admission given that this is what I do for a living. I hear a little bit in the car on the way in in the morning. I hear maybe half an hour 45 mins. Don't ever hear it at home at night ever, aside from specific evenings. At the weekend, it's on but I listen to Lyric. When I'm at home in the morning making breakfast I listen to Morning Ireland, I listen to Lyric at the weekends. I don't really hear pop music radio ever, because I hear a lot of it here. I hear a lot of pop music. I don't want to hear more Taylor Swift, it's been a pleasure, I've heard a lot of her today, so I've had enough. So I'm not the best person to ask about radio listening these days.”

L – “So you wouldn’t be seeking a show out specifically?”

R - “You know I hear Morning Ireland because I need the news. I listen specifically in the morning in the car to Ian Demspey and Ray D’arcy. I’ll hear about an hour of Ian and about half hour of Ray. It’s great because it means I can go at the meeting ‘they did that this morning, we’re not doing it’. It’s easy enough to do here, because I can check back through what was done on the shows before us today. But in terms of the other major national stations I’ll be able to go ‘no, they did that first thing this morning on the Ray D’arcy show so therefore it’s out’. There’s no point in us talking about it at 2 o’clock in the afternoon if it’s been dealt with by him at 9 o’clock in the morning. You’ve probably seen from some of this that i’ve like an obsessive relationship with the nature of trying not to replicate things that other people have done.”

L – “It’s done a lot”.

R – “It is. And it’s because there are a lot of lazy people out there. People who don’t even do something as simple as when they see a story online, looking at the date on it, and the time, and realising that that, even though you’ve just seen somebody tweet that story, that story was in fact put up on that website 3 days ago. It could have been mangled by 18 radio shows that your audience listens to at that stage and you’re just going to sound like you’re not really paying attention. I don’t think it’s a big priority for some people, but for me it is because everything becomes more media adamant to stay relevant. You kind of need to try and be one step ahead of everybody. It’s not always doable anyway, but if the effort is there, then yeah...”

Appendix B

Interview with Former Head of Digital Radio in RTE, Ian Wilson

Recorded Tuesday 22 January 2013

I = Ian Wilson

L = Louise Noone

I – “I’m Ian Wilson and I’m a radio producer in RTE. At the moment I do rural and agricultural programmes, but I have been involved in music production largely and also in the digital on and off for the last 30 years in Digital online projects.”

L – “How long altogether have you been working in radio. What’s your radio background?”

I – “33...35 years maybe I suppose, and 33 years in RTE.”

L – “That all behind the scenes or...”

I – “No I presented occasionally. Certainly when I was on pirate radio I presented. In fact I presented a programme with In Dublin magazine at the time. And the co-host included Gerry Ryan, and Declan Meehan. All of which are recently famous Irish broadcasters.”

L – “Do you think, since you started up to now, do you think radio very different maybe in the way it’s produced, in the way content is sourced? Or in the way presenters might interact with their listeners?”

I – Fundamentally, no it hasn’t changed because you’re basic principles in radio are...the basic types of radio haven’t changed. I mean there’s music radio, there’s speech radio, there’s news radio, there’s gossip radio. I guess the most fundamental change was when they started introducing phonecalls, and that was the first interactive thing. And since then the technology has changed but the way of dealing with it hasn’t changed really. The advantage of online technology and so on is that

you can get a lot of stuff much faster but that's just speeding up, that hasn't actually changed what goes on. What goes on in radio is a conversation, a lot of it is just a conversation with the public. Again, there are two types of radio: There are those that travel one way – because radio is pretty good at mass distribution, transmission, in other words, it takes a message or thing and sends it to a large number of people, and this is its big advantage. The fact is it's a cheap way of transmitting to a very large number of people and producing it for a large number of people moves it into the second area, which is where you're able to build a community. And one of the points about community is that they have to be talking about the same thing, otherwise they're not a community. Radio has the big advantage that it can generate that very easily. Whatever talk there is on online communities, I mean, they're pretty small compared to what you get on a programme like Liveline. That is..I mean, Liveline would have an audience of 200 something thousand daily. When you read that something is trending on twitter in Ireland, if you look it up you'll find 30 people have mentioned it. So let's get it in perspective what's going on. Mass media, broadcast media will always be very big, because it's so cheap to go from one point to a large number of people. All the other media, are much more difficult to get across to such a huge number of people. That may change, but at the moment the mass media like television, mass broadcasting, television, radio, dwarf anything that goes on in terms of communication or on the internet. When you talk of stuff going viral, you still have to remember, they get 2 million hits...it's a massive worldwide hit, that's the audience on a mediocre television programme in a medium sized European country in the middle of the week. That's one of hundreds of television programmes in that country, across the week. So we got to be a little bit smart about the way we do it. There are more people attending an average football game in Britain than will watch a viral video on the internet, you know?"

L – “Do you think that makes that information a bit more disposable?”

I – “Of course, of course. You'd be bonkers to take everything on the internet as truth. Cause it's not. Anymore than anything on the radio or the television is true, 'I read it in the newspaper ha ha ha ha ha', 'I saw it on the internet', you may as well say 'I saw it written on the toilet wall' a lot of the time for all the research and veracity that goes into it. In fact you'd probably get more truth from the average toilet wall than you will

on the internet. As I said, if you added up all the hits on all the, if you took, they run television programmes, top 50 items on the internet this week. If you added up all the hits on that, on all 50 they add up, that would be roughly the same as the attendance as say the English premier soccer on a Saturday. Perspective is what we need in this, and it will be a long time. That's not to say that.. if you want mass distribution, and big community, mass media, broadcast media still very finnick about it, for obvious reasons, cost per punter distributor is miniscule, cost of the internet is quite large to distribute. If you wanted to serve a large number of people on the internet, you'd pay for the number of streams you're putting out, so it's not dirt cheap, it's not free, somebody pays, lots of people pay. Usually it's people in the 3rd world that pay for our internet usage, or it's the people on little islands in the Pacific. Because everytime you make a hit on Google it uses energy and there's millions and millions of these. So the poor people in the South Pacific drowning in their island can thank us for our thought that there is no effect whatsoever in what goes on in, on the internet."

L – “You mentioned community there, obviously mass communication and radio broadcast, and in particular in Ireland we are one of the highest listeners of radio still today”.

I – “That is because of the community bit”.

L – “Do you think a)that community still exists and b) does it have to adapt to new ways of listening?”

I – “You don't need a radio to listen to the radio. The number of people listening online is still very small. I wouldn't discount it, but it's still probably, eh 3% of total radio audience. Even in a very sophisticated country like Britain with very very advanced media, and better broadband than we've had traditionally, it's still, the numbers listening online...the BBC figures, number of those listening online it's still around 5%”.

L – “Why do you think that is? Why do you think people stick to the more traditional means?”

I – “Because the internet is a pretty shit way to listen to radio! It’s very expensive, it’s not very good quality, and it’s available so widely cheaply and easily that it’s not going to compete. Anyway, the internet is not really for that kind of thing. It’s not really the way to do it. The internet does certain things very well. A good example – you were asking me about the DAB systems and how RTE developed digital radio services. The way that digital radio, DAB system was developed in RTE is a good example of not understanding the difference between broadcast media and internet way of doing it. If you’re broadcasting; radio and television to some extent deals in habits and people know what they’re getting at a certain time. They know that if they listen at a certain time they will get something. A classic example of this is formatted radio stations. You know if you tune into Spin or 98fm or Red in Cork or whatever. You know, roughly, like going into McDonalds, is the analogy, what you’re getting. It’s a burger. If you tune into these, you know exactly what you’re getting. And people listen on that basis. They don’t want to be surprised particularly, but they want to know, they want to be reassured by what’s happening. And on the other hand, the internet is an extremely good way of finding small niche things. Everyone knows the term the long tail effect. I hope your audience have heard of the long tail effect. Well the internet’s extremely good at doing that. It’s much better at doing that than at doing mass distribution. The radio and television, and conventional broadcast are very good at doing mass distribution, they are not good at providing niche products in small quantities to individuals. I mean the best example of that is the documentary on one on RTE Radio has on a weekly/monthly basis, has 100,000, 150,000 podcasts, now I doubt these figures, but they’re an indication, I don’t know how many online on demand listens. That far exceeds the number of people actually listening to it live. That’s a perfect example. Now they’ve got a big catalogue. It doesn’t break down what’s what, but their internet audience or demand, far exceeds their broadcast, because they’s a niche product that only goes out one hour a week or two hours a week at specific spots. One thing people will not do anymore, by in large, is to hunt out one hour of radio in one slot. They won’t do it. Unfortunately the idiots who set up the DAB system thought this was the way to do it. There was no thought whatsoever, it’s just a mish mash of any old programmes, of course, it failed. It breaks all the rules of radio. What I said to them before word go was ‘you really need to establish your models on the internet first, check out your radio programmes working. If you want to run a system like this, of one off isolated programmes without any

continuity whatsoever done by 50 different divisions on radio network, run it on the internet. Do not put this on radio. It's going to fail."

L - "Was DAB the go between, it was going to get leapfrogged"

I - "DAB is just a distribution system it doesn't define the programmes, the content the audience, anything".

L - "It could have easily just been hosted on the internet".

I - "Yes, it could have. I don't understand the rationale for it. DAB is just a technology. It doesn't describe programmes or content. The same processes exist in radio and most communications; what are we saying, who are we saying it to, and what is the most efficient way of us saying it to whoever we want to say it to? That's all there is. Anything else is irrelevant. Doesn't matter what the technology is. It can sending it in an envelope, it can be dropping a paper bag into someones house with a handwritten note. It doesn't matter. Who are you talking to, what have you got to say? And what goes in between is a technological or logistical matter and it's irrelevant largely. The problem is, we end up with, in a place like RTE, with its institutions and heavy benefits, emphasis on engineering and infrastructure, nuts and bolts which people can understand. Whereas concepts like audiences and programme content and stuff like that is all airy fairy arty shit that accountants and engineers can't understand. So they get fixated on the technology. The internet. DAB."

L - "It's all quite separate. In RTE everything is in it's own little box, where realistically there is a lot of convergence going on across these things."

I - "Oh tell me about, it's all about empires and management structures and people keeping jobs. Now hopefully that will break down but fundamentally you must...The only digital station, DAB station which worked in any extent to work was Gold. Gold does precisely what it does on the tin. It has two things going for it; It's crystal clear what it does. There is no doubt what it does. Turn it on any time of the day and you get the same thing. The second thing was it benefited from having the only digital station with a full time experienced professional radio producer who knows the game inside out. He set out to do something very simple and he did it. End of story. All the

other stations set out to do something that wasn't at all clear and they all failed. They will always fail. The idea that a technology is going to attract people is fantasy. It's all about content. Unless you invest in the programmes and the content, and you've a good reason to invest in the programmes and the content, these systems will not work."

L – “If money wasn't an object and you had those collection of stations, they didn't have to be DAB, what would be your way of bringing them forward?”

I – “The mix of stations is probably right in terms of... What you is, if you're going to do it...again, RTE hasn't handled its complementarity if you like of its radio stations very well. The amazing thing is that the BBC in a population of 60 something million have only 5 national stations and hold about 50 something percent of the national market share. RTE with a population of 4 million has 4 national stations and has a declining marketshare and it's below, it's about 43%. This is not a matter of – The standard RTE answer is budgets and blah, but horseshit. The BBC are crystal clear about the role of their stations, the demographic breakdown of their stations and what audiences they're serving. RTE has never been clear on what it does with its stations, what the age groups, the demographic target of them are. they haven't a clue, it's never been clarified, they overlap all over the place. The BBC has a very clear music policy as to what, where music fits in to its programming and how music defines – music is a big audience definer on radio. It tends to define. It's the single most important defining point in terms of radio content. It telegraphes very clearly what audience and what image your station has. RTE does not have any music policy whatsoever. It has never articulated music policy, despite frequent requests. There is no clarity as to what music is aimed to what audience on what station. It's all over the place. What the BBC have done in fairness is, and they've made a lot of mistakes in this, but they've invested very heavily, and they've been part of a whole government wide co-ordinated digital broadcast strategy. The BBC and the broadcast charter DAB nearly 20 years ago now. And they have invested very heavily in it, and the private sector have invested very heavily in it and they've had a co-ordinated strategy. The BBC rolled out digital terrestrial television, DTT, freeview they call it, 15 years ago, and closed down all transmitters 18monthes ago, two years ago, they closed all the transmitters down. RTE did it in a rush. Entirely the fault of government. Utter and

total incompetence by successive governments. Ridiculous incompetence by successive governments on digital terrestrial television. And RTE was forced to roll it out in about less than two years. And close the damn thing down. They did an extraordinary job considering the hand they were dealt, it was an appalling mess. Unfortunately that became the priority. The DAB bit preceded it but it wasn't thought out how to do it at all. I don't know what the rationale was for setting out the DAB was at all to be perfectly honest, because I don't know what role they serve and they're not clear. And what you need to do as in the BBC. If you look at the BBC networks, their DAB networks...I've explained this all to them [RTE] at some length, but I'm not involved anymore...they have if you like a mother station. Say now, BBC 4 has BBC 4 Xtra, which adds on extra services, 5 Live has 5 Live Xtra, and so on. And then on their music services, if you take the spectrum of what they're doing on their music services. The younger more urban end is BBC Radio 1 Xtra, then you've got BBC Radio 1, then you have 6 music, the more adult rocky kind of bit which fits neatly between Radio 1s older audience and Radio 2. And then they have BBC 3 which does their classical music and they have an opt out in that. That is if you ask me, a perfectly rational model of how...and they have the same, practically the same amount of channels as RTE has.”

L – “And for a much bigger audience”

I – “And they serve that audience extremely well. I think in terms of what they do. They decided if your going to run digital channels they better invest in them, otherwise don't bother. My attitude is that if they don't invest in them, just close them, either close them down and save the electricity or just put jukeboxes on. There's no point unless you can generate genuine content that's of interest. It's not hospital radio system, which is all it is at the minute in large part. With all respect to you, it's just nonsensical. There are ways to do it. A simple one is if you want to run a system like this which is amenable to the internet, you better have a media player that works. The RTE Radio Player is a disgrace. It's a disgrace for how much they've spent on it, it's a shambles. So you have a DAB system which is only available to 60% of the population, and you have an online system, radio player which is an appalling thing to try and use. It's clunky, bad, the search engine on it is horrendous. You've used it? The search engine is ridiculously bad. Then on top of it they have

apps available for mobile devices but guess what you can't do on the apps? You can't listen back. You only have live streams. I think if you were to sit down and design a system to fail, I think, I would have designed that system. I would have sat down and said 'right how do we design a system here that is not going to work?'

L – “Each bit is done separately rather than having an entirely integrated...

I - “No integration at all..”

L – “Same I suppose for websites and what not. Like you were saying about BBC being very integrated, if you were on BBC radio 1 website, you can go onto 1 Xtra from there...”

I – “The webstrategy in RTE...it's very unfortunate because RTE was the first...radio 2/2fm was the first radio station in Ireland on the web. 3 years before RTE decided to work up a website. I was streaming video from live events in 96, 97, 98. We were streaming on a Europe wide basis. We did a hop across Europe during the EBU, or from dance events, streaming video covering dance events. We went from Brussels, Rome, wherever, and we did this fairly seamlessly with video sources coming from each of these and did a whole Europe wide radio and video. And that was 97. We were streaming produced video and audiences shot from dance events up until about 2001. This was pioneering stuff, but we were doing this with extreme resistance from RTE, who didn't see what the point of all this was. The stuff we did on a Europe wide basis we did without any involvement of RTE by in large because it was too much hassle. I had got commercial sponsors in and did it with Eircom at the time, and just fed it, but I didn't use the RTE servers because there was just too much. And all the stuff we do from events, and we've been doing multi media packages, multimedia broadcasting from events for 10/12 years now. We're way way way ahead of... Until 5 years ago RTE did not have a licence to broadcast on demand music over the internet. They didn't see the purpose of it. I remember having flaming rows with some of the people. Really vicious rows...They were saying 'what would we want to put music on demand listen on the internet? We have a licence that allows us to stream our broadcast content live, why would anyone want to listen back to music? Why would we bother, it's not worth it'. And that's what you're dealing with in here.

Absolute..it may have changed now, but absolute and total lack of comprehension of what was going on on the Internet and the web. And we weren't doing interactive, there was no, the more pioneering people were doing their own websites, running their own facebook and social media things, and they were essentially told to stop doing it. And some more forward people arrived in and said 'we should really have the rights to this, we should put this together' but I mean we were two years too late on all that stuff. We don't exploit it properly. Stations like Spin have far more people on facebook in the Dublin area than any of RTEs radio stations do. And that's because they understand how it works. A series of cock ups were made. Introduction of a very bad website, a very expensive, very bad website was introduced for 2FM. The other websites which were built internally were shagging terribly difficult to use. They built a content management system internally which was a, I mean Jesus Christ, I haven't used it, but, talk about head wreck. Almost impossible until recently to put up a piece of music for on demand listening via the RTE, or a piece of audio music for on demand listening or break out programme content. Unless you've made it a podcast, which you can do with music pieces, impossible. I kept saying to them, podcast is a concept that goes back to the days of dial up internet, we are now in the days of streamed media. ...”

L – “Where people want those bite size things”

I – “Yes, and they don't want to record them. They want to listen to them online and that's the way it's going and Youtube capitalized on that, and if Youtube relied on people downloading stuff it would never have taken off. It relied on live streaming. All RTE web systems and audio systems were based on podcast. Which is of [bad] quality. I mean 45/60K mono. Apalling quality. And the whole thing was ridiculous. To put a file up to stream on demand stream was almost impossible in here. Now that is changing now and we can do that in the new systems, [they] enable you to stream items relatively easily and you can now do something much more sane about it, but the whole things a joke. It would be better off, in many ways, in a place like this to know absolutely nothing, and pretend the internet never existed, and you'd be supremely happy with what we do.”

L – “Realistically, radio landscape has changed, there’s online streaming, you can listen on your phone, there’s a lot of different technologies going on. I guess 10 years ago, people wouldn’t have thought there would be a device where you can basically access all information. 10 years from now, where....”

I – “Don’t know. Nobody knows. Nobody has a clue. Anyone who tells you they know what’s going on is a complete idiot. Nobody has a notion of what’s going to happen. They can’t. Because there are so many factors. I do think that, a personal prediction is that I think broadcast television is more of a problem than broadcast radio, for a very simple reason that broadcast radio is a live medium. Broadcast television is a recorded medium. And with the advent of the internet, people are not prepared to wait anymore for scheduled stuff and they want it now. So, I may be wrong on this but, I think broadcast television has much more problems than broadcast radio. Because radio, it’s live, it’s current, it’s cheap, it’s live, it’s instant. You can tie it to the social media much better. Radio can because it’s liveness can interact with social media far faster. And social media can be regarded in two ways; one is that it can be regarded as a very efficient way to send information out. It can also reinforce your communities. Whether you want to build...Radio broadcast operations don’t particularly want to build a community for the sake of community. They want to build a community around their programme and their content. It’s the sort of watercooler – what a cliché – moment. The thing that people talk about. Radio is quite good at defining that. I mean, you can interplay quite well with, they can interplay very well with social media and so on, but as I said, there are different roles for stuff, and I don’t think the internet will take over as mass broadcast. It’s just too expensive at the moment, and it’s just too patchy. There are interesting things going on, straws in the wind. The one I find very bizarre is that an iPhone doesn’t have any kind of radio tuner. Now I’m told by the geeks that it’s actually in there, but they won’t activate it.”

L – “Android do..”

I – “The interesting thing about that is that this is under pressure from the telecomms companies, the internet service providers, the ISPs, because they would see this...see the ISPs subsidise phones very heavily. If you buy your vodafone or whatever it is, you’re paying nothing for the phone, virtually. Now, I’ll give you an idea of how

much money they're making, they expect to get the pay back. You pay €50 or nothing, that phone is worth €600 or something. They know they will make that money back probably in a year, and make a profit on it. And they're not giving you a bargain, it's a loan, that's the best it is. You pay it back pretty quick because we pay very high mobile telephony charges in Ireland. Very high, I think we're totally ripped off. And being the gullible eijits we are, not only are we paying the highest, we then talk the most. Which is kind of bizarre, ah rip me off more! And they deliberately have made sure, now it's not said, it's kind of conspiracy, but they don't want direct receive broadcast systems built in where there would be DAB or FM radios, they want people eating data. An hour of radio. You can't listen to radio too long on the internet. All this all you can eat data my hole. If you spend 10 hours a day listening to radio, you'd have your data allowance shot. They'd say *makes cutting sound** this goes beyond fair usage, because it takes about 45mb an hour to listen to radio. You'll soon eat up your data allowances in a week, and they like that. There is an artificial we're going through. Increasingly these devices will do everything, there's no doubt. Mobile devices will increasingly, they will receive...And there are others, I don't know if you've heard of this radio DNS business which is – I don't know whether it will work or not..It's an interesting project..DNS, domain name system. It's the basic set of naming conventions for receipt points along the internet. And they've got this project that is to harness digital broadcast radio/television with internet. Whereby you've got a series of protocols. The common one, samsung are going to roll out, there's a number static sets at home you can get which can do it. Basically it has a small video screen on it, and it takes whatever content is coming from broadcast and it either displays the text data or the video data on the screen. Either by direct broadcast or by linking to the internet stream from the station. So if you text a radio station or broadcast operation with this particular service. What it will do, it will pick it up first on the internet. It will then detect whether it has a direct broadcast signal (dab/fm). It will then take the audio and/or video from that direct broadcast system and it will carry the associated web data which is not coming direct over the broadcast on it. It will also allow another level of interactivity. Push button or touch screen interactivity, via the internet back to the broadcaster. It's called hybrid radio, or radio DNS. It's been experimented with a bit, it's an interesting idea, now it's done by the public broadcasters who have invested interest in DBU and public broadcasters who are very good at technology and this, and they came up with the DAB, the Eureka

project, and they rolled it out thinking ‘whoa, we’ve got the price, future of radio’, and it went into the dust. It’s only 20 years later that it’s really starting to take off again. With the exception of a few countries like Britain, DAB failed miserably. It failed miserably because it didn’t do the one thing it had to do; provide choice. It didn’t provide choice, it just provided sparkly new technology. Every house in the world or in Europe has 7 or 8 FM radios. Throw them all in the bin. Immediately. Buy a new system because eh...it looks nicer, it sounds nicer. People don’t [care] how something sounds they just want it there. That’s just the way it works.”

Appendix C

Interview with Phantom FM Founder/Former Station Manager

Simon Maher

Recorded Friday 1st February 2013

S = Simon Maher

L = Louise Noone

S – “My name is Simon Maher. I used to be general manager of Phantom [fm] from back in its pirate days up until 2010, and I work now as a teacher of media in Ballyfermot college.”

L – “How long ago did you get into radio. Was it something you kind of fell into or..”

S – “Back in the day, I was a tech nerd. I was really interested in the technology, wires, all that sort of stuff. And then as time went on, I really started getting much more into music and then I was always trying to find, what kind of fits both of those things; typical nerd and music fan, and radio sort of came naturally from there. So I would have started doing radio probably 15/16 years ago now.”

L – “How did it all come together then. There are lots of conflicting stories about how Phantom started up.”

S – “Well the way it worked is I had a radio station in the back of my house for about 4 years called Coast FM, around 92 to 96. And there was about, particularly in the last year, around 95, there were a few of us who met up who were either in bands, or working on radio like I was, or DJing in clubs or whatever it was, and we said ‘look we’d like to do something a bit more organised. Coast was great fun, but it was utterly schizophrenic. It would be like, we’d be on and playing sort of rocky music and other people would be on and they’d be playing you know, the Corrs and whatever. So we said ‘Ok. Let’s see what we can do’. So we went and we rented a pile of equipment and we started the station from there called Spectrum. Spectrum ran for a year from a

garden shed up in Sandyford that we rented with all the gear and everything in it. And it eventually came to an end, and we said ‘right OK, we better work out are we actually serious about this.’ So we decided OK yes we were. I think Spectrum went on for about 10 or 11 months, but it was great fun, but it was costing us all money and there wasn’t any particular point to it. So we sat down to plan Phantom then. We said ‘OK well let’s see what we can do, can we make this a little bit more serious?’. So that’s when we put Phantom together, back in the same garden shed again, but this time with a more organised...like we put people in charge of things. So that’s where Phantom came from. So Phantom would have started...I’m going to say late 97, early 98...winter of 97.”

L – “What was the situation with other stations, other existing commercial stations. What had driven you to make a station with such an opposing identity.”

S – “At the time you just really had FM104 and 98FM. And they were very very similar back in those days, and I suppose Radio Ireland had started in 97/98 as well, around about a similar sort of time. But you had nothing like Q102 or Spin or Newstalk or any of those stations, [they] didn’t come about until two or three years later. So we thought OK, there seems to be a big yawning gap here, you know, and there’s nothing that we want to listen to bar listening to maybe Fanning still on 2fm, and the early days of Radio Ireland. So it would have been John Kelly, he would have been on very early. He would have been on 7 to 10, at the very very early days, and Tom Dunne hadn’t even started then, he may have still been on 98FM at that stage. There wasn’t a huge amount. So we decided OK let’s try this and see what happens.”

L – “Pirate radio in general, there is an associated community with it. There were no commercial stations until the 80s on radio here. Did you find that with your station, there was this inherent community?”

S – “I think so. From running Coast for the previous few years, we got to know a lot of the other station operators around the place. And you had people with very very different motivations; because a lot of those mid 1990’s pirates would have been dance stations. You would have gotten a lot of rave, a lot of that type of stuff, so they had a very much a DJ and promoter ethos about them, and then you had other stations

that were much more sort of 'radio' people based. But I think we would have gravitated towards the radio based people, and a few of the other musical nerds as well."

L – “In terms of listeners then, when did you know that this is going to be something bigger than the garden shed?”

S – “This is not the first time I’ve been asked that. We were on with Phantom for about 4 months, and we have been waiting to get a telephone line connected into the place. We got a telephone line connected in, I’d say March/April ’98, there, thereabouts. We got connected one Friday, went on that Friday, whoever the DJ was on the Friday evening gave out the number ‘2950100’ and suddenly the phone started ringing, all the time. It was like OK. It’s not just us and our families who are listening to this. There’s actual punters out there. You’d be going to gigs and people would say to you ‘I heard Brando, or the Frames, or whatever it was, and I heard them on a station called Phantom’, and you’d be there tittering behind your hand ‘Oh I know what that is’. When we started to get that was when we started to realise right OK this is starting to make a bit of a splash. Once again, it was among a certain group of people. So the majority of listeners FM104, 98, whatever, would be blissfully unaware of it. But for people who were gig go-ers or music fans or whatever it was. Word travelled very fast among them.”

L – “When you finally got the commercial licence, what changed. There had to be changes, you’re turning into a money making machine rather than [a pirate station]. Do you think the whole gatekeeper attitude still existed?”

S – “We went through licence application in ’99, 2001, and again in 2004 which was when we eventually got it. I think by 2003 we were kind of top of our game. I think we knew what we were at, and it’s something that I think is underappreciated in radio, we were very confident musically. We’d be willing to go OK nobody has every heard of this band let’s stick it out there, let’s give it a shot. Sometimes it worked, sometimes it didn’t, and if it didn’t it was water off a ducks back, you couldn’t care because you just moved on and put on the next track. When we got to the licence version of Phantom in 2006, we were probably...we spent so much time worrying

about paying the bills and making sure that the business operated, that we didn't have the same confidence that would have had before when it came to the musical side of things. We definitely aired on the side of caution. It probably took us about a year to cop on and realise that we were being too cautious, but once we were really up and running, [we] had about two years then where were blissfully uncautious about it, where we were absolutely willing to try stuff, and it was working an awful lot of the time. Then as things got that little bit tougher, and I think we started to get more pressure from the board and the directors and all that sort of stuff, the confidence dwindled, very much so, to the point where you were just taking the safe avenue. If you had a choice of playing 'Billy and the Unknowns', or 'Oasis', you'd play Oasis. That was, in hindsight, 20/20 vision and all that stuff, that was a ginormous mistake, huge mistake."

L – “The whole notion of radio as a gatekeeper for music doesn't really exist anymore. It would have been quite important to you at that time to maintain that image. A lot of stations aren't [gatekeepers]. There are shows that are but not stations”.

S – “Absolutely, yeah. That would have been very important to us. I think it was the first major ball that we dropped. More than anything else. We had people coming to us saying 'look, you've done auditorium research, you know, see what songs test well and just play them'. You get people saying 'just play the hits', all that sort of stuff, and we thought, OK this is the safe bet. Let's do this. Stabilize it and we can return back to our gatekeeping ways. But I think once we relinquished that, it is very very hard to get it back. I still think radio can do a good job of being that gatekeeper. It's not the only one anymore, because people have access to so much more, but even still...I subscribe to a lot of channels on Spotify, or on Deezer, or even on Youtube or whatever. But there will be hundreds and hundreds of songs. I'm still delighted when something like 6Music(BBC Digital) I put on and I'll hear a track, Lauren Laverne will play a song, and I'll think that's really good. I won't have a rashers who it is but radio is still that gatekeeper, it still has the potential to do that. It's still the thing that will bring people back and Phantom lost the ability to do that.”

L – “I guess they have to commit to really putting themselves out there, to go for something like that [gatekeeping, no playlisting]. It’s quite difficult though, there’s such a corporate feel to a lot of stations. Do you find now once it went commercial, and you had the corporate overlooking everything, did you have different feedback from listeners, maybe the original listeners of the day”.

S – “Yeah. I remember I was getting text messages from the first day that licenced Phantom 2006, and it was people saying ‘Oh you’ve sold out now to the man. Denis Desmond now controls everything’. They’re always going to be like that. It’s always going to be there. But, we figured ‘look, OK, we don’t actually give a shite what somebody like that says so long as we keep putting out the music, then people will be happy’. In fairness to a great extent they were, but I think where Phantom ran into its main struggle wasn’t necessarily with the haters. The haters were never the problem. The problem we ran into, particularly more than ever in the last two years is that people didn’t care. The haters you can talk around, because they’re saying something because they care about something. But if people reach a point where they don’t care then you’re in trouble. How do you make people care again. That’s the real real struggle. I suppose, in the sense of use operating Phantom in the corporate world, we should have been an awful lot stronger, and said, ‘look Denis, Paul, whoever it is, we know this act might not be playing yet in insert Oxegen, Croke Park, wherever, here, but we think they good enough, so, thanks very much’.”

L – “Do you think those problems still exist now? They’ve put a lot of changes into Phantom in the last two years. Have they solved any of them?”

S – “No. I don’t feel good about saying. It’s one of those things. I think the problems very much still exist. I think there is a belief from the people that own and operate, not necessarily the staff, but in terms of the people who own and operate the station, that the music is not enough. You need to be something else. You need to be zany, or mad cap or whatever it is you know. It needs to be about other things other than the music. And, it doesn’t. It absolutely doesn’t. But you have to have absolute belief in the music, and if you’ve no – and this is coming from the owner/operator perspective – if you’ve no particular interest or no particular ownership of the music or any of that stuff, a knowledge of it, you are never going to think it’s enough. That’s where 5

years ago we needed to be saying ‘no, it is about the music,’ and very very definitely now. I think the fact that the station in the last, when the last ratings came out had its lowest audience level ever is that people will tune in rather than hear a song they may not know, followed by a song they really do know and like, instead they’ll hear some guy honking a car horn or...that’s the kind of stuff that’s going to make people be like ‘you know, I just won’t bother’.”

L – “I guess they have 6 other stations that do that already that they can listen to...”

S – “Or not radio at all. That’s an awful, significant part of the problem is people just kind of go ‘no [makes switching off motion]’. I teach radio students, and I remember trying to say this at a Phantom board meeting back in the day, is that the risk that we have is that my radio students who are just a sample, just won’t listen to radio. I see it this year, I asked my first years ‘how many of you have a radio in the kitchen’, and 3,4 of them. They all listen to music and radio to something, but they don’t necessarily have a radio anymore. That’s a big change.”

L – “You said there, so many younger people, they don’t even have radios anymore. There are so many new devices now; there are online devices, your phone basically encapsulates every bit of information you are going to need. Do you think radio has to change to adapt to those? The internet is so vast, there’s a lot of competition. There is online streaming of radio, but it’s still not the most listened to way that people listen to the radio. In the future, it’s kind of inevitable that things are going to take a more digital direction. What do you think radio can do to adapt to that?”

S – “I think for quite a lot of radio, it’s not going to make that much of a difference. It’s just going to be platform dependent. It may now be that you listen to FM104 on an iPhone, or on internet radio or whatever it is. But the content will pretty much remain the same. It’s the stations that don’t fit into that all size fits one mode. They’re the stations that really really have to adapt. I find it surprising that they haven’t, that they don’t see it. Obviously look at a station like Phantom, look at XFM in London. A prime example of a station has no idea what’s happened. It was there it was a very

successful credible indie brand radio station that people loved, and then people just stopped loving it, and they figured OK what will we do, OK we need to make it more mainstream, so they made it more mainstream. Then the people who just only disliked it for a while then didn't care anymore, so it left their existence. It wouldn't have mattered if that was on an iPhone. Platform wise, people don't care. I read a very interesting article from the guy who designed the UK Radio Player. It's a thing that they have where all the UK radio stations got together and said 'look, if people are going to be listening to radio on the internet or whatever, they might as well use this UK radio player, because then we can control the stations that are on'. So all the stations signed up. People download this thing. It's on the freeview box and everything, so it's there and it's an outlet for it. He did an article where showing a wooden box he had cut out, and it's got 6 buttons on the front, like car radios, kitchen radios the six presets that they have. He was saying 'people spend so much time obsessing about platform', and he said 'look, the way I've designed this box is that preset 1 for me is BBC Radio 4', in his example. The majority of people, they don't care what they're listening to it on; fm, longwave, internet, whatever it is. I want the stuff that BBC 4 brings me. I want the stuff that 6music, XFM, whatever it is brings me. Radio stations, particularly sort of niche stations have to be able to be...'what is this going to make me...not just that preset 4 is alternative rock music for example, or that it's country music or whatever, but that it's Phantom's brand of, or XFM's brand of, because I have a loyalty towards them, because they give me something that the internet doesn't."

L – “It really does have to be more niche. I know from digital radio that they’re constantly saying if digital radio is to be successful it is the niche things that work, for example RTE and their Documentary on One show on Radio 1. That has more online views [listens] than any other radio show in Ireland, because everyone listens online. It’s made for online. Lot’s of people listen live, but more people look for it individually online”.

S – “And it’s not just that they’re looking for documentaries. They’re looking for Documentary on One documentaries. That’s the thing where so many stations have slipped up. When you look at the likes of Indie 103 in the states or XFM or Phantom, they’ve missed out on the idea that it’s not just that the music is there. You can go

anywhere on the internet and listen to Foo Fighters. There's a thousand different outlets. You need to make people go; 'OK I want to hear Foo Fighters. I'm not going to KROCK in the states, I'm not going to XFM in London, I'm going to Phantom in Dublin, because there's something else. Whatever that something else is. In my ballistic view is that that something else has to be OK I'm going to hear Foo Fighters, but then I'm going to hear something very new. Something I did not know about, but something relevant to me, I'm the gatekeeper of that. I can now go tell my mates 'I just hear 'blah' on Phantom', and then they will go and search it out, and then suddenly people will want to go to Phantom. So Phantom is one of the things on that wooden box, it's one of those presets. But it has to matter to people, and if it doesn't matter, it's pointless. You can throw whatever money, whatever zanyness you want at it, whatever promotion you want at it, but it's not going to make a lick of difference."

L – “You teach radio students, and they’re the next generation of budding radio presenters. Do you think they, or even the generation below them might have a better impact on that? A lot of radio stations, especially national stations, are actually run by an older generation. They don’t know anything about that. The only thing to do is hope the younger generation can come into it for that to happen”.

S – “Theoretically yeah, but you would wonder would it be a bit late at that stage. If it takes ten years for them to work their way up the management chain, is it too late. Will people have just left – not the people who listen to 104 and 98, they’re going to be there anyway, but let’s say there’s 15% of a niche available that covers everything else. If those 15% of people have left radio at that stage, it could be too late for it. There’s potential, there really is a great potential for it there, and people know how to produce good content. I look at the people who would be in the big radio, the UTV, the communicorps all that sort of stuff. They may not necessarily know much about digital but it’s not about knowing about digital. When I started radio 20 years ago I was working on a station that played love songs. The cheesiest love songs in the world. But people tuned in because it was a radio station that played cheesy love songs and there was no great secret to it. So that hasn’t changed. They would say ‘oh yeah I like whatever Jeffrey Osbourne, or Mariah Carey, and I like the fact that Louise plays that for me at night time, and there it is’ so therefore that’s the preset.

That hasn't changed. It's odd that even the people who would be senior in those companies now don't get that. They still have to come back to the simple notion of what it is."