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The Effect of Management and Policy Change on the Diversity of Output Broadcast by BBC Radio One and BBC 1xtra between 2000-2004

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The Effect of Management and Policy Change on the Diversity of Output Broadcast By BBC Radio One and BBC 1xtra Between 2000-2004.

Submitted in partial fulfillment for the degree of Masters of Arts in Arts and Culture Management at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Supervisor: Dr Lara Allen
Home School: Humanities

DECLARATION

I declare that this research is my own, unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfillment for the degree of Masters of Arts in Arts and Culture Management at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

……

Lisa Moult

The …… day of ……. 2005

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ABSTRACT

British broadcasting has undergone significant change in recent years, as the nation prepares to switch from analogue to digital broadcasting. This process has already begun, with the full switch over to the digital platform scheduled in Britain for 2012. Appropriately, at the forefront of the development of digital broadcasting in Britain is its public broadcaster: The BBC. In line with both government, and organisational objectives, the BBC has developed a range of new television, and radio channels aimed at providing a service that will continue to be appropriate to audiences further into the twenty-first century.

This research examines the output of two BBC music radio stations, Radio One and 1xtra, considering how changes to management, policy, and strategy in each station can affect the output they broadcast. Radio One and 1xtra both use a strategy of broadcasting new music to target a youth audience. However, Radio One is a mixed-genre station broadcasting on analogue radio, while 1xtra is a niche station broadcasting on the digital platform. By comparing the stations I attempt to draw conclusions about the BBC's digital strategy, and what implications these have for the output of both Radio One and 1xtra in the digital age.

Discussion in the first half of the research focuses on the internal operations of the BBC. I consider the BBC's approach to the diversity of the content it broadcasts, and what this approach reveals about the different priorities of the organisation. Close examination of the management changes made at both an organisational, and individual station level provide further insight into the context guiding priorities and policy decisions made in the BBC, Radio One, and 1xtra. The second half of the research pays greater attention to the actual output broadcast by Radio One and 1xtra, using content analysis methodology to measure similarities, and differences between the two stations. Through the simultaneous examination of management and policy changes, and of the output broadcast by the two stations, I aim to make conclusions about how changes made internally have had a direct impact on the diversity of music broadcast on Radio One and 1xtra.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

> 'One of the reasons he was so important was that he spanned every musical genre, he was a broadcaster in the true sense of the word. Now everything is so niche. He has a broader feel. He was a public service broadcaster in the best sense of the word.' (*G*, 26 October 2004)

This quote was made by Ajax Smith, editor of *Music Week*, in tribute to BBC Radio One DJ, John Peel, who tragically died in October 2004. It illustrates the public broadcaster's role in presenting a diversity of content in its output, and the role that the radio DJ can play in this regard. Although Peel was unique in his particular eclectic taste and support of new music[1], these elements of diversity and the support of new music, are essentially the guiding principles of the Radio One strategy, and at the heart of my concerns throughout this research.

Broadcasters in the twenty-first century have the capacity to lead and inform public taste and opinion, (Powell and Gair 1988) and Peel certainly demonstrated this throughout his career, with many musicians attributing his support as key to their crossover into mainstream success. It is because of this influence on public taste that I am concerned to investigate the diversity of music content broadcast on BBC radio. The issue of the effects of increased standardisation in broadcasting has prompted debate across the media (Siune and Truetzschler 1992; McChesney 1997; Van Zoonen Hermes and Brants 1998; Herman and Chomsky 2002). In this debate, several scholars have specifically analysed issues of diversity relating to programming offered by broadcasters (Marshall 1990; Reeves 1990; Malm and Wallis 1992). This research aims to extend these previous investigations into diversity, examining the issue in relation to the music output of two BBC radio stations, Radio One and 1xtra. Focus is given to the output of these stations as they are both publicly owned and should therefore have a focus on socially beneficial output above securing high audience figures.

The research has been divided into three areas that address diversity, management, and policy, specifically with regard to the music output of Radio One and 1xtra. Different kinds of diversity are considered throughout the research, which analyses the organisation's approach to representational diversity, diversity of opinion, and diversity of content. It is

[1] The term 'new music' is used throughout this research to describe music that is recently released (within the last four weeks) or has not yet received national commercial release, or artists who have released their debut album within the last twelve months or have not yet released an album on national commercial release.

this last meaning of diversity that is central to my investigation, although other areas of diversity are also relevant. Representational diversity is given particular attention due to the nature of the two radio stations researched: one aims to serve all ethnic and social groups in Britain and the other aims to provide greater reach to black groups, although it does not solely focus on this group.

Management and policy issues examined in Chapters Two and Three, observe changes at an organisational level, and consider how these changes affect Radio One and 1xtra. This research aims to extend previous investigations into BBC management practice (Burns 1977; Briggs 1979; Barnard 1989; Doctor 1999; Born 2004), examining the particular effect of programming policy changes, the effects of the playlist system, and the development of digital technology, on Radio One and 1xtra over the last four years. Like commercial stations, BBC Radio One and 1xtra have embraced computerised playlists systems and formats, restricting the boundaries of creative freedom given to DJ's and producers working at the station. As Elliott and Matthews observe, these restrictions came into play only after the organisation became more established and pressure was applied to maintain reasonable audience figures. The early days of the BBC were far more creative and experimental. Gradually, however, the leadership changed its focus from broadcasting as a social function to efficient administration, which has had inevitable consequences for cultural innovation (Elliott and Matthews 1987).

Diversity

As people around the world spend an increasing number of hours watching or listening to programmes broadcast by the media, the effect of broadcasting on the population has increasingly become a focus of academic enquiry. A number of scholars have begun to question the role broadcasting has to play in the very social fabric of society. The commercial media industry argue that true public service is what the audience demands, which is reflected by ratings, and not what is considered by some as for the public good. However, this opinion has been challenged by theorists who maintain that the commercial approach only reflects the interests of society's mainstream (Blumler, Brynin and Nossiter 1986). Ang (1991) describes the commercial approach as aiming primarily to make consumers aware of products and services, with the transfer of meaningful information of secondary importance. She argues that the mass media should view their audience as citizens who should be served, educated, and informed as well as entertained. This recoil

against the commercial approach has resonance for the BBC, both contributing arguments for the necessity of a public broadcaster, and bringing into question the broadcaster's present programming.

Brants and Siune's study into European public broadcast institutions reveals that all are required to maintain a level of diversity in their programming, and display due consideration for national culture (1992). Commercial broadcasters are increasingly fragmenting the market into niches aimed at delivering a target group to advertisers. I argue that without a diverse mix of programming, different cultural groups have little interaction and are therefore less likely understand one another. Putnam suggests that the erosion of civic participation in today's society should be addressed by public institutions such as public broadcasting organisations. Rather than trying to educate the public, Putnam (2001) proposes that the broadcaster's role be focused further towards community integration.

Britain is a culturally diverse country, with citizens originating from many parts of the world. I suggest that it is important that the unique mix of cultures in the country is represented through its cultural industries and specifically its public broadcaster. Blumler (1992) makes particular reference to the public broadcaster's role to help marginal groups communicate effectively with other groups and assist in the cultural enrichment of the nation. I consider the theories discussed above throughout this research, particularly in relation to 1xtra, whose remit as a station broadcasting black music, is required to help communicate British black culture to a wider public.

Robyn Williams of the Australian Broadcasting Company considers that each public broadcasters' approach to different subjects should be experimental, open to new talent, and consider the diversity of the public that it is serving. He believes that specialist programming lies at the heart of the public broadcaster's remit. Without specialist programming broadcasting could easily be served by the commercial market (Williams 1996). Public broadcasters globally have made changes to schedules over recent years, often introducing more mainstream programming in order to maintain what is considered satisfactory audience share (Hulten and Brants 1992), primarily because they fear loosing political legitimacy if audience figures fall below a certain limit. Public broadcasters need to maintain the balance between popular shows with significant audience share and their

cultural specialist programming requirements as a publicly accountable organisation. The role of the public broadcaster, then, is a difficult but important one. There is continual pressure to retain a reasonable audience share whilst simultaneously justifying its existence by producing programming that best serves the public good, is of the highest quality, and is also something other than what would be offered by the commercial market.

Programming Policies and Radio Formats

There is a considerable body of material written internationally about music radio format and policy. For instance, Malm & Wallis (1992) analysed the relationship between music radio policy and music activity in small countries around the world. They argue that music radio policies play a vital role in dictating the music activity in a society. While it was not within the scope of this research to replicate this study in Britain, the conclusions drawn from their research reinforce the importance of scrutinising the policy decisions of organisations with a public service remit. Jody Berland similarly comments on the relationship between 'the possibilities of culture' and radio politics in her analysis of the increasing use of standard formats in music radio in Canada (1990, 104). Her discussion mainly focuses on commercial radio, but involves similar concerns to those guiding this research.

Broadcasting policy changes over the last thirty years have brought this increased standardisation to music radio in Britain, with the use of computer generated playlist systems used in almost all music radio stations to select music for broadcast during daytime schedules. Many music radio stations, including Radio One and 1xtra, now follow the standard schedule format of programming presenter-driven shows during the daytime schedule, and specialist music shows in the evening. The aim of this research is to test the thesis that changes to policy and management have had a direct impact on the music broadcast on Radio One and 1xtra, and more specifically, that a reduction in the integration between specialist music programmes and presenter-driven daytime programmes, has affected the broadcast of new and diverse music during each station's daytime output. The two stations selected are both controlled by the same organisation, and have similar target audiences and public remits. A comparison of how the management teams of each station have interpreted these requirements into station policy provides a revealing series of questions about, and possible explanations for, why different policy decisions were taken. In this research I investigate the similarities and differences in the approach to

programming policy by the two stations. I examine the reasoning behind policy decisions, and what effects these have had on music output.

Radio One has been in operation for almost forty years and has long established policies and management structures. 1xtra began broadcasting in 2002 on the new digital platform, and as such a new station, there has been little research into its operations or into the new platform to date. Arguably, new technology and the creation of a new station should have provided novel opportunities for experimentation with programming formats not possible in the established structures of BBC Radio One. I investigate here whether this has, infact, been the case, and the extent to which 1xtra has or has not been allowed greater creative freedom.

The theory that the creation of a new platform can generate greater creativity is derived from the history of BBC radio itself. BBC radio began broadcasting in 1922. During these early years, under the leadership of Lord Reith, producers and presenters were given creative control over their own shows and were encouraged to be creative in their programming, and to introduce audiences to new music[2]. Reith's mission for the BBC was 'to entertain, educate and inform, to bring the art music spectrum – both familiar and unfamiliar, old and new, accessible and difficult, standard and controversial – into the homes of the British public on a daily basis' (Doctor 1999, 334). As digital broadcasting still has relatively little national take-up, it may enjoy creative freedom equivalent to that allowed in the analogue stations on their inception. If this is the case, the question arises concerning whether, as digital reception spreads, 1xtra is likely to come under increasing pressure to conform more closely to its parent organisation's formats and policies. As Breed (1955) found in his study of social control in the newsroom, it is possible that employees will typically follow the constraints outlined by policy rather than their own personal beliefs or ethics. Consideration is also given to the fact that many of the senior managers of 1xtra were previously employed by BBC Radio One, and that this could also affect organisational culture in the new digital station.

Playlists

In the late 1960's it was recognised that popular as well as art music should form part of the BBC's service to the British public and, following the restructuring of the BBC, Radio

[2] Reith encouraged the broadcast of new work written by contemporary composers of the time.

One made its first broadcast in 1967 (Barnard 1989). Radio One's mission has always been to be a pop music station, but it was not until a further policy change in the early 1970's that a split between daytime and evening scheduling began to emerge: daytime programming became presenter- and 'entertainment'-focused, and evening programming was increasingly dedicated to specialist music shows. The daytime format instituted a shift from radio as a challenging music format, to radio as entertainment, with the presenter rather than the music as the primary focus. In 1973, in reaction to the opening of commercial stations, BBC Radio One controller, Derek Chinnery, introduced the 'playlist' system to daytime programming. This system aimed to eliminate inconsistencies in the different producers' selection of records, conveying a common music policy and clear station identity (Barnard 1989). Daytime presenters no longer had to defend their music choice as it was not decided by them, thus removing the need to be cutting edge and to present a diversity of styles.[3] Under the new playlist system only fifty songs were selected each week which were then played on a rotation system.

Radio One stopped using the playlist system for a brief time in the 1980's, as it was considered to have out lived its usefulness. The system had been discredited by commercial radios' over reliance on it, and it was felt that more adventurous programming was needed (Barnard 1989). As the study by Rothenbuhler (1987) reveals, selection of recordings for the playlist tends to be conservative and unadventurous. Paradoxically, the playlist was then reintroduced in 1988 to ensure that a mandatory amount of *non*-top 40 music was featured. Johnny Beerling, BBC Radio One controller at that time, felt that the music on the station was not 'cutting edge' and had again become too reactive to the top 40. The playlist system designed at this time is still in place at the station today. In this research I investigate what effect the playlist system has on the output of Radio One and 1xtra today, and whether it fulfils the function that Beerling intended or not.

Radio One has experienced a fall in listener figures every year since 2000 (*G*, 30 January 2004). Changes have been made to scheduling and presenters in an attempt to rectify the falling audience figures (*G*, 27 November 2000; 29 August 2002; 21 May 2004), but there seems to have been little questioning of policy regarding the music output of the station. This research examines the playlist system and what effect changes to that system could have on the music output of a radio station. I consider the effects of changes in policy and

[3] By diversity here I mean a wide selection of music played in different styles by different artists.

management, and, in Chapter Five, suggest possible implications for Radio One as it moves into the multi-channel age of digital broadcasting.

Although the number of stations available in Britain is increasing, studies show that the widespread use of computerised playlists and formats is resulting in increased homogenisation in radio stations' music output. In a study by Barsamian (2001) listeners commented that they hear the same songs everywhere on radio stations across the country. Similarly, research conducted by Rothenbuhler (1987) into the process of playlist selection for commercial radio in America, followed concerns about standardisation in music radio. Rothenbuhler considered different factors influencing playlist selection and music policy, and the interrelationship between repetition of radio airplay and record sales. He discovered that a collection of factors such as programming formats and following the track record of artists, were all contributing to the standardisation of commercial radio in America. Although I have not replicated this research in Britain, it has resonances with my own concerns. In particular it highlighted meaningful areas for consideration with regard to the formation of interview questions, and raised issues regarding the relationship between Radio One and 1xtra, and the British music industry.

Music Radio and the Music Industry

The interdependent relationship between music radio and the music industry as long been recognised. Without radio airplay providing a forum to have their music heard, many artists, Elvis Presley being the most cited example, may not have become known to a wider audience. In Britain music radio has for many years been the main media responsible for introducing the general public to new music and challenging the musical status quo. New sounds and emerging artists have traditionally been discovered by DJ's who then introduced these artists to the wider public by playing their recordings. However, this system is now changing. DJs broadcasting on daytime radio are no longer responsible for the music broadcast on their shows, as music is now controlled through a playlist system.

With only a limited number of spaces available on the playlist, songs are rotated several times each day for seven days a week .[4] The reward of getting your song included in the playlist therefore is high, as this kind of exposure often results in healthy sales. There is a

[4] The BBC Radio One playlist is available online at URL: http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio1/chart/playlist/alist.shtml

general agreement in the music and radio industries that radio airplay plays a large role in the sale of the music it plays (Burns 1996 and 1997; Claude 1977; Keith 1991). Naturally this creates fierce competition to get recordings included in the weekly playlist. However, meeting the requirements to be considered for inclusion is relatively difficult. Many radio stations require record labels to demonstrate marketing and promotional plans for each recording. Without a large scale marketing plan (usually including expensive television and music video campaigns) the recording is unlikely to make the playlist. Very few independent record companies are able to afford campaigns of this scale. It is, therefore, difficult for a record label other than the four major record companies (Sony-BMG, EMI, Universal, and Warner) to compete for airtime.

Perhaps appropriately, as public broadcasters Radio One and 1xtra do not apply this checklist of marketing requirements. Songs are assessed based on whether they fit in with the sound of the radio station, and are relevant to the station's audience. Nevertheless, the system of approving songs for the playlist at both Radio One and 1xtra does not guarantee support for independent record labels. Without a platform for exposure, Britain could face a situation in which the smaller independent record labels find it increasingly difficult to operate. The independent recording sector is vital for the support of experimental and non-pop music and the representation of diverse music forms. It forms a vital support structure for a varied and creative music environment in Britain. The level of exposure given to the independent recording sector by Radio One and 1xtra is therefore considered in Chapter Four of this research.

Secondary Sources Researched

In Britain there is a large amount of material written about the BBC, dating back as early as 1924. Ranging from academic texts to journalistic critique, the BBC is probably written about more than any other cultural institution in Britain. Throughout this research I have drawn on the wide range of information sources available in an attempt to gather a variety of thoughts and informed opinions on Britain's oldest broadcaster.

With the BBC charter renewal scheduled for 2006, a large number of reports, examining BBC operations, were commissioned and released throughout 2004, by both the BBC and the Department for Culture Media and Sport. The reports contain useful information and analyses that were either tested during this research or were valuable to my own study.

Reports published by the BBC offered understanding into the organisation and its operations that are unlikely to be uncovered by external researchers, but tended to be biased, finding little fault with the performance of the organisation. Reports published by the Department for Culture Media and Sport generally offered a more balanced argument, taking into consideration opinion from the broadcasting industry, competitors, and the general public. Despite giving consideration to the feelings of a number of affected groups, it is, however, uncertain that reports published by the Department are completely objective: they are likely to be influenced by government agendas. Drawing on reports published internally by the BBC, and by relatively external agents such as the Department for Culture Media and Sport, I compile a broader picture of BBC operations.

Of the academic texts studied, an extensive anthropological study into the operations of BBC, conducted by Georgina Born (2004), provided the greatest insight into the organisation. Although the study focused primarily on the television drama and news groups, it provides a detailed analysis of overall management operations during the directorships of John Birt and Greg Dyke. The text was a key source of information used throughout this research, guiding much of the discussion relating to BBC operations. It provides useful insight and context into management and policy decisions taken by each Director-General and the effects those decisions had on the organisation as a whole. Georgina Born is an academic, not currently or previously employed by the BBC. Her analysis of the BBC is therefore observational and not influenced by previous interaction with the organisation. It is however guided by interviews with BBC employees, and as such is restricted only to information revealed and Born's interpretations of these discussions.

Following his departure from the BBC earlier the same year, former Director-General, Greg Dyke, published an autobiography in September 2004. The text provides insight into Dyke's reasoning behind the management changes he made while employed by the BBC, and his opinions of the previous Director-General, John Birt's, management. Birt's own autobiography (2002) was also used, and provides similar insights into his management of the BBC. Despite containing information not available in other sources, I use the opinions expressed in each autobiography cautiously, as the texts are subjective and overwhelmingly positive in their analysis of their own leadership of the BBC.

Texts focusing specifically on BBC music radio were also drawn upon in addition to material relating to the organisation overall. For this research I focused on texts written by Garfield (1998), and Barnard (1989) as both publications provide a remarkable body of information into the history of programming policy in BBC radio. In my view, much of the current literature relating to the operations of the BBC focuses too heavily on the narrative of management policies and processes, without challenging these, or conducting further investigation into the reasoning behind them. However, the information contained in these texts is advantageous to this research, providing an awareness of the way in which current policies have been informed by the past.

Garfield (1998) provides useful insight into the operations of Radio One, from the time of Matthew Bannister's repositioning of the station in 1993 to 1998. The text uses a combination of analysis, and interviews with key personnel employed by the station between that time, to provide a detailed account of Radio One and its policies. Barnard (1989) also offers an in-depth description of programming policy, examining music radio in Britain from 1923 through to the late 1980's. An attempt is made to gather information relating to the rationale behind certain policy changes by interviewing station controllers and DJ's of the time, but the interviews are short, and statements given by interviewees are left unchallenged or unexplored.

Finally, evidence is gathered from the British press. BBC stations are scrutinised more closely by the press than other broadcasters in Britain. Over the years a considerable amount has been written about the BBC, providing a large body of material from which to draw. This research has drawn on information published between January 1999 and January 2005, focusing primarily on stories reported in *Broadcast* and the weekly media section of the *Guardian* newspaper. Both publications are read extensively by those in the broadcasting industry and provide useful critique and opinion of developments that have taken place in the BBC. Although often a subjective reflection of a particular journalists' opinion of the issue being discussed, newspaper and trade magazine articles can also present alternative interpretations, and reveal information undisclosed in interviews with employees or in autobiographies.

Interviews Conducted with Radio One and 1xtra Personnel

This research is concerned with investigating the possible reasoning behind programming policy changes, and the effects of those changes on the output of Radio One and 1xtra. Changes to policy were first explored through research of the secondary source material outlined above. However, a greater understanding of the reasoning behind these changes, and specifically their intended and actual effects, was investigated further by interviewing people directly involved. As Portelli notes, **'**oral sources tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did.' (Portelli 1991, 50).

Oral history methodology was used to draw upon the knowledge and experience of Radio One and 1xtra personnel, and was particularly useful in revealing information not recorded in other documentation. Pieces of data revealed during some of these interviews, particularly relating to changes in policy regarding the daytime playlist and interaction with independent production companies at Radio One, provided revealing insights, leading the research in new directions of inquiry. The first hand knowledge of those directly involved helps to disclose the intention and interpretation of the effects of past decisions, providing an 'understanding of the past which relates directly or indirectly to the present' (Thompson 1988, 24).

As with all research data and methods, oral history is not perfect: it is limited to offering an insight into the thoughts and memories only of those interviewed. I faced a number of difficulties securing interviews with BBC personnel during this research. Although the organisation is supposed to be publicly accountable, gaining access to the BBC can be a long and difficult process. Although not all personnel approached for interview agreed to take part in the research, I was able to gain opinion from across different hierarchies of the radio stations studied. Producers and DJs interviewed were far more open, and gave a greater number of personal opinions during conversation than senior management, but were not able to discuss strategy and policy decisions made at higher levels. By meeting personnel across different hierarchies, I attempted to gather a fuller picture of the operations of each station.

Another difficulty with interviewing as a methodology is that personal and collective agendas can distort the interview. The perspectives of both the interviewer and interviewee, and the dynamic between them, will have an influence on the interviews

(Grele, 1975). As this is unavoidable, attempts were made to consider this dynamic before, during, and when analysing each interview. My final interpretation of the data takes into account external factors that may influence the interviewee. As Grele asserts, 'to analyse an oral history interview properly as a conversational narrative we must combine an analysis of the social and psychological relationships between participants and their appropriateness to the occasion with our historical analysis.' (1975, 64) Factors such as whether the interviewee is still employed at the station, their position, or whether they may be defensive of their personal decisions, were considered.

Regardless of whether an interviewee is employed by the BBC, they are likely to have preconceived ideas about the organisation. Over the years the BBC has become ingrained in the lives of the British public. The organisation is so much a part of the culture of Britain that it has been likened by some to a close family member that the many of the population would be sorry to see disappear (Benji B, 11 August 2004; BBC July 2004, 35). It is because the BBC is so integral to British culture that it consistently comes under such close scrutiny, far more so than any other broadcaster in Britain. In media trade magazines such as *Broadcast*, stories about the BBC are featured in every edition of the publication. It is perhaps because of this scrutiny that BBC is so guarded. When putting together information for this research, I faced enormous difficulty securing the interviews and information needed from the BBC. Many of my requests for interviews were turned down or simply no response was ever received. In her extensive study of the BBC, Georgina Born speaks of the same difficulty in gaining access to people and information from within the organisation: 'any co-operation I did receive was limited and uneven, and access had continually to be renegotiated. A thread running through the book is my exclusion from a number of places I wanted to observe' (Born 2004, 17). Despite these difficulties, I managed to find alternative ways to uncover information.

Analysis of the Output on Radio One and 1xtra

For any broadcaster, the most important aspect of its business is the content it produces. As a radio station's output is the reason for its existence an analysis of Radio One and 1xtra's actual output was necessary in order to assess the real effects of policy. A content analysis of each station offered in Chapter Four provides clues about the internal operations of Radio One and 1xtra, helping me to understand how changes in policy actually affect their music output.

Content analysis is a research technique used to measure the amount of something in order to gain insight into either the producer of the output or its receiver. For this research content is analysed in an attempt to gain insight into the content producers, Radio One and 1xtra. The methodology uses a set of procedures and categories that enable researchers to 'make valid inferences from the text' being examined (Weber 1990, 8). In the content analyses of Radio One and 1xtra, presented in Chapter Four, a number of aspects were analysed: new songs, new artists, nationality of artists, repetition and record label type. The same areas and criteria were applied to both stations to provide a valid comparison.

In his research into the uses of content analysis, Berelson (1952) identified many purposes for the methodology, a number of which are relevant to this research. The 'execution of an audit of content, against organisational objectives' was carried out through the comparison of research results against the performance indicators stated in BBC documentation. A final use for the methodology in this research, as identified by Berelson, is the way in which the analysis discloses differences in content on each station, and what those differences reveal.

One of the central ideas behind content analysis methodology is that the content being analysed is classified into categories. Rather than analysing each piece of data individually, the data is sorted into predefined categories. In this research, each area outlined above has a set of categories identified within it. For example, the area of 'new songs' includes the categories of new songs and old songs. New songs are those not yet released or released within four weeks of the analysis taking place. All songs released longer than four weeks from the date of broadcast, are categorised as old songs.

This process of categorisation raises problems for the methodology, with possible errors in the consistency and reliability of the classification. Krippendorf (1980) describes in detail issues of reliability in classification, and asserts that many researchers fail to test fully the reliability of their coding. He identifies a number of reasons why an analysis may be inconsistent. These include: human error, ambiguities in the coding rules, (the explanation of what constitutes a song's release may be unclear. Does this include downloads, album releases, single releases?) and cognitive changes within the coder (unless clearly defined,

the same song could be placed in different categories by different coders or even by the same coder on a different day).

In this research categories for each area analysed were clearly defined prior to the content analysis taking place. Categories identified for this research are described in detail in Appendix Two. A content analysis should be carefully planned with a clearly defined classification system. It should be possible to repeat the research using the same method of classification for future studies, and certainly where the same text is coded by a different coder the results should be the same. This high level of reproducibility is the minimum standard when conducting a content analysis, and although the content analysis conducted in this research is not the only source material used, these high standards were given careful consideration.

The content analysis methodology has the advantage of being relatively unaffected by the process of measurement itself. The organisations producing the output, Radio One and 1xtra, were unaware that the analysis was taking place. This means that, unlike the oral history method, where the process of interviewing can significantly effect the information supplied, there is little possibility that the process of measuring the content acted as a force of change that impeded the data (Webb, et al. 1981).

Conclusion

In an increasingly globalised economic environment, and accompanying cultural homogenisation, I argue that, the role of the public broadcaster, in providing a diversity of content, becomes even more important. The major record labels, whose product currently dominates the playlist of most British radio stations, are interested primarily in achieving the greatest return on their investment. Unconcerned with issues of creativity and diversity, they produce pop songs, following formulas that have proven financially successful in the past. Arguably, this ‘dumbing down’ of culture could have serious repercussions on the creativity of our future generations of musicians, leading to a degradation of cultural knowledge, and understanding. As Sontag (2002) notes, the rise in homogeneity of cultural products around the world and the absence of ‘intellectual friction’ plagues culture in modern society. She sees a general fall in the ability of today’s world to recognise quality

in cultural products. Despite the promises offered by new technology and mass communications, many believe that creativity is actually in decline.[5]

My research aims to test this theory, by comparing the output broadcast on Radio One (a radio station broadcasting through analogue transmission), and 1xtra whose broadcast on a new technological platform could provide an indication of the creative direction in which broadcasting in the digital age is moving. Through the examination of all data gathered throughout this research, I attempt to reveal how Radio One and 1xtra are responding to the changes in their environment, and how their responses are affecting the output of each station.

[5] *Dumbing Down: Or The Banalisation of Culture* available at URL: www.birchmore.info/muzak/html/dumbing_down.html

CHAPTER TWO: BBC POLICY ON DIVERSITY

Introduction

This chapter investigates the issue of diversity in British Public Radio: what it means, why it's important and how it is considered and measured within the BBC stations, Radio One and 1xtra. Specifically, the chapter examines the ways in which the issue of diversity is addressed within BBC policy statements and other official documentation. As a starting point it is useful to consider the meaning of the word 'diversity' and the context in which it is discussed here. The New Oxford English Dictionary describes diversity as, 'The condition or quality of being diverse, different or varied; a variety, various kinds, changeful'. From this definition it is clear that the issue of variety and difference are key to this chapter, but variety or diversity of what? In line with issues of diversity considered by Georgina Born (2004, 380) in her study of the BBC, the chapter considers three areas of diversity: the presentation of a diversity of opinion; considerations of the diversity or variety of content broadcast; and the representation of the country's diverse population. Representational diversity is considered with regard to ethnicity, age, and gender in on-air presentation, the provision of adequate programming, and a mixed workforce. The following investigation of the ways in which the BBC interprets and considers each of these meanings of diversity provides insight into the way the organisation prioritises and manages the issue.

In 2003 the BBC underwent one of the biggest public inquiries, into its journalistic operations, that the organisation had ever been subjected to. The process and outcome of this inquiry was to have a fundamental impact on the way the BBC addresses issues of diversity of opinion and its willingness to take risks in the future. This inquiry, entitled the Hutton inquiry, had such a profound effect on the organisation that it is impossible to discuss the BBC today or in the future without considering the effect this has had, and will have.

Following the invasion of Iraq in 2003, weapons expert Dr David Kelly was questioned by a number of BBC journalists, including Andrew Gilligan of the *Today* morning radio programme, broadcast on BBC Radio Four. Dr Kelly was considered Britain's leading expert on Iraq's military capability and spoke to BBC journalists in confidence about his

doubts over claims made by the British government in their case for war with Iraq. Gilligan used this information as the basis for a series of radio and newspaper articles (*G,* 9 July 2003). Wanting to counter Gilligan's allegedly injurious articles, the British government demanded evidence, forcing him to reveal Kelly as his source (*G,* 20 August 2003). Once named, Dr Kelly was put under extreme pressure, becoming the focus of the British press and being called to answer questions before the Foreign Affairs Committee (*G,* 14 August 2003). Just three days later Dr Kelly was found dead, apparently having committed suicide (*G,* 18 July 2003). As a result of the tragic affair Lord Hutton was commissioned to conduct an inquiry into the events surrounding Dr Kelly's death, and the way in which BBC journalists handled the affair (*G,* 21 July 2003). The inquiry was high profile, requiring evidence from everyone, from the Chairman of the BBC to the Prime Minister Tony Blair. Lord Hutton concluded that BBC processes of investigative journalism, and their producer guidelines were inadequate, and resulted in the removal of both the BBC Director-General Greg Dyke and Chairman Gavyn Davis (*G,* 28 January 2004; 5 February 2004; 6 February 2004).

The high profile nature of the investigation and its subject matter put pressure on government, creating animosity from it towards the BBC (*G,* 28 June 2003; 17 July 2003). With the BBC's charter renewal in 2006 currently under examination by the government Department for Culture Media and Sport, the Hutton inquiry could well prove to be decisive in the future of the organisation (*G,* 4 July 2003; 18 August 2003). The BBC has a new Director-General and Chairman, and is already addressing a number of its policies and procedures in relation to investigative journalism and presenting a diversity of opinion in its reporting. Only time will tell how this will affect the BBC's willingness to challenge controversial issues in the future, but there is potential for it to lead to conservatism, stifling risk-taking throughout the organisation.

Greg Dyke had begun his tenure as Director-General of the BBC in early 2000. Soon after taking over as Director-General he expressed his aim to address diversity in the organisation, with particular focus on representational diversity (*B,* 7 April 2000; 9 March 2001). Dyke was eager for the BBC to have a more diverse workforce, redressing the balance of gender and ethnicity in the organisation. Policy and targets set as a result of this, how diversity has been measured, and its effects on Radio One and 1xtra are examined and

discussed in more detail below, but generally saw the BBC begin to consider more comprehensively its service to different audiences.

Although representational diversity and diversity of opinion was forced high on the agenda, diversity of content appears to be given little thought. In the annual report, the BBC publishes the number of hours each station dedicates to the broadcast of different genres, such as music, news, comedy etc (BBC 2004a; 2003; 2002). However the of diversity of music content, the number of different songs played each week, in individual radio stations, is not measured. Freedom exists for individual stations to set their own targets, but few attempts to do so are made. Diversity of content, or the level to which each station's music is 'changeful', lies at the heart of my concerns in this research. Just as diversity of opinion is crucial when examining the role of investigative journalism, so too is diversity of content when considering the role of the music broadcaster.

Diversity and the BBC

The presentation of a diversity of opinion is a standard long associated with broadcasting and particularly with news coverage. Good journalism is considered by most to involve 'objective reporting', understood as providing opinion and insight from all angles of an argument or story. This is particularly important for public broadcasters such as the BBC, who independent of government or corporate ownership, have an obligation to provide impartial reporting for its owners – the public at large. In its statements of programme policy document the BBC cites independence, impartiality, and honesty as the foundations on which the organisation is built (BBC 2004f, i). This has become particularly pertinent in the aftermath of the Hutton enquiry in which these very principles seemed to be questioned by the government and the British media. BBC procedures were found to have been partially responsible for the death of Dr Kelly and, as a result, the organisation has been forced to review its journalistic practices (*G*, 4 July 2003; 18 August 2003). Eager to avoid further controversy prior to the approval process for the renewal of the BBC public charter, the issue of diversity of opinion is likely to be given increased focus over the next few years.

The diversity of Britain's population, and the challenges and opportunities that accompany this, is the focus of the majority of current debates surrounding diversity in Britain. In relation to broadcasting, and more specifically the public broadcasting responsibilities of

the BBC, debates surrounding Britain's diverse population relate to an obligation to reach and represent all social and cultural groups in the country. In order to fully serve these diverse groups, arguably, consideration must be given to not only providing programming that appeals to their interests, but to actively involve them in the creation of such programmes.

On joining the BBC in 2000 as Director-General, Greg Dyke outlined plans to reform the organisation's approach to representational diversity. He criticised the British media for its inadequate reflection of multicultural Britain, (*BBC Press Office*, 7 April 2000) and described the BBC itself as 'hideously white' (*B*, 8 January 2001). He considered that the issue had to be approached with a strategy encompassing two strands. First to address on-air representation, offering a better service to groups traditionally under-served by the BBC. This involved improving the on-air representation of minority groups, and an increase in the number of programmes offered across all BBC stations aimed at these groups**.** His second strategy was to increase the number of ethnic minority employees working in the organisation (Dyke 2004, 193). In his first year as Director General, Dyke increased the target for the number of ethnic minority employees in the BBC from eight per cent to ten, and management targets from two per cent to four (Born 2004, 470).

Despite Dyke's public acknowledgement that the BBC was under-serving a number of minority groups in Britain, no targets were set nor policies created to directly address the provision of programming for these groups. A review of BBC policy documentation provided online reveals just one page detailing the BBC commitment to diversity.[6] In it, the organisation describes its overall aim to reflect the diversity of Britain. 'This applies to both the output - TV, radio and online - and the workforce, aiming to be inclusive of those groups who are often under-represented; older people, women, disabled people, people from ethnic minorities, those of all faiths and social classes, lesbians and gay men.' The term diversity is used here to describe the different social and cultural groups of people who make up the population of Britain.

Policy may not have been created, but Dyke's vision for greater representation in the BBC penetrated the operations of the organisation. References to serving different communities

[6] URL for BBC Diversity Policy Documentation: http://www.bbc.co.uk/info/policies/diversity.shtml

are made in many official reports and strategy documentation, from the annual report to the statements of programme policy. The BBC aspires to be perceived as an organisation that reflects 'talent from all communities and all cultures' (*BBC Press Office*, 7 April 2000), and sees this not only as a desirable outcome, but one that must be achieved if the organisation is to continue to justify its existence as a public broadcaster. Written in 2004 by the BBC in response to the forth-coming charter renewal in 2006, *The Future of the BBC* outlines the plans and principles that will guide the BBC over the coming decade. No fewer than thirty references are made in the document to the organisation's commitment to representational diversity.

The diversity or variation of programming content is the third and least considered meaning of diversity in broadcasting. With the merging of global corporations bringing increasing homogeneity to the media and entertainment industries, the public broadcaster's role to provide diversity of programming content could increase in its importance in the future, and is therefore given considerable attention throughout this research. Here I consider the role of broadcasting in influencing creative experimentation and the evolution of culture. Scholars such as Susan Sontag (2000) have expressed concern for the degradation of cultural knowledge and understanding that she suggests is occurring as a direct result of the homogeneity of cultural products. It is therefore essential that the public broadcaster consider its responsibility to present a diversity of programming, exposing the British public to a wide range of creative and challenging ideas.

That diversity of content is given little reference in BBC documentation illuminates the fact of its lack of priority in the organisation. On one level the BBC recognises its role in providing a variation of content, stating one of its aims in the programming policy statements as to 'enrich the cultural life of the nation by enabling the UK's best creative talents to provide a diverse range of memorable, uplifting and enjoyable programmes' (BBC 2004f, 5). However, diversity of programming is given less emphasis than representational diversity, with no reference made to the issue in the online page dedicated to diversity in the BBC.[7] Commitments to diversity of content articulated in BBC documents tend to occur only in relation to serving different social or cultural groups, and not in relation to supplying a varied programme overall. The Producer Guidelines manual would be the most likely place to provide policy information relating to diversity of

[7] URL for BBC Diversity Policy Documentation: http://www.bbc.co.uk/info/policies/diversity.shtml

content, but no reference to the issue is made. A large percentage of the document is dedicated to the issues of diversity of opinion and representation, but content and aesthetics are not discussed (BBCa).

Each of these issues of diversity are not new to the BBC, but are becoming increasingly important measures of the fulfilment of its objectives as a public broadcaster. With the expanding diversity of social and ethnic groups in Britain, the BBC is faced with the challenges of providing not only diversity of opinion but also diversity of aesthetic and creative thinking, to offer a 'rich array of communicative channels for the self representation, participation and expressive narrativisation of minority and marginalised groups, addressed both to and among those groups and to the majority' (Born 2004, 517).

Measuring Diversity

As an organisation funded by public money, the BBC is required to go beyond the articulation of a diversity policy: They are required to set targets and report on their performance in relation to those targets each year. As the organisation's present diversity policy focuses solely on representational diversity, it is unsurprising that it is in relation to this that most targets are set and measured. Diversity of opinion is measured tangentially, and diversity of content is not really assessed systematically – an issue I discuss in Chapter Four.

Success in meeting objectives for representational diversity is measured by looking at both representation in the workforce and in the organisation's output. Following focused recruitment efforts and improved monitoring systems, targets introduced by Greg Dyke in 2000 for ten per cent of all employees, and four percent of senior employees to come from ethnic minority groups, were passed for the first time in 2003. These targets have since been increased, aiming towards 12.5% across all employees and 7% of senior employees to come from ethnic minority groups by the end of 2007 (Born 2004, 470-471; Dyke 2004, 194). Although the 12.5% target is higher than the percentage of ethnic minorities currently represented in the British population,[8] population growth in these groups is higher than amongst white groups.[9] Ethnic minority groups are therefore likely to become

[8] Ethnic minorities currently account for 7.9% of the British Population (BBC 2004a).
[9] Ethnic minority groups growth rate at 54% (BBC 2004a).

an increasingly important audience and the BBC have recognised the need to reflect this in its future workforce.

Diversity of opinion is difficult to measure accurately without a laborious and costly monitoring process. Rather than taking actual measurements of the diversity of opinion offered, the BBC conducts research into how well the general public perceive the BBC to be meeting this objective. Over the last year this issue of diversity of opinion has been given increased focus, particularly as the Hutton inquiry has brought into question the impartiality and journalistic research methods of the organisation's employees. This level of scrutiny is likely to impact greatly on the organisation's approach to diversity of opinion over the next few years, at best making BBC journalists more attentive to the issue and at worst making them overly cautious and self-censoring when approaching sensitive issues (*G*, 18 August 2003).

Relationships Between Workforce and Content

Targets for diversity beyond race, such as for gender representation and the age profile of the workforce, have not been set. This suggests that the BBC does not consider these to be areas in need of redress for the organisation. Any references to the gender mix and age profile of both the workforce and the organisation's output are made in a positive light. In the annual report for 2003/04, for instance, it is recorded that around 50% of current employees are female with 37% employed at a senior level. The age profile of the workforce is young, with 79% of staff aged under forty-five and 96% under fifty-five (BBC 2004a, 18). Although possessing a young workforce is referred to positively in BBC documentation, the organisation also recognises the need to understand its older audience and has recently undertaken research of this audience to help inform programme makers (BBC 2004a, 18).

Representation of diversity in the organisation's output is measured by assessing the opinion of ethnic minority groups. Market research is undertaken each year to monitor how well such groups feel they are being served by the media in Britain. Market research figures for 2003/04 indicate that there is growing approval among ethnic minorities of programming offered by the BBC for its communities, and an increasing perception that the organisation serves minority interests well (BBC 2004a, 16). As a result, despite a slight fall in overall market share, BBC television and radio are reaching more people from

ethnic minorities than they were a year ago (*B,* 22 April 2004). These are positive steps towards a more representative BBC, but many argue that the organisation could still make improvements in its service to ethnic minority audiences. Criticism of and challenges to the BBC's programming continues to be made by spokespeople for the ethnic minority communities, suggesting that ethnic minority groups may not be as happy with the service provided as BBC market research indicates (*B,* 24 October 2003; *NN,* 15 March 2004). Increased targets in the organisation's workforce are a positive step towards achieving greater representation, but communities still feel that there is a shortage of ethnic minority presenters and programming covering serious issues affecting these sectors of the population.

Different targets relating to content are set for different stations, reflecting the priorities of each station. These targets refer to the number of hours dedicated to a certain programme genre, such as a commitment to 200 hours of specialist music coverage, or a general commitment to the percentage of British-originated product, but no measurement is made of the variety of content broadcast within these broad commitments. In market research undertaken by the BBC in 2004, many of those surveyed said that they wanted to see the BBC take more risks and not to use formats or styles respondents regarded as derivative (BBC/TNS Survey 2004, quoted in BBC July 2004, 35). In response, the BBC commented that they plan to 'respond with a range of ideas' (BBC July 2004, 35), although it is unclear how this response will manifest itself. This fresh 'range of ideas' has not, thus far, been reflected in new targets for diversity of content in the statements of programme policy commitments. However, other changes have been made to the statements of programming policy commitments for 2004/2005. The remit for every station is now defined more clearly, stating each station's key priority for the coming year. Stations are carefully positioned, ensuring that the BBC reaches all social and ethnic groups of all ages in Britain (BBC 2004f, 2; 5; 55). This emphasis on serving all audiences in Britain, alongside the lack of specified commitments to providing a fresh 'range of ideas', further demonstrates the BBC's commitment to representational diversity above diversity of content.

Further attention was given to the focus of the organisation as whole in the annual report (BBC 2004a). Six key objectives were identified that will inform the organisation's direction in 2004/05. The first two objectives are directly concerned with issues of diversity, highlighting the perceived importance of the issue in the organisation. The

BBC's first objective concerns the independence and impartiality of its journalism (BBC 2004a, 23). This indicates the BBC's eagerness to display its commitment to diversity of opinion in the aftermath of the Hutton inquiry. The second objective looks towards a more creative BBC (BBC 2004a, 23), and, although not explicitly stated, could be interpreted as a move towards encouraging greater diversity in programme content. Reference to representational diversity is explicitly made, further illustrating the organisation's focus and commitment to the issue.

Diversity in Radio One and 1xtra

Written policy and procedures relating specifically to diversity in the BBC is limited. Although the BBC is a signatory to the Broadcasters Disability Network Manifesto, the one page, online site dedicated to diversity is the only written commitment to the issue in the organisation.[10] Targets are set in the BBC for the diversity of it's workforce, with reference made to the variation of content only in relation to serving different ethnic or social groups, and not in consideration of variety of programming in relation to aesthetic characteristics.

In addition to organisational policy and targets set by senior management and the Board of Governors, each station and the organisation as a whole issues annual programme statements, defining aims and objectives for the forthcoming year. Programme statements provide an opportunity for station controllers to individually outline programming targets for their station, which could involve a commitment to a variation of content. Although largely guided by the licence granted for the station by the Department for Culture Media and Sport, there is sufficient flexibility for station controllers to instigate significant strategical change to their station and its programme statements.

On appointment as station controller of Radio One in 1993, Matthew Bannister reformed the station, introducing a greater percentage of news and speech, increasing the priority of live, new and specialist music, and altering the station's target audience from 4-45 year olds to the 15-34 age range. These changes were extreme and highly controversial at the time, but demonstrate the extent to which station controllers are able to radically effect a

[10] URL for BBC Diversity Policy Documentation: http://www.bbc.co.uk/info/policies/diversity.shtml

station's output, and the performance measures against which it will be assessed.[11] It is inevitable that the different personalities and interests of station controllers will have an influence on what they consider to be the priorities and direction of their stations. Although a certain level continuity across the BBC is provided by the Board of Governors who approve all proposed strategical changes (*G,* 13 October 2003; BBC 2004a, 15), different stations often set very different priorities, and are reflected in their programme statements. The fact that programme statements are subject to the direction of different station controllers, and that they are currently the most likely place in which to address the issue of diversity of content, suggests official encouragement of a disparate approach to the issue across the organisation: it is subject to the opinion of each station controller. Employment targets, on-air/on-screen representation, and diversity of opinion (particularly in relation to news journalism), have been embraced as organisational issues, but diversity of content remains a stylistic decision that may or may not be given priority in any individual station.

Radio One

For Radio One, new employment targets for ethnic minorities introduced by Greg Dyke in 2000 (*B,* 7 April 2000; 8 January 2001; 9 March 2001) made little difference as the target figures for the station's workforce and its management were already far exceeded (Parkinson, 20 September 2004). Nevertheless, the new focus on serving a wider public may have impacted on scheduling in the station in other ways. In 2000, for instance, the Dreemteam became the first urban black voices to be heard hosting a daytime show on Radio One.[12] Internally this was seen as quite a risk at the time (Parkinson, 20 September 2004). Radio One had always come under considerable scrutiny when making any changes to its schedule, and this was the first time that this kind of urban black voice had been programmed for daytime BBC radio. Fortunately, the risk paid off and Radio One began to consider making a shift towards greater representation in its on-air broadcasting. Ian Parkinson, Head of Specialist programming at Radio One, described the programming of the Dreemteam as a 'breakthrough' for Radio One, as this led the station to begin incorporating presenters from all communities across Britain, not only black and Asian, but also those with regional dialects (Parkinson, 20 September 2004). The Radio One schedule

[11] It is important to note that any changes, such as those made by Bannister, must first be approved by the Head of Radio and the BBC board of governors.

[12] The Dreemteam consist of three DJ's: DJ Spoony**,** Mikee B and Timmi Magic. All three DJ's grew up in and around London and began their radio careers, broadcasting on pirate radio stations in the mid 1990's. Following their success at both Kiss FM and Galaxy FM, they were recruited to Radio One in January 2000, becoming the first black presenters to host a mainstream show during the day on the station.

in 2000 featured Sara Cox, Chris Moyles and Mark Radcliffe with regional dialects, but no presenters from ethnic minorities presented daytime shows. By 2004, however, a diverse range of voices and accents could be heard on the station: For instance Colin Murray and Annie Mac are from Northern Ireland; Edith Bowman from Scotland; Chris Moyles, Vernon Kay and Sara Cox from the North of England; Huw Stephen's from Wales; Bobby Friction and Nihal representing the Asian community; and DJ Spoony, Trevor Nelson and Chris Goldfinger from different sections of the black community. This strategy of employing a diverse workforce is seen as a key factor not only in reflecting the station's audience, but also in moving towards 'more relevant and diverse programming' (BBC 2004d, p24).

However, I argue that the belief within Radio One that the scheduling of the Dreemteam during its daytime programme was a turning point towards greater representation on the station is questionable. In fact, little has changed since 2000 in terms of the number of ethnic minority presenters during the daytime schedule on Radio One. While representation of regional accents has certainly improved, Spoony from the Dreemteam and Trevor Nelson remain the only ethnic minority presenters currently scheduled during the daytime. Both shows are scheduled during the weekend, and Trevor Nelson's show is dedicated to R&B – a genre of music associated with black culture in Britain. The only Asian voices scheduled across the whole station are Bobby Friction and Nihal, who present an evening specialist show featuring Desi beats, a form of contemporary British Asian music. It is not reasonable to expect ethnic minority DJ's to be scheduled during daytime programming simply to address the racial balance of presenters on the station. Presenters are, understandably, selected based on their ability to communicate effectively with the audience. However, the lack of ethnic minority voices currently scheduled across Radio One's daytime output does bring into question the perception that senior management have about their success in the on-air representation of these groups across the station.

Although Radio One places greater emphasis on representational diversity, encouragingly, attention is also given to the diversity of content on the station. Radio One's programme statements for 2004/05, and the key service priority stated within those, make a number of references to the diversity of the station's output. The role of the specialist DJ is given specific mention, and an overall commitment to the coverage of a wide range of music genres and 'wide-ranging playlist' is made (BBC 2004f, 21). However, little indication is

given as to how achievement of these aims will be measured. Commitments are made to broadcast approximately 40% specialist and 60% mainstream output, a minimum of 40% new music,[13] and a minimum of 40% of music of British origin, but none of these targets provide a benchmark for measuring the range of the playlist (BBC 2004f, 21). The station does provide data on the annual percentage output of different musical genres broadcast (BBC 2004d, 35), but this data gives no indication of the levels of repetition of songs and how much of this output was broadcast during daytime or evening specialist shows.

In 2004 Radio One commissioned a music research company, Intelligent Media, to conduct an external audit of the station's output, providing data on repetition levels, actual output, and diversity of content. Unfortunately, as this was the first research conducted of this type there is no previous data with which to compare Radio One's 2004 output. The study did, however, monitor output by other commercial radio stations operating in the same youth market. These results are discussed in detail in Chapter Four, but generally show that Radio One achieved its commitments to specialist output, new, and British music in the sample researched, broadcasting less repetition of songs and a greater number of new songs than the other stations measured in the study (BBC 2004d, 32-33). The data collected during the research, and references made throughout the station's programme statements, indicate that diversity of content is given a higher level of priority and consideration within Radio One than it is across the BBC as a whole.

1xtra

As with Radio One, 1xtra is largely unaffected by the targets set for ethnic minority employment across the BBC, for the station far exceeds the target figures (Parkinson, 20 September 2004). As a station dedicated to black music it is not surprising that this is the case, although the fact that only 49% of the station's employees are from ethnic minority communities is perhaps unexpected (BBC March 2004, 21). I argue, however, that essentially this should not pose a problem as it should not be assumed that a person's ethnic background dictates their interest or level of knowledge of a music genre. Black music, often referred to as 'urban music' in Britain, has now moved into the mainstream and, as such, has infiltrated all ethnic communities. The popularity of black music amongst all ethnic groups in Britain is demonstrated in the presence of 'urban' records on all mainstream commercial radio playlists, and in the fact that the highest percentage of

[13] Here 'new' is used to mean either unreleased or less than one month since release.

broadcast hours is dedicated to 'urban music' in comparison to all other genres on Radio One (BBC 2004d, 35). The blurring of traditional stereotypes such as 'black people only like hip-hop and white people only like guitar music' does, however, further fuel the debate surrounding the issue of the BBC using non-black programme makers to create content for black audiences, which is often based on these stereotypes and subsequently does not meet black audiences' real needs. With this in mind 1xtra has been careful to position itself first as a station for lovers of black music, and only secondly as offering a service for British black audiences.

A greater level of commitment is made to the broadcast of both new and British music, with targets of 65% and 40% respectively. An analysis conducted by 1xtra's music manager in 2003 indicates that the station is exceeding these targets (BBC March 2004b, 32-33). However, the analysis did not examine the diversity of the station's overall output, assessing the repetition of music broadcast. An indication of the diversity of the station's content may come in the form of its weekly playlist. Its daytime playlist includes a larger number of songs than at Radio One: 65 in comparison to 50. Again, no indication is given as to the level of repetition of songs, but the fact that 14% more songs are available for airplay during daytime programmes suggests that there is likely to be a greater diversity of content on 1xtra than on Radio One.

As a niche station focusing solely on one area of music there is little discussion with regard to diversity of content in its programme statements.[14] The station makes a commitment to the provision of a 'full range' of contemporary black music in its specialist programming, but does not specify what this range is (BBC 2004f, 30). An examination of the station's specialist shows reveals that the genres of hip hop, drum and bass, R&B, gospel, soca, dancehall, UK garage and soulful house are included in 1xtra's programming. These musical genres, which are generally regarded as 'urban' music in Britain, represent the more mainstream genres of black music. The inclusion of these genres suggests that senior management at 1xtra believe them to be most relevant to their target audience, but how this assessment was and is made is unclear. If 1xtra make decisions about genre content as a result of audience research, this is problematic. Senior manager in 1xtra, Ian Parkinson, said himself that audiences do not always know what they want, and that one of the BBC's

[14] 1xtra is not a mixed-genre station as described later in this chapter. The station broadcasts black music only, specifically aiming to attract a young audience.

roles was to guide these audiences into new areas (Parkinson 20 September 2004, Gallie 4 October 2004). If decisions are based on stereotypes, this is equally problematic and is likely to leave large numbers of black audience members under-served. Whatever decisions are guiding current programming directions at 1xtra, I suggest that the organisation has not yet unleashed the platform's full potential, with regard to the possible range of black music available.

The Switch to the Digital Format

The BBC's move towards digital technology has happened relatively quickly. In documentation relating to the organisation's charter review in 1995, digital technology and the internet were hardly mentioned (BBC July 2004, 48). By 1999 the BBC had taken its first steps into the realm of digital television, launching three under-funded television channels (*G*, 3 November 1999). 2000 brought further change in the form of new Director-General Greg Dyke, and additional funding for digital development finally approved by government (Dyke 2004, 165). The latter changes have had the effect of not only providing revenue to create additional digital radio and television stations, but also increasing the amount of programming aimed at ethnic minorities, the youth and children.

The BBC has demonstrated its eagerness to expand its reputation for good journalism and representation of diversity of opinion by introducing the BBC News channel on the digital platform. It is anticipated that the channel will further the BBC news brand, maintaining positive public perceptions of the organisation's impartiality (BBC 2004a, 56). The question remains though, of how this can be achieved: How can quality and diversity be maintained when the organisation continues to stretch the same revenue across an increasing number of stations? The increased funding approved in 2000 is unlikely to be sufficient to maintain standards across all stations in the long term, and it is this very issue that has led critics to question whether the quality of output offered by the organisation's analogue stations will suffer (BBC July 2001, 27). In response, Mark Thompson, then Director of Television and now Director-General, dismissed the idea that programming broadcast by analogue stations would be the victim of these budget restraints stating: 'The anxiety we are going to shunt off the more serious challenging work to a digital wasteland and 'dumb down' on terrestrial channels really isn't true. We're hoping to enrich these areas, not push them off into the digital channels' (BBC July 2001, 28). This issue has particular resonance for my research as I am considering the similarities and differences in

the diversity of the output offered by the newly created digital youth channel 1xtra, and the more established analogue station Radio One.

Two of the pivotal advantages the move to digital technology has on radio are the enhanced quality of reception and the increased number of channels the format is able to transmit. The limited number of analogue radio stations available on FM radio waves will be a thing of the past, as digital encoding and transmission has the capacity to transmit hundreds of new stations. A probable consequence of an increased number of stations will be the fragmentation of the market, resulting in a multitude of niche stations catering for focused markets. The BBC acknowledges that the 'one size fits all broadcasting in which people from different generations and backgrounds could be content with a small range of mass broadcast channels is becoming a thing of the past' (BBC July 2004, 50), and has demonstrated its own move towards recognising the future fragmentation of the market with the creation of 1xtra and BBC Asian Network, which target the young black audience and the Asian audience respectively.

The increase of available stations made possible by digital technology appears, on the surface, to be having a positive effect on representational diversity in the BBC. The creation of the two new radio stations, 1xtra and Asian Network, for the first time provides stations dedicated to programming created by and for ethnic minority groups in Britain. Nevertheless, it is important to consider what effect this has on content across the BBC, and British broadcasting as a whole. There is concern that the fact that ethnic minority audiences are now being served by niche stations, could generate a reduction in the amount of content programmed for these audiences on mainstream mixed-genre stations such as BBC 1 or Radio One.

Furthermore, there are still relatively few digital channels available in relation to the format's capacity, and the number of channels is likely to increase as the level of digital uptake increases. Such increase will fragment the market further, with stations focusing on ever specialised niche markets. It is uncertain yet what this will mean for mixed-genre stations such as Radio One,[15] and whether these will be forced to focus more intensely on

[15] Mixed-genre broadcasting is used here to describe a station broadcasting a wide variety of genres that appeal to a wide spectrum of different social or ethnic groups. Mixed-genre music radio and television stations broadcast a wide variety of musical genres, and different types of programmes, aimed at attracting a number of different social and ethnic groups.

smaller segments of the market. Overall, however, the greater carrying capacity of digital broadcast could potentially have a considerable effect on the diversity of programming content on individual stations in the future.

A slightly different impact of digital media is its transformation of the relationship between broadcasters and their audience. This relationship is becoming more interactive, in that audiences are taking a more active role in influencing programming (BBC July 2004, 51-52). Mixed-genre stations could, therefore, become a thing of the past as audiences increasingly demand tailored programming, and are able to shape it according to their own desires. This model will certainly be pursued by the commercial market, but as a public broadcaster the BBC has to consider the wider implications of such a strategy. Arguably, public service broadcasting cannot only be about serving the diverse population of Britain through niche stations, but should provide a platform on which sub-cultural interests can be aired and understood by the wider public (McQuail 1987). As a public broadcaster the BBC has a responsibility to provide the diverse programming necessary to increase this social integration. Through a diverse mix of programming on mixed-genre stations, broadcasting can provide a unique space in which different social and cultural groups can connect with, and understand one another, helping marginal groups communicate with the wider public, and assisting in the cultural enrichment of the nation (Blumler, 1992). 'The logic of segmentation emphasises the value of difference over the value of commonality' (Gandy, 2001, 57). Ultimately, whichever path the BBC decides to take, the switch to the digital format is likely to catalyse the most radical changes to effect the organisation since the invention of television.

Conclusion

As discussed throughout this chapter, issues of diversity are central to the ideals of the public broadcaster. Unconstrained by the need to draw large audience figures and raise the advertising revenue these audiences bring, the public broadcaster must instead focus on presenting balanced and diverse opinions in its reporting, ensure that both its programming and its workforce remains representative of all social and cultural groups in Britain, and provide a diversity of content that will 'enrich the cultural life of the nation' (BBC 2004f, 5). I place particular focus on issues relating to diversity of content as this is the area least documented and measured by the BBC and one that could potentially be greatly effected by the switch to digital broadcasting. I suggest that, as a public broadcaster, the BBC has a

responsibility to maintain diversity in the content it broadcasts, encouraging greater understanding between different social and cultural groups in Britain and providing alternative and challenging programming not available on commercial stations.

With the charter renewal process currently taking place and the recent appointment of a new director general, the current focus on diversity could potentially shift quite radically. As the changes to representational diversity made by Dyke demonstrates, a change in management can have a dramatic effect on the focus of diversity within the BBC. It is therefore useful to examine diversity of content in the context of the direction the organisation is taking as a whole, to gain insight into how content is viewed in the BBC and what direction it is likely to take in the future.

CHAPTER THREE: CHANGES TO MANAGEMENT AND POLICY IN THE BBC BETWEEN 1993 AND 2004

Introduction

Although this research is primarily concerned with recent changes in Radio One and 1xtra, it is impossible to talk about operations in any part of the BBC without acknowledging the effect John Birt had on the organisation. Birt was Director-General of the BBC between 1993 and 2000. During his tenure Birt ordered the biggest restructuring exercise the BBC had ever undergone, impacting on all operations in the organisation. Despite reversals made in recent years, the BBC was so radically transformed during this period that it has had a lasting impact on operations (*B,* 7 April 2000b). For this reason, Birt's directorship and its effects are discussed here, providing the historical context for the changes made since 2000.

Soon after Birt became Director-General, he appointed Matthew Bannister as the new controller of Radio One. Bannister's changes for Radio One would also be sweeping and were widely criticised in the British media. In line with Birt's desire to make the BBC more market focused, Bannister repositioned Radio One, concentrating more strategically on the youth market in Britain (Garfield 1998, 66; 102; 302)**.** Following Bannister's promotion to head of radio, Andy Parfitt took over as controller of Radio One. Despite coming under attack from the British media about falling audience figures, Parfitt has remained true to Bannister's original vision for the station, refining further the idea of a clear focus on the ever changing youth market (*G,* 13 October 2003).

The BBC was subjected to further change following the appointment of Greg Dyke as the new Director-General in 2000. Dyke set about trying to reverse a number of the damaging and financially wasteful systems that Birt had instilled across the organisation (*B,* 2 November 1999; 7 April 2000b). Dyke's attempts worked to rebuild the morale of BBC employees that had been depleted during Birt's directorship. So successful were his strategies to improve employee satisfaction that, on his departure from the organisation in aftermath of the Hutton inquiry in 2004, employees demonstrated against his dismissal outside BBC buildings (*B,* 6 February 2004). A number of Dyke's policy changes had a direct impact on Radio One. In 2000 Dyke decided to reposition BBC 2 to appeal to an

older, more mainstream audience (*B,* 16 November 2000). Prior to this BBC 2 was fashioned as youth station. With the removal of BBC 2 as a station that served youth audiences, Radio One became even more important regarding the BBC's ability to reach the youth of Britain.

Around the same time Dyke also announced plans for the BBC's digital strategy. His approach shifted slightly from that originally proposed by Birt, concentrating instead on reaching groups in society currently under-served by the organisation (*B,* 11 August 2000). Dyke believed that the consumption of broadcasting in the digital age would be genre-specific and therefore created a number of stations focusing on single genres or market sectors (Dyke, 2004 172). For 1xtra this meant focusing on black music for young audiences. Working with similar audiences of the same age range, Radio One and 1xtra became intrinsically connected. This close relationship has brought both advantages and disadvantages. It has also allowed the stations to exchange ideas and trial different ways of working, which may then be transferred to the other station (Parkinson, 20 September 2004).

Like all radio stations in Britain, 1xtra adopted a playlist system, which was managed by a former Radio One programmer. As at Radio One, the playlist applied to daytime output, with specialist music programmers putting together their own music selections for the evening schedule (Pearson et al, 21 July 2004). It is useful at this point to briefly explain the playlist system, as this dictates the music played on each station and therefore the diversity of the station's daytime output. The Radio One playlist consists of 'A', 'B' and 'C' lists, that each have a limited number of places. The number of times each song is played is dictated by which list the song is on, 'A' list songs receiving the greatest number of plays. Producers, DJs and senior managers in Radio One meet each week to decide which songs are to be removed, added or remain on each of the lists. This is a democratic process, with everyone receiving a vote and an opportunity to comment on the songs being considered (Pearson, et al, 21 July 2004; Benji B, 11 August 2004). Songs selected are then programmed into a specialised computer programme. This programme is then able to produce a playlist of songs to be broadcast each day for every daytime show. 1xtra operates a similar playlist system using 'A', 'B', 'C' and 'R' lists from which to select music for their daytime shows (Parkinson, 20 September 2004; Benji B, 11 August 2004). Changes made to the selection process, such as the people able to attend playlist meetings

or the number of places available in each list, can potentially affect the music output of the entire daytime schedule and are therefore examined in some detail below.

The Management of the BBC Under John Birt 1993 - 1999

The arrival of John Birt as Director General of the BBC in 1993 brought a new emphasis on consolidation, centralisation, and synergy. Birt set out to streamline BBC departments, transforming the organisation into a more commercially driven and marketing focused operation (Birt 2002, chap. 15). This process of restructuring came as little surprise, as just ahead of the charter renewal of 1996 the Government had published a green paper entitled 'The Future of the BBC' that called for greater efficiency in the organisation. Birt was forced to make changes to BBC operations in order to secure continued public support for the organisation. What was surprising, however, was the scale and severity of the changes that Birt initiated. Government analysts had recommended that the BBC be divided into divisions that would then trade with one another, thereby increasing competition and forcing efficiency in each division (Born 2004, 99-101, 131). Birt embraced these recommendations, using them as the basis upon which he formulated the new structure of the organisation.

Following a review of all resources, the new plans for the restructuring were announced in June 1996. For the production teams restructuring entailed the reduction in the number of departments from thirty-six to eighteen. Jobs were lost and budgets cut as the focus on efficiency took hold across the organisation (Born 2004, 99-101). For all stations, television and radio, a new divide was created, separating programme makers and management (Birt 2002, 389-399). Important shifts were made in the way these two divisions interacted with one another and the way in which programmes were to be made and from then on. Station controllers were given greater control over the artistic direction of their station, leaving the way open to make changes to the schedule with little consultation with the production departments. Instead, programming throughout the organisation began to be increasingly influenced by audience figures and other findings of market research (Born 2004, 272-273). Approval for the commissioning of new schedules and programmes was now controlled by newly created, centralised editorial boards and finance committees (Birt 2002, chap. 15). With fewer people in the position to make decisions in the commissioning process, and a bias in this group towards management expertise rather than programme-making proficiency, this new centralised system posed a

real threat to the commissioning of experimental and risky programming across BBC stations. ‘If controllers were able to exercise greater individual vision in shaping channels, producers and production heads were disempowered, their creative latitude curtailed’ (Born 2004, 307).

The increased attention to marketing and financial accountability also had a considerable impact on how the organisation measured its success, leading to greater attention to the notion of ‘value for money’. Value for money in this ‘Birtist’ era was equated with the commercial measurements of value: audience ratings and audience share (Born 2004, 223-224). The social and cultural values of public broadcasting became less important and the organisation’s output began to look and sound much like its commercial rivals.

Since the late 1980’s BBC management had already utilised alternatives to working with the same in-house production teams for all programming, using a small number of independent production companies to make programmes. In support of the number of independent production companies emerging at that time, the Broadcasting Act instated by the government in 1990 formalised this support of external production, introducing a quota system that required the BBC to outsource a minimum of 25% of its programming. Allied with the new model of centralised commissioning, internal production departments now had to compete with external independents, as well as with each other, to secure programme commissions.

Although the quota imposed on the BBC in the Broadcasting Act had been in place three years prior to John Birt’s tenure as Director-General of the BBC, Birt embraced these government requirements with great enthusiasm, far exceeding the quota amount. With the number of commissions outsourced to independents increasing year on year, budget cuts, and job losses becoming common place, morale in the organisation began to fall rapidly. Desperate to maintain some level of internal production and to avoid further job losses, production executives began to look towards popular programmes and away from more challenging and experimental formats and genres, which were less likely to pull in mass audiences and therefore secure a commission. Independents too felt the need to secure work and also began to follow this pattern of steering away from the unknown, and instead developing slight variations of existing and proven popular programmes and formats (Born 2004, 148, 172-173). If the number of companies making programmes for the BBC

became more diverse, its programming did not. As Born notes, the new independents were perceived by senior management in the BBC as being more entrepreneurial in their programme making, than production teams within the BBC, and the latter began to feel that the expertise of independents was often valued above that available inside the organisation. This led to a further reduction in morale and the movement of many of the organisation's most talented people to independent production companies in order to progress in their careers (2004, 133).

Further changes for the production departments came at this time from the introduction of a new system of working called 'producers choice'. This system aimed to increase the efficiency and cost-effectiveness of making programmes. The resources needed during the production of programmes made in-house at the BBC could now also be outsourced to external companies. The idea behind this new system was to eliminate over resourcing, reducing the production costs for each programme (Birt 2002, 388-389). Internal resource departments now had to be competitive with external companies. Although producers choice undoubtedly addressed major inefficiencies that, as highlighted in the government paper on the future of the organisation, could no longer be ignored, there were inevitably a number of negative knock on effects. With the outsourcing of resources now available to producers and the increased pressure to make the resources of the organisation more efficient, job losses were inescapable. Morale within the organisation dropped further and a clear division began to emerge between the production and resource departments. As all production companies and departments worked from commission to commission, the personnel employed were increasingly engaged on short-term contracts. Although this increased use of short-term contracts gave production teams greater financial flexibility it lead to a reduction in the contribution of creative ideas, as 'creative dialogue' often built in teams over extended periods was not easily formed among the groups working together on short contracts (Born 2004, 186). If all this weren't enough to create a loss of faith in senior management amongst employees (*B,* 20 May 2002), changes made to the senior management systems became the proverbial nail in the coffin.

While production departments faced mass redundancies and job insecurity created by the new wide scale practice of using freelance employees, senior management expanded in considerable numbers. Marketing and accountability had become the new focus and a team of accountants, strategists, market analysts, and researchers were employed to meet these

new priorities (Birt 2002, chap. 15). External consultants were also engaged on an unprecedented level. The level of resources expended on the latter were beginning to be questioned in the press by late 1999. While thousands of employees throughout the organisation were facing budget and job cuts, it was estimated that about £22 million per year was being spent on consultants (*DT*, 1 August 1999). Division between employees and senior management grew and morale in the organisation was damaged further (Born 2004, 218, 227).

Although the reorganisation of the BBC was considered by some to be mismanaged (Born 2004, 178; *I*, 29 January 2000; *B*, 7 April 2000b), it wasn't introduced completely without foundation. The BBC had indeed become inefficient. The organisation was facing increasing pressure from the government to become more efficient and accountable in its operations. In the year that restructuring in the organisation began, the BBC's broadcast charter was under examination and scheduled for renewal. Action had to be taken, but many perceive Birt's reaction to have been too extreme. The restructuring of the BBC had significant implications for creativity, the morale of employees and the way in which success was measured within the organisation (Born 2004). Consolidation of facilities aimed to avoid duplication of services and personnel, but resulted in the restriction of the organisation's independence and diversity. Georgina Born describes the management of this restructuring as 'a spectacularly misguided and self destructive adventure' (2004, 178). After being awarded a peerage in 1999 John Birt resigned from the BBC, as the two roles caused potential conflict of interest (*B*, 7 January 2000a). Despite Birt's efforts to install a successor with a similar vision for the BBC, the Board of Governors decided on an alternative direction, instead selecting a new Director-General with a very different approach to the organisation.

The Management of the BBC Under Greg Dyke 2000-2004

In 2000 Greg Dyke was appointed from the commercial sector as the Director-General of the BBC. Although he inherited all of the problems inherent in the organisation as a result of the restructuring process undertaken by Birt in the late 1990's, Dyke also inherited an agreed increase in the licence fee, and the outlined plans for a new digital strategy (Dyke 2004, 165). Although Dyke embraced the new direction towards digitisation, he had very different ideas about how the organisation would be managed under his directorship. Almost immediately policy and planning units were abolished, accounting systems reduced

from eleven to one and management and production reunited (Dyke 2004, 170; Born 2004, 468-469). Dyke's key aim at this time was to reduce the bureaucracy and rebuild morale in the BBC (*B*, 7 April 2000b; 2 November 1999).

Before his tenure had even begun, Dyke realised that he needed to develop a more inclusive culture in the organisation. Morale was low, many employees felt undervalued, and the relationship between senior management and the rest of the organisation's employees was at best non-existent and destructive at worst (Born 2004, chap. 3-9). A number of initiatives and structural changes were made almost immediately to try to turn this situation around. If efficiency, consolidation, centralisation, and synergy were the buzzwords during Birt's BBC, Dyke's was about addressing creativity, audiences, valuing people, and attacking bureaucracy (Dyke 2004, 155-156, 209-211). Shocked at the level of spending being allocated to operations and external consultants, Dyke made a promise to reduce spending in this area and put more money back into making programmes (*B*, 6 February 2001). Quality programming was the way in which Dyke interpreted the need to provide 'value for money'. He wanted to shift the objective of the BBC from Birt's aim 'to be the best managed public sector organisation in the world' to his vision to 'become the most creative organisation in the world' (Dyke 2004, 211).

Dyke considered one of the biggest problems with the BBC to be the constant over analysis of any proposed changes. This led to no one ever being willing to make a decision, thereby making the organisation risk-averse and uncreative (Dyke 2004, 156). Dyke wanted to facilitate more creativity and risk-taking in the organisation, and speed up the process of change. Soon after joining the BBC, Dyke and the then head of television, Mark Thompson, decided to take the bold step of moving the evening news on BBC 1 from 9pm to 10pm, giving those working in the channel just two weeks to make the change (*B*, 4 October 2000). Although the main area of concern for this research is in radio rather than television, this change had an impact on all operations of the organisation, sending out the message to all employees that under Dyke's leadership change and risk were not only possible but embraced. What would appear to be a relatively minor change to the schedule caused a mass of public outrage and debate, in the British press and in the government (*G*, 4 October 2000; *DT*, 4 October 2000). This criticism demonstrates the level of scrutiny the BBC uniquely faces when trying to make even the smallest of changes.

Following a review of BBC operations, Dyke put the organisation through another phase of restructuring to eliminate layers of management and the central commissioning board (*B*, 31 January 2000; 7 April 2000b; 26 August 2000; 8 December 2000). This restored the central decision making role to the experts in each genre. Programme makers were once again put in charge of their own budgets, removing the need for vast the number of accountants who were employed at the BBC when Dyke first joined the organisation (Born 2004, 468). The focus on marketing was continued, although it was approached in a slightly different way: rather than having numerous marketing departments competing against one another, these were consolidated into a single department. Large amounts of money was raised for the organisation through an increase in commercial activity through BBC Worldwide, cost saving in the operations of the organisation, and additional revenue from an increase in licence fee (Dyke 2004, 165-166, 170). This additional revenue was vital to the development of the BBC in this time period, providing the finance for the new strategy of developing digital television and radio systems in the UK and increasing the spend on programme making.

In 1999 Culture Secretary, Chris Smith, announced plans that would inform Britain's future in digital broadcasting (*G*, 16 December 1999). Two key points outlined in the plan were to have considerable implications for the future direction of the BBC and the shape of the organisation today. First, there was a requirement that the transition to digital broadcasting be made by 2010 and secondly, that public service broadcasting should remain at the core of broadcasting in the new digital age. It was Britain's aim not only to be seen as the leader in digital broadcast technology, but also to use this platform to deliver universal internet access into virtually every home in Britain, bridging the digital divide in the country.

Undoubtedly the public investment in digital broadcast technology through the BBC has been the driving the force behind Britain's leadership in the development of the platform. Through the provision of high quality programming on its new digital television and radio stations, the British public has been encouraged to buy into the platform (Dyke 2004, 176; BBC, March 2004, 26; DCMS, October 2004, 62). Dyke's strategy was to use digital stations to reach under-served communities such as ethnic minorities and children, through channels such as 1xtra and Cbeebies. This strategy made an assumption, based on Greg Dyke's own belief, that mixed-genre broadcasting is a thing of the past (Dyke 2004, 172). I

argue, however, that if the BBC continues in this direction with its stations in the digital age, its responsibility as a public broadcaster to promote social cohesion through the presentation of different cultures and ideas on the same station is brought into question.

Inside Radio One 1993 - 2002

Although institutional changes put in place by Birt didn't affect radio quite as radically as television, BBC radio stations were subjected to the split between management and production departments, and the greater focus on the market instituted across the organisation. As with the rest of the BBC, the mid 1990's was a time of change and turmoil in BBC radio. In 1992 Matthew Bannister wrote a paper entitled 'Extending Choice', arguing for greater diversity and innovation in Radio One's music output (Garfield 1998, 66; Born 2004, 260). The Radio One audience had aged with the station and Bannister saw that it was no longer serving the youth market. As a result of the ideas outlined in the document, soon after his commencement as Director-General in 1993, John Birt appointed Bannister as the new controller of Radio One. Bannister quickly and radically transformed the station, instilling ideas that remain central to the direction of the station to this day. In line with Birt's own focus on marketing across the BBC, the new brand of 'New Music First' was developed for Radio One. Bannister repositioned the station to target a 15 to 34 year old audience, using a focus on new music and trends to attract them (Garfield 1998, 101).

In order to achieve his vision for the new Radio One, Bannister was forced to make difficult changes, particularly removing high profile and established DJs from the station. The DJ's did not go quietly and Bannister faced a barrage of public objection and criticism in the British media (Garfield 1998, 68, 75). Despite the loss of millions of listeners as a result of the changes, Bannister and the BBC stood firm regarding their new strategy, hailing the repositioning a magnificent success. In line with Bannister's strategy, Radio One had shed many of its middle aged listeners, and had begun to attract a primarily young audience.

Bannister's transformation of Radio One was not only a positive move for the BBC, but was probably necessary in order to secure the renewal of the station's charter in 1996. Commercial radio stations were beginning to seriously question the public value of a station that, at that time, largely mirrored the broadcasting offered by their own stations

(Born 2004, 260). Under Bannister's transformation the new Radio One could justify its worth through its innovation in exposing its audience to the latest, possibly unfamiliar genres, nurturing new talent, and reaching a youth audience that was largely under-served across the rest of the BBC. Following Bannister's promotion to Head of Radio, Andy Parfitt took over as controller of Radio One in 1998. Parfitt fully understood, and agreed with, Bannister's strategy for the station and the focus on new music and youth markets has remained largely unchanged (*G*, 13 October 2003). Parfitt's management of Radio One has merely refined this thinking, placing greater emphasis on the scheduling of pre-release songs in the daytime playlist, and refining the focus on youth markets to target 16 to 24 year olds.

Inside 1xtra 2002 - 2004

Greg Dyke's focus on improving the service the BBC offered ethnic minority audiences in Britain had a significant impact on the development of the BBC digital broadcast strategy. Two of the five new digital radio stations created in 2002 were targeted to reach Asian and black audiences: Asian Network and 1xtra. 1xtra focused on black music genres in an effort to attract a young black audience, with whom the BBC had limited contact at that time. However, it is interesting to note that despite clearly stating in their 'Submission for the Secretary of State's Review of the BBC's New Digital Radio Services' that one of the aims of 1xtra was to reach previously under-served young black audiences, this is not measured in the document (BBC March 2004b, 2). Instead, general statements are made such as: 'Many listeners to the new digital services come from key audiences – young people and ethnic minorities' (BBC March 2004b, 32), or that: 'Nearly three in four of those only coming to BBC Radio for the new services are from an ethnic minority' (BBC March 2004b, 33). These statements indicate that the new stations are reaching some of their target audience, but tell us little about the actual audience make up for each station, and therefore whether 1xtra is indeed reaching a black audience. Black music is extremely popular among all ethnic groups in Britain. It is therefore possible that the audience for 1xtra is not as concentrated in the black youth market as the BBC had first assumed, bringing into question their assumption that young black people will be automatically drawn to a station because it plays black music, and that young white or Asian people will not.

The BBC's review of its new digital services was complimentary and made few recommendations for improvement. With the BBC charter renewal immanent, the Department for Culture Media and Sport commissioned its own independent research into the performance of BBC's digital radio stations, looking at peer analysis from commercial stations, audience opinion, and an examination of the output of each station. Audience data collected for this review reveals that 1xtra's audience is indeed constituted of young people of mixed ethnic origin. Far from serving a predominantly black audience, the station's largest audience actually comes from white groups and only 18% from black groups (DCMS, October 2004, 59).

Despite the relatively low percentage of 1xtra's audience made up of black groups, the balance of ethnic origin of the station's audience should not pose a major problem. Black groups in Britain constitute only two per cent of the population, a far lower percentage than the audience make up of 1xtra (Census 2001). It appears that the station is managing to serve a significant percentage of black groups, while also achieving a further purpose of a public broadcaster: the bringing together of different ethnic and social groups. The careful positioning of 1xtra as a station serving lovers of black music denotes the station's focus on content, and not on serving black audiences specifically. With high priority and focus given to the content of the station an examination of 1xtra's output becomes even more important, and is examined in greater detail in Chapter Four.

1xtra was not, however, operating in vacuum. The influence that Radio One had over the development of 1xtra was wide reaching. Radio One controller Andy Parfitt was in charge of the direction of the new station in the initial stages, with former Radio One producer Wilber Wilberforce taking over as head of programming for the station before its launch in 2002 (Parkinson, 20 September 2004; *O*, 14 November 2004). A large number of employees from Radio One moved over to work in the new station, making up a significant percentage of those employed in 1xtra (Parkinson, 20 September 2004). This brought the advantage of highly skilled and trained professionals to the station, helping to secure its success. Nevertheless, the fact that almost all senior management and a large number of other employees in 1xtra came from in the BBC may have prevented them from approaching the new station and its new platform with fresh ideas.

Indeed, 1xtra seems to have inherited all of the preconceived ideas about how a BBC radio station should operate, and the formats that it should follow. As at Radio One, mainstream shows featuring familiar artists and songs were scheduled during the day and specialist programmes covering specific genres in the evening (Parkinson, 20 September 2004; Benji B, 11 August 2004).[16] A playlist system was introduced, with weekly meetings open to producers from all shows broadcast on the station. Management structures also mirrored those of Radio One, although production teams in 1xtra were much smaller and, unlike Radio One, these teams also took responsibility for the online presence for each of their shows, in addition to the production of the programme itself (Parkinson, 20 September 2004). This merging of programme production and online presence made sense for this new station broadcasting on a new digital, interactive format, and could potentially influence ways of working in radio in the digital age.

As a very new station, in operation for just two years, there have been few changes to policy and management to date. Minor changes were made to the daytime schedule in July 2004.[17] These changes removed the drivetime show, replacing it with a new programme entitled TX Unlimited, which is the title 1xtra gives to its news service. The two hour show, broadcast during the drivetime slot, incorporates ideas from Radio One's Newsbeat service and Sunday Surgery show. It includes elements of news, features and music relevant to 1xtra's target audience. It is likely that this schedule change was driven not by artistic decisions, but as result of the station's failure in 2003/2004 to meet its annual target of 10% news, documentaries and social action programming.

Management Policy Changes Within Radio One 2002 - 2004

As a far more established station than 1xtra, broadcasting on an established format, changes in Radio One are more evident and more closely monitored by the British media than is the case for the new digital station. Radical changes made by Matthew Bannister in 1993 lost the station millions of listeners that it has never recovered, but were probably necessary for Radio One to justify its continuation as a public radio station. Andy Parfitt's approach to change at the station has been much more gradual, preferring the 'evolutionary

[16] Information also gathered from the 1xtra Programme Schedule available at URL: http://www.bbc.co.uk/1xtra/whatson/schedule.shtml
[17] Information gathered from the 1xtra Programme Schedule available at URL: http://www.bbc.co.uk/1xtra/whatson/schedule.shtml

rather than revolutionary' approach (*G*, 13 October 2003). Changes to the schedule, management systems, and internal policy have been managed in this way under his control.

In 2002 Parfitt put forward a proposed strategy for Radio One that was implemented gradually over two years during 2003 and 2004. The Board of Governors approved the strategy, and the first changes to the daytime schedule began to materialise in early 2003. These changes focused on placing the right personality in the right daytime slot, rather than being a decision about music policy. The changes were deemed aesthetically uninspiring, replacing one 'loud and lary northern host' with another 'loud and lary northern host' (*G*, 13 October 2003), but they helped to reverse the constant fall in audience figures that the station had suffered for a number of years.

With changes to the daytime schedule firmly in place, modifications of the evening schedule made in 2004 were far more interesting and artistically driven. Radio One used a combination of new ideas and proven formulas to inform this new strategy. Shows were repositioned in the evening schedule to give greater exposure to a wider range of current genre trends in Britain, such as Bobby and Nihal's Desi beats show which was moved from a 3am slot, to 9pm (*G*, 21 May 2004; *B*, 27 May 2004; Parkinson, 20 September 2004). Each evening also now had a genre theme running through the evening schedule, such as rock shows scheduled on Tuesday evenings and black music on Wednesdays. Although this was a new programming strategy for Radio One, it had been used successfully in other stations, such as London's Kiss FM, for a number of years.

The improvements to the listening figures, gained as a result of the changes made to the daytime schedule, were beginning to be reported around the time that the changes to the evening schedule were being made (Rajar, July 2004).[18] Extending popular daytime programmes could potentially have helped expand audience figures for the station but, rather than take this option, Andy Parfitt extended specialist programming, using Zane Lowe's popular mixed-genre evening show to help provide a new link between the daytime and evening schedule (Parkinson, 20 September 2004; Pearson, et al. 21 July 2004). This was the first time that a serious attempt had been made to provide a real link between the two streams of scheduling, demonstrating an acknowledgement by the senior management of Radio One, that daytime audiences needed greater guidance to encourage

[18] Rajar figures available at URL: http://www.rajar.co.uk

them to continue listening to more challenging programming provided by evening specialists shows (Parkinson, 20 September 2004; Gallie, 4 October 2004).

The decision to extend evening specialist programmes gives an insight into Andy Parfitt's direction for Radio One. Parfitt recognises the delicate balance that all stations in the BBC have to achieve: Securing a large enough audience to justify its existence, while fulfilling a public service with programming not already being supplied by the commercial sector. This balance is particularly difficult to get right in the more mainstream stations such as BBC 1 and Radio One. Bannister approached the problem by refocusing the station to reach a youth audience not adequately served elsewhere in the organisation. Parfitt has further refined this focus on youth audiences, and is concentrating on the public service aspect of the station rather than chasing audience figures (*G*, 7 August 2003; 13 October 2003). This strategy is probably vital if Radio One is to continue to justify its existence as a public radio station and differentiate itself from commercial stations offering a similar product. Without the constraints and pressure of securing large audience figures, the station has greater potential to bring further creative changes, and to take creative risks in the future that are not possible at commercial stations.

While changes were being made to the schedule, other new polices and procedures were also being implemented in the station. Following the introduction in the early 1990's of the independent production company quota for programming in the BBC, external companies now make most of the evening specialist programmes on Radio One (Humphrys, 11 November 2004).[19] This has helped to further consolidate the split between the daytime and evening schedule, and made the wealth of knowledge held by those making specialist programmes under-utilised by Radio One during the day. In recognition of this problem, in 2003 Radio One began to investigate ways to work more closely with external production companies working on their shows. Producers were invited to attend training sessions conducted by the BBC, providing an opportunity for producers from different shows to interact, improving their skills, and standardising the level of expertise of those working on the station's programmes. Around the same time, producers and senior managers working in these independent production companies were invited to attend a series of brainstorming

[19] Evening shows broadcast on Radio One and made by independent production companies as at 11 November 2004 include: Judge Jules, Westwood (two shows each week), Fergie, The Essential Mix, Dreemteam's Soulful Sessions, Gilles Peterson, The Breezeblock, The Rock Show and Reggae Dancehall Nite. Occasional half hour documentaries are also made in addition to these programmes.

sessions. These sessions aimed to gather ideas about ways in which the daytime and evening schedules could compliment one another more successfully, and explore ways in which Radio One could better utilise knowledge held by specialist producers (Pearson, et al, 21 July 2004).

One of the key changes to come out of these sessions was better cross referencing for evening shows during the daytime schedule. Short advert-style trailers for evening shows are now played more regularly during the daytime, and evening DJ's occasionally suggest a song for a one off play during a daytime show, giving listeners an indication of what their show has to offer. While evening show producers have welcomed these changes, (Pearson, et al, 21 July 2004) and although these changes are certainly a step in the right direction, I argue that they do not go far enough. With most of the station's audience accounted for during the day, it seems a wasted opportunity not to showcase songs from evening shows more regularly than three or four times per week, which is the current system.

Changes to the Radio One Playlist 2003 - 2004

The computerised playlist system has been used by Radio One since the 1980's. The system has remained largely unchanged since that time, but recently underwent modification. Under the previous system DJ's and producers from all daytime and evening shows were able to attend the weekly meeting to decide which songs would be placed on the daytime playlist for the following week (Pearson, et al, 21 July 2004). This remains the case at 1xtra (Benji B, 11 August 2004), but was changed at Radio One in early 2003 when a new meeting for specialist producers was created. Specialist DJs and producers now meet once a week to put together a list of suggested songs from their own shows (*MW*, 15 March 2003). These songs are now put forward as suggestions for the daytime playlist, but it is important to note that there is no guarantee that any of these suggestions will appear on the playlist (Pearson, et al, 21 July 2004). Under this new system specialist producers are prevented from attending the daytime playlist meeting. It was felt that specialist producers were not really 'in tune' with the needs of the daytime playlist, and that by reducing the number of people at the playlist meeting it could become more focused (Parkinson, 20 September 2004). However, with specialist producers unable to attend the daytime playlist meeting and present the case for why their selections should be included, I argue that songs put forward by them may be less likely to be included in the list.

Each of the evening programme producers take one or two songs from their show to the specialist playlist meeting, selecting songs that they believe could have crossover appeal, and therefore could be appropriate for the daytime playlist. As a group they then vote to decide which songs are put forward as suggestions for the daytime playlist. A positive outcome of the creation of the specialist playlist meeting was that specialist producers began to interact and share music more than they had in the past, leading to greater cohesion between each of the evening specialist shows. Members of the group may, for instance, decide that, although a song is not appropriate for the daytime playlist, it may work for their own specialist show. This is particularly useful for Zane Lowe's show which straddles the day and evening schedule. The specialist playlist meeting provides him with an insight into the songs that have crossover potential and therefore fit in with the remit of his show (Pearson, et al, 21 July 2004; Parkinson, 20 September 2004).

The changes to the playlist also introduced a new policy of reduced access for independent record label pluggers.[20] In March 2003 a number of independent pluggers and record companies were informed by email that they would 'no longer be included on regular appointments rotation with Radio One producers' (*MW*, 22 March 2003). Independents were now directed through specialist producers dealing with their specific repertoire. Compounded by the fact that the specialist producers, whom they did have access to, also had limited influence over the daytime playlist, independent record labels and pluggers recognised the detrimental effect this policy could have on the future of their business (*MW*, 22 March 2003).

In response, Chief Executive Officer of the Association of Independent Music, Alison Wenham, wrote to both Radio One and the Department for Culture Media and Sport objecting to the new policy. She argued that this policy of greater restriction of access would be detrimental to both the independent record label sector and the British music industry as a whole. Radio One has traditionally been the station to 'break' new genres of music through into the mainstream in Britain: notable examples include punk and UK Garage. Each of these genres has been brought through from the underground to wider public attention by the independent record label sector and Radio One (*MW*, 22 March 2003).

[20] A plugger is a person employed by record labels to help promote their releases to radio stations in an attempt to gain airplay.

It is because Radio One has such an influence on British music that any changes to policy face such scrutiny by the music industry and the British media. This relatively small change to Radio One policy could potentially have a significant effect on the independent music sector in Britain, as it is likely to negatively effect the diversity of British music that receives mainstream attention. Despite complaints about the policy, it remains in place and independent record companies are being forced to try to break their records through specialist producers.

Only a matter of months into the latest phase of the evening schedule change, it is too early to offer definite conclusions about the success of the new procedures. Radio One have certainly succeeded in attracting a greater number of listeners but, according to senior BBC management, this is not the main aim of the strategy (*G*, 13 October 2003; Parkinson, 20 September 2004). Radio One has demonstrated a commitment to its specialist output by moving specialist programmes to earlier slots, but its policy of restricting access for independent record labels appears to contradict this commitment. Senior management argue that music released by independent record labels will find its way through to the daytime playlist through the suggestions made by specialist producers (*MW*, 22 March 2003), but only by monitoring changes to the playlist can it be concluded whether or not this is actually happening.

The Impact of Playlist Selection Policy on Output

When gathering information about the music broadcast on Radio One and 1xtra, I requested that the BBC send me information on all music broadcast on the two stations over a week long period. I was informed that this information was not available, as the BBC keeps no records of actual music broadcast. The computerised playlist system records the songs scheduled for broadcast, but does not record what was actually played. Radio One does use a tracking company to provide information on the music they are broadcasting, but these companies use an electronic finger printing system to identify songs. This system also has flaws, as it is only able to identify songs input into the system. This means that the newest songs and those from more obscure sources are not picked up by the system, as only the larger record labels pay to have their songs tracked.

It would seem that the most obvious place to collect this data would be directly from the programmers themselves. Programmers do, in fact, compile music reporting forms running to around twelve pages per show. These reports detail 'musical notes played, including music beds and jingles' (Humphrys, 1 October 2004), but bizarrely do not provide information on the songs the show played. The fundamental problem with not keeping an accurate record of the station's output is that if BBC radio stations do not know what they have actually broadcast, it is conceivable that there could be a margin of error in the results published in their end of year report. With no record kept by the BBC of the information needed for this research, I concluded that content analysis of both Radio One and 1xtra's output should be conducted.

Conclusion

Changes in direction put in place by Birt and later Dyke have played a major role in shaping the BBC and the BBC radio stations Radio One and 1xtra into what they are today. A change in Director General at the BBC can have a fundamental affect on the output the organisation broadcasts. For example, without Dyke's changes to the digital strategy for the BBC it is unlikely that 1xtra would exist and the focus on representational diversity in the organisation would not be as significant.

Alongside the organisation wide affect changes in management have had on the BBC, I have also tried to consider how smaller changes to management and policy can affect the output of a music radio station. Unlike the bigger news stories of well known DJs being hired and fired from the radio schedule, changes to the playlist system are rarely covered by the media. However, I propose that during daytime programming, it is the changes made to the playlist system that will actually have the greatest impact on the output broadcast by the station. The Radio One playlist meeting is arguably one of the most powerful meetings in British music. Songs selected for this list can directly influence which songs certain retailers will stock in their shops and can give musicians a level of endorsement that enables them to gain airplay on other radio stations (Benji B, 11 August 2004). This level of influence over the careers of musicians represents Radio One's importance to the British music industry (*MW*, 22 March 2003) and makes the examination of its output all the more significant.

CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS OF RADIO ONE AND 1XTRA MUSIC OUTPUT

Introduction and Methodology of Music Output Analysis

Previous chapters have been largely concerned with changes to management and policy, and the internal effects these changes have had, on both the BBC as a whole, and on Radio One and 1xtra. Although the effects of policy and management on the output and creativity of each station has been outlined, it has not been explored in any depth. In this chapter I analyse the actual output of Radio One and 1xtra, and consider how management techniques and policies employed by each station might have affected this output. The radical changes made to the strategy of Radio One by Matthew Bannister in the early 1990's, provides a fitting example of how a change in policy can, dramatically and immediately, affect a station's output. As radio stations with a public remit, Radio One and 1xtra's output, and the way in which that output serves the population of Britain, is its sole reason for existence, making an examination of it important to this research.

Radio One and 1xtra each provides a mixed output of recorded music, speech, live music, news and documentary (BBC 2004d, 5). Although Radio One and 1xtra's speech, news and documentary output are vital components, assisting each radio station to fulfil its public broadcasting ideals, music remains at the heart of both stations. Music accounts for more than 70% of Radio One's output (BBC 2004d, 12), and is used to help lead young audiences towards the consumption of social action and documentary programming. The use of music helps to serve further public objectives by bringing together different ethnic and social groups through a shared interest in music, and through exposure to creative and aesthetic ideas. (BBC May 2004; DCMS 2004, 19).

As music is so central to the output of Radio One and 1xtra, an analysis of exactly what music is broadcast is necessary to build a profile for each station. The profiles include an examination of where similarities and differences occur, and what these similarities and differences reveal. Finally, I consider possible reasons why they occur. Seven days output of Radio One and 1xtra were monitored. I selected this timeframe as it directly reflects the programming of Radio One and 1xtra. The schedules for both stations operate over a seven day period. In reflection of this, the computerised playlist system, used by both stations, is

revised on a weekly basis. Monitoring for less than seven days would not provide a representative sample, excluding a range of programmes that features music that is not broadcast across other areas of the station. Chris Goldfinger's Saturday night dancehall show on Radio One, for example, features a large percentage of Jamaican music not generally broadcast on other Radio One programmes. A sample of less than seven days including Chris Goldfinger's show would indicate that, on average, a greater percentage of Jamaican music was being played on the station than was actually the case. Conversely, a sample excluding the show would indicate the opposite.

Analysis conducted over several weeks would generate equally valid results, and potentially provide results not possible to conclude over seven days of monitoring. The fifty or sixty-five songs included on the weekly daytime playlists do not change every week. Most songs remain on the playlist for several weeks, moving between the 'A', 'B' and 'C' lists, as determined by those present at each playlist meeting. It is therefore possible that patterns of repetition displayed over a four week period could differ from those demonstrated over seven days. However, I have followed the precedent set by Intelligent Media[21], the research company commissioned by the BBC to conduct a study of the music output of analogue radio stations in Britain (BBC 2004d, 29). Research conducted by Intelligent Media has been submitted to government for consideration with regard to the charter renewal of BBC analogue radio stations, demonstrating confidence from the industry, that results generated from seven days of monitoring are sufficient to make conclusions about a station's overall output.

The research conducted by Intelligent Media monitored the performance of BBC Radio One and Radio Two in comparison to a selection of their closest commercial competitors. For Radio One, comparisons were made against nine British commercial radio stations[22]. The factors examined were: the repetition of songs, amount of new music, number of songs unique to Radio One, the range of musical genres played and the number of British artists

[21] Research conducted by Intelligent Media measured the actual output of Radio One over a seven day chronological period of broadcast. This week was randomly selected. Inline with the research conducted by Intelligent Media the monitoring conducted for this research is also conducted over a seven consecutive days. The week monitored was also selected at random. All output measured mentioned in this chapter are taken from my own seven days of monitoring unless otherwise stated.

[22] Intelligent Media monitored the output of: Capital FM, Key 103, Leicester Sound, The Wave, Galaxy 105, Beat 106, Kiss, Virgin FM and XFM over a seven consecutive days during the same seven days that they monitored Radio One.

broadcast on the station.[23] The results provided a useful insight into the performance of Radio One in comparison to commercial broadcasters, but did not examine the station's output in depth, making no comparisons between evening and daytime programming. In the survey conducted for this research, I considered the relationship between the output broadcast at different times across the station's schedule to be an important indicator of the station's strategy as a whole. My monitoring of Radio One and 1xtra in November 2004, however, does not provide a comparison with rival commercial broadcasters. Rather, I am concerned with how different management approaches made by two BBC stations, approaching a similar audience, may have caused differences in output between these two stations.

As with the Intelligent Media research, the seven days of broadcast analysed for both Radio One and 1xtra were randomly selected. This sampling method was intended to provide evidence of a typical week's output for each station.[24] The radio stations were not notified of the analysis prior to the research, and their output is therefore not influenced by the knowledge that analysis was taking place. Despite this random selection, there may be a slight margin of error in the results gathered for the weekend output on 1xtra. The weekend monitored during this analysis was a specialist weekend dedicated to British music and therefore not a standard weekend of programming. I decided to continue the monitoring of this randomly selected week of output for 1xtra, as the station regularly features specialist weekends, focusing on themes like British music, or a specific sub-genre such as drum and bass. I argue that the weekend may be interpreted as characteristic of the station's output, although the specialist nature of the weekend programming on 1xtra should be kept in mind when comparing results with those of Radio One

I monitored songs played on Radio One and 1xtra over seven consecutive days, capturing the names and nationalities of the performer(s) and the record label releasing the song. I was then able to ascertain the number of new songs, the number of new artists, and the levels of

[23] Intelligent Media research defined categories as: Repetition - the total number of plays divided by the total number of songs; New Music – music that is broadcast pre-release or within one month of release; Unique Songs – songs played on a station during the survey week and not played on any other sampled station; Musical Genres – research used the same definitions as the BPI (British Phonographic Industry). No definition is given of how the research defined what was 'British' music.

[24] As with the Intelligent Media research monitoring took place over seven consecutive days. Days were not randomly selected over a longer period.

repetition.[25] In collating this information it was necessary to research release dates of songs, the nationality of the artist performing the song, the name of the record label releasing the song, and the number of albums released by the artist, for every song broadcast. I gathered this information through internet research, primarily using data provided on artists' websites. I only registered and researched the songs played for one minute thirty seconds or more. Songs played beneath speech, in advertisements or announcements were not registered. Live sessions, acoustic or concerts broadcast as live were, however, registered as songs. Where the song played has received a commercial release, the record label releasing the song was registered. Where the song has not received a commercial release I registered it as a white label.[26] I also recorded hip-hop artists performing 'freestyle' as a white label.[27]

It was not possible to identify all songs played during the research, which somewhat widens the margin of error in the results. Songs played by evening specialist programmes are sometimes white labels that do not have an artist accredited to it. DJs also occasionally failed to announce songs, or only announced either the artist or the song name and not both. All songs were recorded onto mini disc and, where possible, research was conducted later to establish the information missing for unannounced songs. For example, where an artist's name was announced, research on the artist's previous releases often uncovered the name of the song. Where songs could not be identified they were registered as unknown.

The daytime and evening output was monitored on Radio One during the week 1st to 7th November, 2004. I registered music output, recording all songs played each day between the hours of 07.00 to 19.00. Daytime programming was monitored from 07.00 to 19.00 from Monday to Thursday, Saturday and Sunday. Monitoring on Friday took place between 07.00 to 18.00. Daytime monitoring ended at 18.00 on Friday as evening specialist programming began at this time. I registered evening programming from 19.00 to 03.00 from Monday to Thursday, Saturday and Sunday and 18.00 to 03.00 on Friday, using the playlists made available by each evening show on the BBC website. Where playlists were not available, I monitored music output using the same method employed to monitor daytime output,

[25] The criteria used for measuring each of these categories are briefly explained at the beginning of each section in this chapter, with a detailed description available in Appendix Two.
[26] A white label is a record which has a plain white label on the cover. The name of the artist and even the song may be unknown as they may not be printed or written on the label. A white label is usually either a pre-release, released by small record companies or released by the individual artist themselves.
[27] Hip-hop 'freestyle' is where a rapper is given a beat to rhyme over. The performer does not use existing lyrics but creates new rhyming lyrics on the spot.

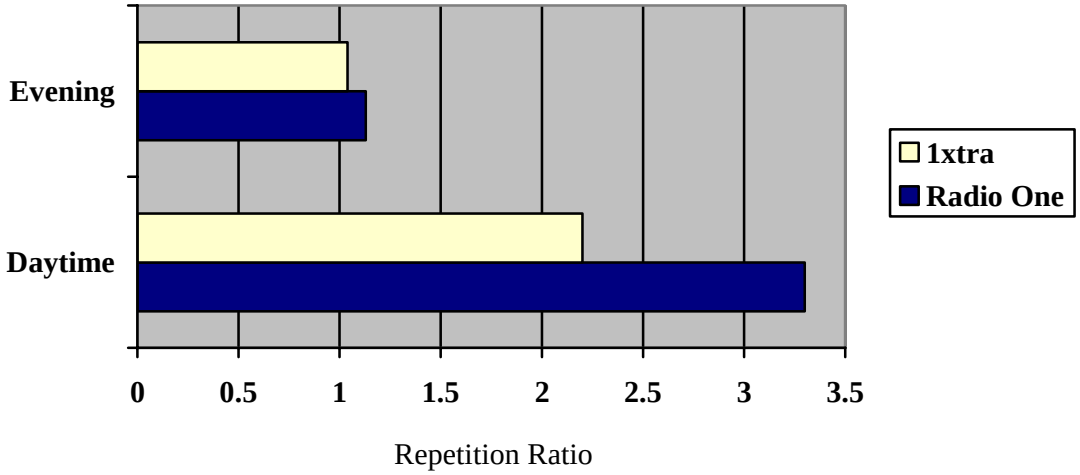
recording all songs played by the programme. Output on 1xtra was monitored the following week, 8th to 14th November, 2004. Daytime programming was monitored from 06.00 to 19.00 from Monday to Friday, and 06.00 to 17.00 Saturday and Sunday. Daytime monitoring ended at 17.00 on Saturday and Sunday as evening specialist programming began at this time. Evening programming was registered from 19.00 to 02.00 from Monday to Saturday and 17.00 to 03.00 Sunday, using playlists available on the BBC website.

Repetition

One of the key indicators examined in the Intelligent Media research was the level of repetition of songs played on each station. A repetition ratio was determined in order to assess the average number of plays per song, per week. This was calculated by dividing the total number of plays by the total number of songs. The study compared repetition of songs on Radio One against the nine other commercial stations, and concluded that Radio One had a lower rate of repetition than the commercial stations (BBC 2004d, 32). I adopted this method of calculation to establish repetition levels on Radio One and 1xtra.

For both Radio One and 1xtra there was a greater level of repetition during daytime programming, in comparison to repetition levels for evening programming. This is likely to be a direct result of the use of a computerised playlist method for the selection of most music aired during daytime shows. The computerised playlist system is designed to produce a particular level of repetition, in order to maintain a coherent identity and musical style that can be controlled by each station's senior management team through playlist meetings. Evening music output is decided in a different way. Evening shows, on both Radio One and 1xtra, are dedicated to specialist music programming. The songs played on each of these specialist music shows are complied by the show's DJ and producer, and are not influenced by the daytime playlist or senior management (Pearson et al, 21 July 2004). With different DJs and producers selecting the music for each evening show, the low levels of repetition of songs across all evening programming is not surprising.

4.1. Repetition Ratios for Evening and Daytime Output on Radio One and 1xtra.



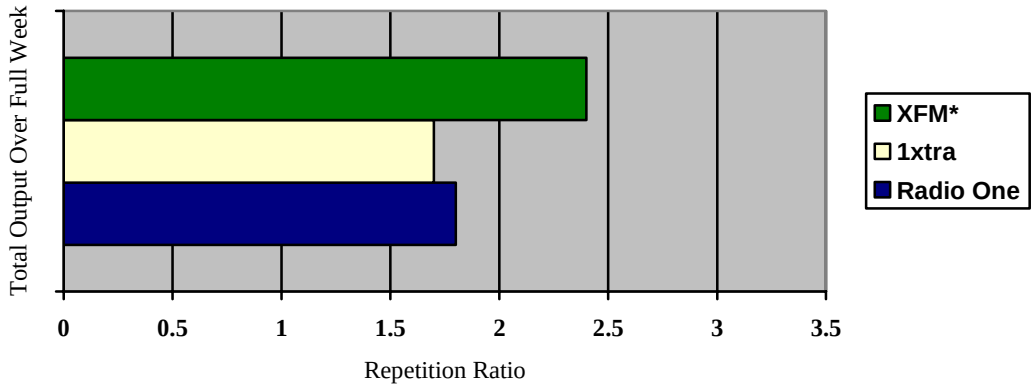
1xtra displayed an overall repetition ratio of 2.2 plays per song, per week, during daytime programming, and only 1.04 plays per song during evening programming. The difference between repetition ratios for daytime and evening programming on Radio One was greater still, with songs receiving an average of 3.3 plays during the daytime and only 1.13 plays during the evening. While both stations use the same computer playlist system, there is a notable difference in the level of repetition during daytime programming between Radio One and 1xtra, which suggests that other factors must influence the repetition of songs.

One such factor is that the number of songs on the Radio One playlist, and therefore the number of songs that the computer system is able to select from, is lower than the number of songs on the 1xtra playlist: Radio One includes fifty songs on its weekly list, while 1xtra has sixty-five. The formats of the two stations' daytime shows also differ. On Radio One, personality presenters provide speech in between a sequence of music generated by the computer system. In a two or three-hour show presenters are allocated one or two 'freeplays', where presenters are able to insert songs of their choice. This format has been established on 1xtra, with one key difference: in addition to freeplays, 1xtra DJs also perform a twenty-minute DJ mix in every two or three-hour daytime show. DJs select songs included in these mixes in much the same way that evening DJs select the music for their shows. Along with reducing the level of repetition in its daytime output, this also provides a level of synergy for 1xtra between daytime and evening programming.

Repetition of songs during evening programming was relatively low for both stations: 1.04 for 1xtra and 1.13 for Radio One. While the difference in repetition levels between the two stations' evening output is relatively small as compared to the daytime, these results remain surprising. While Radio One has a mixed-genre output, 1xtra is a single-genre station, covering black music only. A number of Radio One and 1xtra's evening specialist shows cover the same sub-genres: there are, for instance, three shows dedicated to dancehall and three to R&B. I would therefore expect there to be higher levels of repetition between evening shows on 1xtra. A possible reason for the fact that this is not the case could be the recent introduction of the specialist playlist meeting in Radio One, that has not been introduced at 1xtra (Benji B, 11 August 2004). This weekly meeting brings together DJs and producers from specialist shows across the station to share music. Although designed primarily to compile a list of suggested songs for consideration at the weekly daytime playlist meeting, the specialist meeting also provides an opportunity for DJs and producers to exchange music, which may account for the greater level of repetition in the Radio One evening programme.

Despite the differences in programming focus for Radio One and 1xtra over the weekend, results for repetition levels were remarkably similar. Both stations demonstrated low levels of repetition during evening programming: Radio One with levels of 1.01 repetition of songs and 1.016 on 1xtra. These relatively low levels of repetition may be attributed to two factors. First, weekends are shorter than weeks providing a lower number of specialist shows, and therefore there is less opportunity for repetition and overlap in terms of sub-genres covered by weekend programmes. Shows featuring different sub-genres are less likely to play the same songs. Daytime programmes broadcast during the weekend monitored for Radio One remained subject to the computerised playlist system, while 1xtra focused on specialist music output. With different programming strategies employed by Radio One and 1xtra during their daytime weekend output, a variation in their repetition ratios is perhaps predictable, with levels recorded for Radio One higher than for 1xtra: 1.9 and 1.26 respectively.

4.2. Repetition Ratios Over Seven Days for Radio One, 1xtra and XFM.



* Repetition ratio for XFM taken from Intelligent Media research, conducted May 2004.

My analysis revealed a significant result when the overall levels of repetition for each station were calculated. 1xtra demonstrated lower levels of repetition across daytime, evening and weekend programming, but the overall repetition level remains similar to that of Radio One. Radio One's overall repetition level was simply a mean number between daytime and evening figures, whilst 1xtra's repetition level comprised of repetition between daytime and evening programming. This indicates that there was greater repetition and crossover between the music played on daytime and evening programming on 1xtra than there was on Radio One. Repetition occurred on Radio One in its daytime output and in its evening output, but rarely between the two. This division between daytime and evening programming had already been recognised as a problem for Radio One by the station's controller, Andy Parfitt. The scheduling of specialist DJ Zane Lowe to the earlier time slot of 19.00 aimed to provide a bridge between the daytime and evening schedule. However, results gathered here suggest that this strategy has not yet been successful.

New Songs

Radio One and 1xtra have both issued strong written commitments to new music: the programme statements registering the aims of both stations for 2004/2005 claim that fostering new music is a key objective. I suggest that this commitment to new music is a strategic way of ensuring that the music output of Radio One and 1xtra is sufficiently differentiated from that offered by commercial competition, thereby helping to justify each station's existence as a public broadcaster. Radio One has set a target for a minimum of 40% of its music output to be new, and has recently repositioned its brand image, adopting the

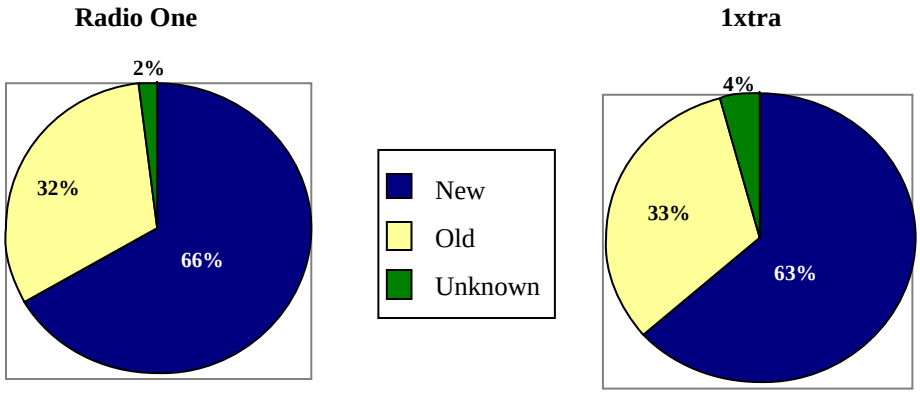
new slogan “In new music we trust”. As Radio One’s sister station, it is perhaps unsurprising that the emphasis on new music is also high at 1xtra. One of the aims listed in 1xtra’s programme statements for 2004/2005 was to ‘be the home of new black music in the UK’ (BBC 2004f, 30), with a further commitment that over 65% of 1xtra’s music output be new was made. New songs are categorised as those played either prior to official release or within four weeks of release. This definition of new songs is clearly defined in the BBC programme statements, and is therefore the criteria used in this research.

Of the music output broadcast by Radio One in its daytime programming, a high percentage, 63.8%, was new, with songs included on the Radio One playlist accounting for almost all of these. 1xtra followed a similar pattern during its weekday, daytime output, with 68.6% of all music broadcast being new. However, results recorded for 1xtra over the weekend were far lower, with new music accounting for just 35.1% of the music played during the daytime. A possible reason for this notable fall in the percentage of new music broadcast is the specialist focus on British music during the sample weekend monitored. Over this weekend 1xtra concentrated solely on British musicians, many of whom had not released songs within the previous four weeks. Instead, the station played a high percentage of recent songs: songs released during the previous twelve months, but not within the previous four weeks. With a restricted number of new releases by British artists making black music, the increased use of recent songs is unsurprising, if not necessary. When trying to give a full picture of British black music, it is not possible to restrict airplay only to those artists who have released songs within the previous four weeks. It is likely that this reduction in new music played occurs each time 1xtra organises a specialist weekend. For example, if the station wants to truly represent a specific sub-genre of music, it makes little sense to focus only on those artists who have released songs within the previous four weeks. The reduced level of new music broadcast over a specialist weekend could influence strategic programming decisions taken at other points in 1xtra’s output, explaining the high percentage of new music played during the week. 1xtra would need to maintain these high levels of new music when operating a standard week and weekend, to balance and attain their target percentage for new music over the year as a whole.

Both Radio One and 1xtra follow a similar scheduling system, placing specialist music shows in the evening and mainstream mixed-genre shows during the daytime. This is likely to account for the higher number of new songs broadcast during the evening on both

stations. New songs played on specialist music shows are mostly comprised of pre-release songs, rather than songs already available for general purchase. Specialist shows on Radio One and 1xtra have been designed to gain credibility by attempting to provide the first opportunity to hear new songs for audiences with an interest in a specialist music sub-genre. It is therefore, perhaps more surprising that the percentage of new music played during evening specialist music shows was as low as 69.6% for 1xtra and 68.9% for Radio One.

4.3. Number of New Songs Played by Radio One and 1xtra Over a Seven Day Period.



Overall, Radio One and 1xtra demonstrated similar patterns in the amount of new music played at different times across each station. Both broadcast high levels of new music, not only in terms of new releases, but also a high number of pre-releases. Radio One is far exceeding its target of 40% new music across all output, and could consider raising this target in future years. While a substantial 63.3% of the music broadcast on 1xtra was new, this figure fell short of the station's target of 65%. As discussed above, this figure is likely to have been affected greatly by the British music themed weekend that took place during the sample week monitored. Across 1xtra's annual broadcasting, it is probable that the 65% target is achieved and probably exceeded, as a high number of new songs would normally be broadcast during a standard weekend of programming. Figures released in the Department for Culture Media and Sport's review of BBC digital services confirm this, suggesting that the stations annual figures reach in excess of 70% (DCMS 2004, 60).

New Artists

The support of new songs is perhaps an easier commitment to make than one to new artists. The general public tend to be more receptive to a new song released by an established artist, than one with whom they have not yet built a familiar relationship. Radio One and 1xtra

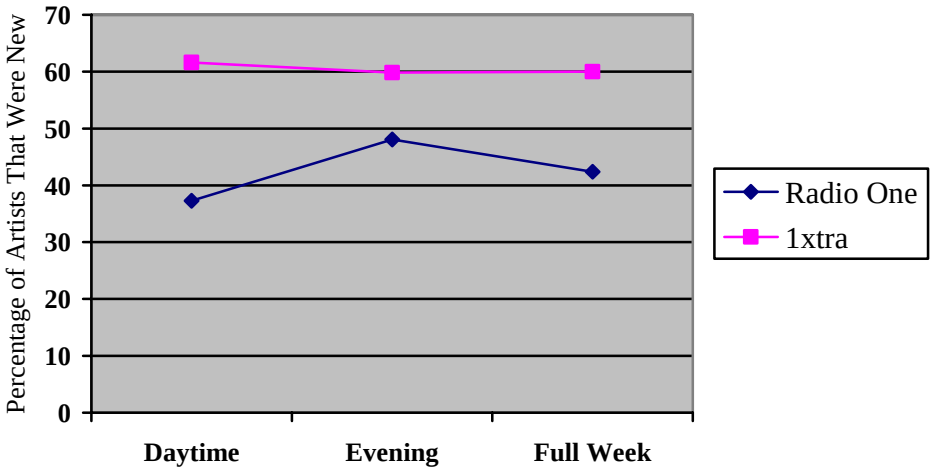
have recognised the difference between the support of new songs and new artists, and both make references to their commitment to supporting new artists in addition to new songs (BBC 2004f, 21; 30). Radio One expresses its commitment to new artists through its broadcast of their music: 'We will continue to be the place where listeners will hear new tracks and new performers for the first time.' (BBC 2004f, 21) While 1xtra expresses a similar commitment to new artists, it does so in a more proactive way: 'working to discover and support new musical talent.' (BBC 2004f, 30) The difference in the terminology used by the two radio stations suggests that the endorsement of new artists is of a higher concern at 1xtra than at Radio One; 1xtra looking to actively 'discover and support' new artists rather than simply give them airplay.

Despite the references to the support of new artists in the Radio One programme statements, the BBC commissioned research into analogue radio did not measure this in its study (BBC 2004d). As an area highlighted by both stations as meaningful to their overall strategy, I considered it important to monitor how well each station is actually performing in terms of the number of new artists it is supporting. I define new artists as those with one or fewer national debut album releases, within the last twelve months, in Britain. I registered performers with more than one album release during their careers, and those with one national album released more than twelve months ago, under the 'established' category. Calculations were made per artist played. Where a song was repeated or more than one song by an artist was played, I registered the artist only once. The calculation I made considered only how many of the artists featured on the station were new, rather than how much airtime was given to broadcasting music produced by new artists overall.

I found that most of the music broadcast by Radio One during its daytime programming was created by established artists, with new artists accounting for just 37.3% of the music output. This relatively low level of support for new artists during Radio One's daytime output can be attributed to the fact that the playlist tends to favour familiar, more established artists. 1xtra played significantly more music by new artists during its daytime programmes, accounting for 61.6% of the station's daytime output. Many of the new artists broadcast on 1xtra during the weekday, daytime output, were included in the 1xtra playlist. However, I argue that endorsement of new artists must be more deeply rooted in the culture of 1xtra, and the support of new artists can not only be attributed to the selection of music in the playlist. During the weekend monitored, the weekly 1xtra playlist was not applied to its

programming. Nevertheless, 72% of the music broadcast was by new artists, demonstrating 1xtra's commitment to these musicians across its output.

4.4. Percentage of New Artists Broadcast by Radio One and 1xtra.



New artists are given greater support by both Radio One and 1xtra in their evening programming, in comparison to the day: 48.1% of the artists broadcast on Radio One, and 59.8% of the artists broadcast on 1xtra were registered as new artists. As described earlier in this chapter in relation to the support of new songs, specialist music shows in the evening are designed to attract audiences by programming new music, thereby leading trends. Although both stations follow this programming format, the percentage of new artists broadcast during the evening output on 1xtra remains higher than that of Radio One, suggesting that the inclusion of specialist music shows increases support for new artists, but is not the only factor influencing the number of new artists broadcast by each station. Overall, Radio One achieved its aim of broadcasting new artists to a reasonable level, with new artists accounting for 42.4% of the artists broadcast over the week's output. However, as suggested by the results recorded for both stations' daytime output, its level of support was not as significant as in 1xtra, where new artists accounted for 60% of the artists broadcast over the week's output. As suggested in the programme statements, 1xtra's approach to new artists was of a higher priority for the station than for Radio One. Generally 1xtra's approach to the support of new music was more consistent than Radio One, featuring a higher percentage of new artists across daytime, evening, weekday and weekend programming, indicating that the support of new artists is as important for 1xtra as its support for new songs.

Nationality of performers

As a public broadcaster the BBC plays an important role in influencing British culture, reflecting the country's social formations and way in which its population views itself. Director-General, Greg Dyke expressed his agreement with the assertion that the BBC has responsibilities in terms of influencing and mirroring British society. He believed that these responsibilities would become even more prevalent, and that it was vital that BBC stations remain 'overwhelmingly British' in the new multi-channel digital age (Dyke 2004, 173). If Greg Dyke's vision for a future BBC with a British focus had resonance amongst the new digital channels, it did not within the already established analogue stations. In July 2003, Sean O'Brien, chairman of Telstar record label, wrote to Radio One controller Andy Parfitt, to protest against the decline in the level of support given to British artists by the station. The letter, endorsed by British record label trade associations, claimed that the level of airplay given to British artists had halved from 60% in 1999 to 30% in 2003 (*G*, 8 July 2003). If improvements were not made, the industry threatened to take the matter to government, lobbying for the introduction of a quota system that would introduce a minimum amount of British music to be broadcast on the station.

Quota systems are used in countries such as Canada and France to help promote their local recording industries, but have never been used in Britain. The British recording industry is second in the world in terms of revenue generated, and receives significant airplay across all British radio stations. Although the station is not yet legally required to play a set percentage of British artists, Radio One opted to impose a target for its output of 40% British music. If Radio One are indeed meeting this target, it is questionable what effect the introduction of a quota would have, unless the quota was made unreasonably high. The British recording industry was specifically challenging the music output of Radio One through Sean O'Brien's letter, but, if the BBC are to follow Dyke's ideal of an 'overwhelming British' BBC, consideration must also be given to other BBC stations. 1xtra does not set any targets for the amount of British music it broadcasts, but does make reference to 'supporting new British artists' (BBC 2004f, 30). The lack of formal targets suggests that either a normative assumption exists in 1xtra that significant amounts of British music will be played, or that the support of British music is not as prevalent as at Radio One.

The objections made by the British recording industry detailed above relate to the amount of airplay given to British music during the daytime schedule, and not across Radio One overall. It is not surprising that the industry is eager to gain higher levels of airplay during the day, as daytime programmes have the highest number of listeners and are therefore potentially more lucrative to record labels in terms of sales. The debate concerning the support of British music on Radio One in the local music industry and press, suggests that nationality should be measured in my research. I therefore registered the nationality of the performer or performers of each song, and calculated percentages for daytime and evening programmes. Nationality is judged here as the country in which performers have held residency for ten years or more.

The week monitored for this research took place sixteen months after the protests outlined above were made by British record labels. My results showed that Radio One was indeed meeting their target of 40% music broadcast during its daytime output. As the methodology used to calculate the 30% figure quoted by Sean O'Brien is unknown, it is difficult to determine whether these differences in findings are a result of the difference in methodology or a change in strategy made by Radio One in response to these complaints, resulting in an increase in the amount of British music included in the weekly playlist. The latter would appear to be the case, as my research revealed that, during the week monitored 47% of the artists included in daytime playlist were British, with British artists accounting for 40% of the actual output on Radio One.

Although 1xtra does not set any targets for the percentage of British music it broadcasts, it out performed Radio One, with 50% of the station's daytime output being created by British artists, in comparison to Radio One's 40%. These figures were taken from actual output during the daytime weekday programme of the week I monitored and were not directly affected by the weekend output. It is, however, possible that the number of British artists featured on 1xtra during this week was increased, in anticipation of the British music focus taking place that weekend. Nevertheless, the scheduling of a British music weekend in itself demonstrates that the support of British music is being taken seriously at 1xtra.

4.5. Nationality of Artists Broadcast on Radio One and 1xtra.

	Radio One			1xtra		
Nationality	**Daytime**	**Evening**	**Full Week**	**Daytime**	**Evening**	**Daytime & Evening**
Australian/NZD	3.6%	1%	2.3%	0	0	0
British	40%	40%	40%	49%	46%	47.5%
Canadian	1.3%	1.4%	1.35%	0	0.3%	0.15%
European	5.4%	12.6%	9%	0	1.7%	0.85%
Irish	4.5%	0.6%	2.6%	0.4%	0	0.2%
Jamaican	0.6%	4%	2.3%	4.5%	23%	14%
American	43.8%	33%	38.4%	43%	22%	32.5%
Unknown	0.4%	6%	3.2%	1.6%	7%	4.3%
Other*	0.1%	1%	0.55%	0	0.3%	0.15%

* Other includes Brazilian, Israeli, Japanese and mixed: where artists of two different nationalities work in collaboration.

1xtra and Radio One broadcast similar percentages of British music during their evening programming: 1xtra broadcast 46% and Radio One 43%. The percentage of British music broadcast on Radio One's evening programming was marginally higher than that of their daytime output. The most notable difference was that during the evening, British music accounted for the majority of Radio One's output, whereas during the day, American music was highest. For 1xtra, British music accounted for the majority of its output across all times on the schedule, realising Greg Dykes vision that BBC digital stations would have a British feel. The large percentage of Jamaican music played on 1xtra was from dancehall shows, but again, levels of support for UK music was balanced between the daytime and evening.

Results show that over the week monitored, Radio One reached it's target of 40% British music in its daytime and evening output. According to the end of year report for 2003/2004, the station exceeded its target for that year of 35%, achieving 45% British music across its total annual output. This could therefore indicate that the percentage of British music played on the station fluctuates from week to week, some weeks falling below 40% and some over. This fluctuation must certainly occur to a certain degree, but the discrepancy between results gathered during this research and those published by the BBC in their end of year report may also be attributed to differences in methodology, as discussed at the end of chapter three, when recording these results.

Results deriving from my research indicate that Radio One is falling marginally under its target for British music broadcast on the station, but this is unlikely to be deemed sufficient evidence to convince the government to impose a quota on the station as the industry might like. The current government has already displayed their commitment to a neo-liberalist policy, encouraging competition and removing legislative restrictions in its Communications Act of 2003. To have any chance of success, I suggest that the record labels would have to argue the need for a British music quota either on the grounds of the BBC's onus as a public broadcaster to reflect British culture, or that Radio One's requirement is to offer a service that is different from that already offered by the commercial market. Essentially it is about getting the right balance. I argue that a station broadcasting only British music would fail to expose audiences to different creative ideas from around the world, but too much music from foreign countries, particularly the high percentage broadcast from the United States, could potentially threaten the distinct nature of British music.

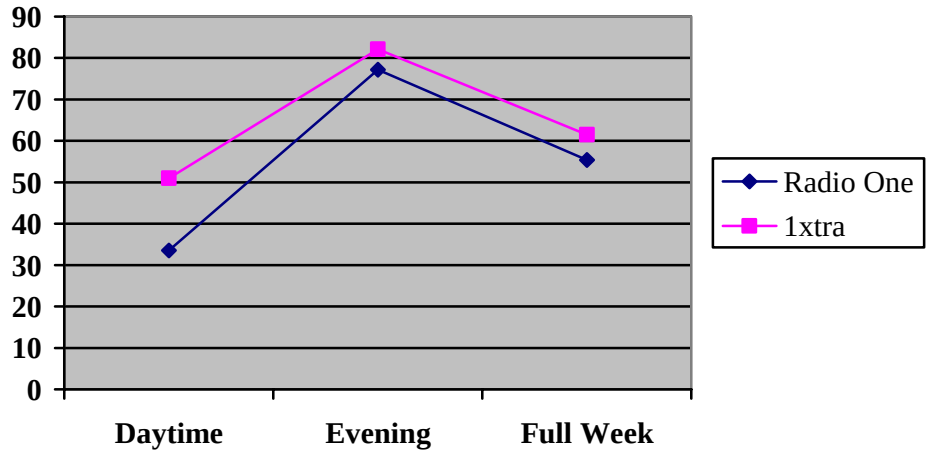
Record label

As discussed in Chapter Three, independent record labels faced a set back in 2003 after access to Radio One producers was either removed or became restricted. As the independent record label sector has acted as a catalyst for the development of many new music genres created in Britain over the last forty years, these labels are arguably important to the future growth of the British music industry. It is therefore important to consider, a year after this policy was established, what effect this change in Radio One has had on the inclusion of music released by these labels. For this research, I recorded the record label releasing each song. Record labels registered as 'majors' are Warner, Universal, EMI and Sony-BMG and all subsidiaries affiliated to these labels. All other labels fall under the 'independent' category. Where a song has not received a commercial release it is registered as a white label and therefore falls within the 'independent' category.

Of the music broadcast on Radio One during its daytime programming, 33.5% was released by independent record labels. In comparison to 1xtra, whose music output featured 51%, Radio One's support of independent releases is low. The comparison of these results suggests that the restriction of access has indeed had a negative effect on the amount of music played by independent record labels on Radio One. However, it is not possible to make this conclusion with absolute certainty. It is feasible that Radio One's support of independent labels was low or even lower before these changes were made. Without

previous figures to compare the data to, I am only able to conclude that Radio One has a significantly more mainstream focus than 1xtra.

4.6. Percentage of Music Broadcast by Radio One and 1xtra that was Released by an Independent Record Label.



The evening output saw a sharp rise in the level of support for independent record labels for both stations. 1xtra's broadcast of independent music increased from its daytime level from 51% to 82.1%, and Radio One's from 33.5% to 77.2%. This significant difference between daytime and evening support of independent record labels demonstrates the major label association with the mainstream, generally programmed during the daytime schedule, and the independent label association with the underground, generally programmed during the evening schedule. 1xtra displayed greater levels of support for independent labels across all of its broadcasting, indicating that the station has stronger connections to the underground music scene than Radio One. The difference in the level of support between daytime and evening programming was also less than at Radio One, highlighting greater synergy between the daytime and evening strategy for 1xtra.

The variety of genres broadcast by each station has not been monitored in this study. Radio One is a mixed-genre station and 1xtra a single genre station, focusing only on black music. A comparison of genres broadcast by each station would therefore show that Radio One covers a greater number of sub-genres while 1xtra is restricted to cover only those which fall within black music. The comparison of genres broadcast by Radio One and 1xtra would simply provide confirmation of each station's musical remit. Information relating to music

genres broadcast by each station is available in research conducted into BBC digital radio by the Department of Culture Media and Sport (October 2004), and BBC commissioned research into BBC analogue radio (2004d). The results from both pieces of research confirm that Radio One covers a greater number of sub-genres than 1xtra, although there are sub-genres, such as gospel, broadcast on 1xtra that are not broadcast by Radio One.

Conclusion

Radio One and 1xtra are operated by the same organisation and target a similar audience - the youth market. Both use a strategy of presenting new music, and use a similar scheduling format of computerised, playlisted programmes during the daytime and specialist music programmes in the evening. These similarities in strategy brought a number of parallels in the results each station displayed during this research. Radio One and 1xtra both demonstrated higher levels of repetition, less new music, less new artists, less focus on British music and lower levels of releases from independent record labels during their daytime programming, in comparison to their evening broadcast. Although these patterns were similar for each station, when comparing Radio One and 1xtra against each other, differences began to appear.

Both stations position themselves as focusing on new music, but the way they interpret this is not the same. Each station plays a high percentage of new songs, but 1xtra broadcasts a far higher number of new artists. Results suggest that Radio One focuses on supporting new music only in the form of new releases from established artists. Support for new artists, particularly during the daytime, was low. Of the new artists featured in the daytime output of Radio One, a significant number are likely to be signed to major record labels, and therefore are more likely to have marketing budgets to help bring them into the mainstream faster than those signed to an independent. This conclusion is made based on two pieces of evidence. Major record labels account for a high percentage of the songs played on Radio One, particularly during the daytime broadcast. During an interview with Ian Parkinson, Head of Specialist Radio at Radio One, he spoke of three new artists that the station had successfully promoted from specialist programming over to the mainstream, daytime playlist. The three artists mentioned were Keane, Razorlight and Kasabian, all of which are signed to a major record labels.[28]

[28] Keane are signed to Island records, Razorlight are signed to Vertigo (and imprint of Polygram), and Kasabian are signed to Arista.

A key distinction between Radio One and 1xtra, highlighted as a result of this research, has been the variance in results between daytime and evening programming. Both stations demonstrated a difference in levels, across all categories monitored, from daytime to evening. These different levels are to be expected, as both stations shift from a playlist format in the daytime to a specialist music format in the evening. What is significant is that the difference in figures from daytime to evening for Radio One was significantly greater than for 1xtra in every category tested. This suggests that there is a greater divide between daytime and evening on Radio One, and a higher level of consistency across the schedule at 1xtra.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

My research has considered the BBC's approach to diversity, the changes in management style, and the output of two BBC radio stations: Radio One and 1xtra. Although the three subjects have been analysed in separate chapters there is a degree of overlap, where the different subjects influence and affect one another. It is these relationships that provide the most interesting areas of debate in this final chapter. Here I reflect on findings revealed throughout my research, considering the internal changes discussed in Chapters Two and three alongside external output measured in Chapter Four. Through the examination of all data gathered and discussed in previous chapters, I am able to draw conclusions about how internal changes can affect the music output of Radio One and 1xtra. The conclusion, therefore, discusses the research in two contexts: first examining the findings of the research, and secondly considering how these findings may help to predict the effects of change in Radio One and 1xtra in the future.

Although Radio One and 1xtra are the focus of this research, considerable attention is also given to the BBC overall. Public broadcasting requirements governing the BBC have a significant impact on the way in which Radio One and 1xtra are managed. Matters discussed and implemented at an organisational, or governmental, level can have considerable implications for all BBC stations. Where these matters impact on the operations of Radio One and 1xtra, they are examined in relation to this research. Through examination of changes occurring across the British media industry and the BBC, I consider the potential effects on the output of Radio One and 1xtra.

The BBC is one of the most important cultural institutions in Britain. It has been informing and reflecting British culture for over eight decades, and more recently has communicated this culture to countries across the world through the BBC World Service and the sale of programmes through BBC Worldwide. I suggest that the key to the BBC's prosperity has been in its ability to adapt to a changing environment. More recently this has meant the movement into new technologies such as developing an online presence and digital broadcasting. The BBC has consistently managed to react quickly to developments, while not loosing sight of its public responsibilities.

The Future of Public Broadcasting in Britain

Despite its past successes, the future of the BBC remains uncertain. Over the last two decades, public broadcasters around the world have come under increasing pressure: they face budget cuts, interference from governments, and heightened competition from global media conglomerates. The BBC is no exception; it has had to continually justify its worth as a public broadcaster to government since Margaret Thatcher's term as Prime Minister in the 1980's, and faces intense competition from Rupert Murdoch's Sky Network. The current Labour government has expressed its own Thatcherite-like polices, favouring a neo-liberal approach of encouraging competition, in its Communications Act of 2003. In an environment where commercial industry and market-driven competition are considered in the highest regard, what is the BBC's future, as public broadcaster, in this sector?

If the BBC no longer existed as a public broadcaster, the British public would continue to have access to a variety of television and radio stations provided by the commercial market. However, my concern is not the number of channels available, but the type and quantity of the output broadcast by commercial operators, whose output is driven by advertising revenue dependent on audience figures. As my analysis, in Chapter Three, of Birt's management style revealed, the focus on audience figures can result in the reduction of challenging and creative ideas, as programme makers follow proven formulas to secure the largest possible audience. This has resonance for Radio One and 1xtra, which, if put under pressure to secure greater audience figures, could be forced to reduce their support of new and diverse music,[29]and follow popular formats favoured by commercial broadcasters. The commercial media are unconcerned with such public broadcasting ideals as the creation of creative programming, or the encouragement of social action or cohesion. Their concern is only with audience figures and the advertising revenue those audiences are able to attract.

Since the BBC was established in the 1920's, it has been subject to a Royal Charter and Agreement. This charter is reviewed every ten years, defining the remits of the BBC, as a public broadcaster for the following decade. The review is managed by the Department for Culture Media and Sport, who have been consulting with the British media industry and the British public, inviting comments on the BBC, since 2003. This process of consultation has been taken into consideration, and a green paper is currently being assembled outling

[29] As revealed in the content analysis conducted in Chapter Four.

the department's recommendations for the BBC charter for the next decade (*MW*, 10 August 2004). Although the BBC is expected to be granted a new charter (*B*, 18 October 2004), in theory the government could recommend that it be revoked. There is also a possibility that recommendations be made to alter or completely remove certain services or stations. The green paper will be published early in 2005, providing a detailed outlook for the future of public broadcasting in Britain in the coming years. Until the new charter is confirmed, the future of the BBC, in its current format, is potentially under threat. The Department for Culture Media and Sport have been careful not to give anything away about the review, commenting only that they are 'ruling nothing out' (*MW*, 10 August 2004).

A better indication of the BBC's future is provided by the review of public television broadcasting conducted by new communications regulator, Ofcom. The findings of the Ofcom analysis will feed directly into the government review of the BBC charter, and so provides a useful insight into some of the recommendations guiding the green paper. The Ofcom review examined services offered by all BBC television channels and commercial channels with public remits: ITV, Channel 4 and Five. The review concluded that, not only was there a clear need for a public broadcaster in Britain, but that a second public broadcaster should be created (*G*, 30 September 2004; 1 October 2004; Ofcom, 28 September 2004). The report argued that competition from other commercial television channels was not sufficiently encouraging the BBC to focus on its public remit. A recommendation was made that a new public broadcasting television station be created that would broadcast on the digital platform, and would not be managed by the BBC. The creation of a new public broadcaster would certainly have a positive effect on the BBC, encouraging the organisation to focus on public broadcasting rather than battling for audience figures with its only current competition, commercial broadcasters. This demonstration by Ofcom of a serious commitment to a public agenda in British broadcasting sends positive message to the BBC, and can only help encourage the creation of a greater amount of programming with a public focus.

I suggest that the support for public broadcasting articulated by Ofcom could have a positive effect on the diversity of music output on Radio One and 1xtra in the future. With encouragement from the industry regulatory body to pursue public objectives over audience figures, the senior management of both stations are likely to have greater

confidence in taking creative risks. Radio One controller, Andy Parfitt, has already demonstrated this with his decision to place increased focus on specialist programmes, despite its poorer performance in terms of audience figures. As my analysis of Radio One and 1xtra reveals, an increased focus on specialist programming could lead to a more differentiated product and greater diversity in the music output of each station.[30]

Although the findings of the Ofcom report will certainly be considered by government, the recommendations made will not necessarily be adopted. Millions of pounds would need to be found to create a new television station, and it is unclear where this money would come from. The cost of financing another public television station is considered by many writing in the British press to be the deciding factor in terms of why this is unlikely to go ahead (*G*, 5 October 2004). Regardless of whether a new public broadcaster is formed or not, these recommendations provide a positive indication that the role of the public broadcaster is being taken seriously, and will have a significant role to play in the next decade of broadcasting in Britain. As fewer conglomerates control the world's media, I suggest that the necessity of supporting a strong public broadcaster, and the renewal of the BBC charter, becomes ever more important. Media controlled by commercial companies has already demonstrated that providing services to all groups of society is not good business sense, and instead targets those groups with higher incomes that are attractive to advertisers. To retain a truly independent media in Britain the BBC must remain publicly accountable - independent from both commercial and governmental influence.

The Future of the BBC: Government Intervention

The need for the BBC's independence from government is apparent in relation to professional journalism and the prevention of propaganda, but it also has resonance for my research in that government intervention tends to affect internal operations across the organisation. Increasing government intervention puts strain on BBC operations, and could potentially stifle risk, as the organisation's activities are brought into question. Changes to management and policy are likely to occur as the BBC shifts from focusing on its accountability to the general public, to being made increasingly accountable to government. My research revealed that the output of both Radio One and 1xtra is sensitive

[30] Results revealed higher levels of new music and lower repetition levels during evening specialist programmes in comparison to daytime programmes on both Radio One and 1xtra.

to changes in management and policy.[31] Therefore excessive government intervention, which could potentially result in significant changes across the organisation, could have a direct effect on the diversity of the output broadcast by both stations.

In the past, intervention from government put pressure on the BBC to focus heavily on efficiency and organisational restructure. However, this focus on efficiency came at the expense of creativity and risk in programming across the organisation. As a publicly owned organisation, it is recognised that the BBC must have a level of accountability, but overseeing this is not the role of government. A Board of Governors, independent of the BBC and government, is currently engaged to represent the interests of the general public and, with strong leadership, I suggest that they are best able to ensure that the BBC continues to meet its public responsibilities.

As a result of the findings of the Hutton inquiry, Gavyn Davis and Greg Dyke were forced to resign (*G*, 28 January 2004; 5 February 2004; 6 February 2004), leading to the recent appointment of a new Chairman of the Board of Governors and new Director-General. The question is, what will these appointments mean for the future of the BBC? As has already been demonstrated by the effects of the different management strategies employed by John Birt, and later Greg Dyke, a new Director-General can bring sweeping changes for the organisation as a whole. With the BBC charter renewal a matter of months away, and relations with government severely damaged by the events leading to the Hutton inquiry, the selection of the new Director-General and Chairman could have easily favoured those with close relations to government. However, the appointment of Mark Thompson as the new Director-General, and Michael Grade as new Chairman, indicates that this is not the course of action that the board of governors opted to take.

A former head of television for the BBC, Mark Thompson returned to the organisation as Director-General in June 2004 (*B*, 4 June 2004). So early into his directorship it is difficult to assess the level to which he will be influenced by pressure from government. However, decisions taken to date indicate Thompson's commitment to editorial independence from government. Despite sensitivity surrounding the BBC's coverage of Iraq, post the Hutton

[31] Research results showed that differences in playlist policy resulted in different repetition levels and levels of new songs and new artists broadcast on Radio One and 1xtra. Management changes made by Matthew Bannister in 1993 effectively altered the entire focus and music broadcast by Radio One.

inquiry, the organisation has not censored its journalism. The death of four soldiers serving in Iraq, in November 2004, was covered from all angles by the BBC, incorporating the opinions of one of the deceased's family who objected to the British presence in Iraq. Thompson is supported in his ideals of independence from government by the new Chairman, Michael Grade, who is the first person to be engaged as Chairman of the BBC, with a working experience of the broadcast industry.[32] Grade is considered as something of a maverick and was a surprise appointment, with some newspapers suggesting that it was the government's apology to the BBC for the disruption caused by the Hutton inquiry (*G*, 2 April 2004). On appointment as Chairman, Grade immediately expressed his belief that the BBC should remain independent of government intervention, pledging that the organisation would 'remain an independent, universally available, value for money public broadcaster' (*G*, 2 April 2004)**.**

So soon after the Hutton enquiry, it is difficult to assess exactly what long term effect it will have regarding the level of government intervention in the BBC in the future. Georgina Born talks of an increasing pattern of interference by government, displayed in the constant reviews of BBC operations and services, and ministerial criticism of the editorial decision to move the timing of the evening news (2004, 497-500). She concludes that one of the reasons behind this intervention is the government's lack of confidence in the BBC board of governors, whose role is to ensure that the BBC fulfils its public broadcasting remit, thereby removing the need for direct interference by government. However, BBC governors are considered by some to be too close to the organisation (*B,* 31 March 2004; 3 November 2004), acting more as an extension of management rather than as an independent watchdog. Until the system is changed, Born believes that government will continue to intervene in the organisation (2004, 500-502). In November 2004, the Department for Culture Media and Sport announced that changes were to be made to the current system governing the BBC (*B,* 3 November 2004). In an attempt to keep the board of governors independent from the organisation itself, governors are to be moved to offices at a site away from BBC property. This change to the level of interaction of the board with the organisation itself, is likely to have one of two possible consequences. These alterations could simply indicate the beginning of further intervention from government regarding the senior management operations of the organisation. Alternatively, assuming

[32] Michael Grade was previously Chief Executive of Channel 4 and Vice-President of BAFTA.

government is satisfied that the new system of governance for the BBC is adequate, it may take a less intrusive stance, allowing the board of governors to monitor the organisation.

Greg Dyke believes that the second scenario, of a reduction in interference from government is most probable. In his autobiography (2004), Dyke comments that he believes government will reduce its pressure on the BBC, not wanting to endure another public row of the scale of the Hutton enquiry. Research indicates overwhelming public support for the BBC (BBC 2004a, 20; *G*, 29 January 2004) and government are unlikely to risk a situation where it asks the public to choose between the broadcaster, which has been a fixture in British homes for decades, and the ruling government. Regardless of the direction government chooses to take, the responsibility rests with Mark Thompson and Michael Grade to remain fiercely independent and present quality journalism that offers a diversity of opinion. This appears likely to happen, because both men have demonstrated strong leadership qualities and conviction in their strategies in previous roles in different broadcasting organisations. Their commitments to independence and quality, articulated since each of their appointments, provides a positive indication that, for the immediate future at least, the organisation will remain relatively uninfluenced by pressure from government.

The Future of Radio One and 1xtra: The Radio One Charter

Of all BBC radio stations, Radio One has faced the greatest pressure from government and the commercial industry, constantly having to justify its worth as a public broadcaster. The charter review of 1986 was perhaps one of the most trying times for the station, after a government report complied by market economist Alan Peacock suggested that Radio One was a good candidate for privatisation (Born 2004, 50; *B*, 26 November 1999b). At this time Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, was eager to privatise the BBC as a whole, and the privatisation of Radio One alone was not her vision. The BBC argued its case and the overall conclusion of the Peacock report, despite reservations about Radio One, found that the BBC should remain as a public broadcaster.

The BBC was able to win this battle with government, but arguments against the organisation and Radio One contained in the Peacock report remain at the heart of most of the current debates surrounding the BBC today. Despite the radical changes made to Radio One by Matthew Bannister in the early 1990's, the station continues to come under attack

from commercial broadcasters for, they charge, providing unfair competition, and by no means remains safe from the threat of privatisation. As recently as September 2004, television broadcaster Channel Four admitted that it had planned to submit a bid to government to take control of Radio One in the commercial market (*B,* 27 September 2004). This bid has been rescinded, but it demonstrates the industry's belief that the privatisation of Radio One remains a possibility.

The privatisation of Radio One in the forth coming charter renewal would have a considerable effect on the output of the station, as it would move from serving public objectives to chasing audience figures. However, I suggest that this is unlikely to happen. The station offers a key service to youth audiences, not adequately accommodated across other BBC stations, and is therefore vital to the BBC in providing programming for a wide range of groups in British society. The station offers levels of service that would not be profitable, and therefore not possible, were it transformed into a commercial station. The study conducted by Intelligent Media demonstrated Radio One's uniqueness when compared to commercial stations: supports a higher concentration of new music and greater selection of music genres are featured in the station's music output (BBC 2004d, 32-35). The creative risks taken by Radio One have been a contributing factor in the success of the British music industry, for it has often supported artists largely ignored by commercial broadcasters: 'It is often not appreciated how very, very different BBC stations (and from our perspective Radio One) are from their commercial competitors. The BBC takes risks with and supports new music'.[33] No other radio station in Britain offers such a wide range of music genres in its specialist programming, which ranges in musical style from death metal to dancehall.

It is with the aim of bringing together these different musical genres that Radio One attempts to fulfil a further public objective: providing a space for people of different ethnic and social backgrounds to come together through shared musical experiences (BBC 2004d, 41; BBC 2004f, 21). This is an objective of little priority to a commercial broadcaster, whose existence relies on audience figures, and not the service it is providing. Radio One's use of music to bring audiences to its social action programming, through shows such as the Sunday Surgery, provide evidence of the station's worth to the project of improving

[33] Comment from Martin Mills, Managing Director of Beggars Banquet independent record label, in BBC 2004d, 12.

understanding amongst the youth of Britain. It is this continued focus on the public service aspects of the station's output, rather than audience figures, that should ensure that Radio One remains part of the BBC, and continues to bring a diversity of music to the youth of Britain.

Mark Thompson's Vision for the BBC

The focus on public service appears to be a guiding principle in the BBC's strategy for the near future. Upon taking up his appointment as Director-General of the BBC in June 2004, Mark Thompson quickly demonstrated his commitment to the BBC's responsibility as a public broadcaster, announcing that, under his leadership, the organisation would not be driven by audience ratings (*G,* 22 June 2004). At this time, Thompson also launched four reviews into different operations in the BBC, which are to inform the changes he will make to the organisation in the immediate future (*B,* 24 June 2004). The reviews are considering ways in which the BBC can cut costs and become more efficient. Ideas such as the merging of departments, removal of layers of management and streamlining decision making processes, are being considered by Thompson as possible courses of action. Recommendations made in the reviews have already begun to impact on the BBC, with a number of changes already announced (*B,* 25 November 2004; 7 December 2004). Continuing Dyke's vision of greater inclusion of the regions outside London, Thompson has announced plans to move some online departments, television, and radio stations out of London to a new site in Manchester (*B,* 15 November 2004). The move is likely to mean a large number of job cuts, and, as such, is being met with mixed feelings (*B,* 7 December 2004; 7 January 2005).

As discussed during the analysis of Birt and Dyke's tenures as Director-General, a change in leadership at the BBC can have a considerable impact on all stations in the organisation. I, therefore, consider the examination of the new leadership of the BBC to be an important indicator in the future direction of both Radio One and 1xtra. Although Radio One and 1xtra are not among those expected to be moved to the new site in Manchester (*G,* 7 December 2004), both stations are likely to be affected by the overall changes and job cuts proposed as a result of the reviews into BBC operations.

Some members of the British press have predicted that the changes proposed by Thompson could result in job losses across the BBC for as many as 6000 people, a quarter of the

BBC's current employees (*I*, 26 October 2004). This exercise may make the BBC more efficient and save the organisation significant expenditure, but at what creative human cost? Uncompromising changes made by John Birt during his efficiency drive cost the organisation dearly, damaging morale, creativity, and willingness to take risks across the BBC. It is inevitable that a new Director-General will implement changes in line with his own vision for the organisation, but I suggest that Thompson be mindful of mistakes made by Birt, some of which have taken years to reverse. Analysis of changes made throughout the BBC since 1996 indicate that it is not solely about what changes Thompson makes but, more crucially, the way in which those changes are managed. Changes made by Dyke also brought large numbers of job cuts, but morale across the BBC remained largely undamaged. This can probably be attributed to Dyke's efforts to communicate the rationale behind decisions, and his encouragement of employees to internalise the new vision by actively involving them in the change process. I argue that the void created by Birt between management and employees was a key factor in the failure of a number of his strategies, and one that I suggest Thompson remains aware of when implementing his own changes.

A possible increase in the use of independent production companies for programming could contribute to the job losses predicted for the BBC. Earlier in 2004, the independent production company trade organisation called for the quota of the amount of BBC programming supplied by independent production companies, to be raised to 50% (*G*, 14 January 2004; 23 April 2004). This appeal was then backed by the communications regulator, Ofcom, (*G*, 23 April 2004) and is likely to have an impact on suggestions made in the green paper on the BBC charter. Again, if mismanaged, the increased use of independent production companies could lead to a reduction in creativity and risk taking, as occurred during the Birtist era of the BBC. Ultimately, production companies want to secure business and will create programmes in line with the desires of commissioners. If commissions go to more creative and risky programming, then independents will strive to provide these types of programmes. Therefore, ensuring that the possible increase in the level of use of independent production companies has a positive effect on the creative output of the BBC, is again dependant on effective management and creativity in the organisation itself.

The Effect of Future Changes in the BBC on Radio One and 1xtra

Overall, the near future for both Radio One and 1xtra looks positive. Mark Thompson's statement, that the organisation would not be lead by audience figures, was in direct agreement with Radio One controller, Andy Parfitt's own comments in 2003 about the concepts driving his new strategy for the station (*G*, 7 August 2003; 13 October 2003). With almost entirely positive feedback given to 1xtra in the recent independent review of BBC digital channels commissioned by the Department for Culture Media and Sport (*MW*, 19 October 2004; Ofcom, October 2004), significant changes in the strategy of either station seems doubtful. However, as with all new Director-Generals, Mark Thompson is currently conducting a review of BBC operations, the findings of which could impact on all areas of the organisation. One of the key areas that the review is concerned with is the level of duplication across the organisation. This could mean the merging of some departments and the redundancy of posts. I suggest that further merger of Radio One and 1xtra could potentially damage the individuality, and output of each station. If the same senior management team operate both Radio One and 1xtra, the same ideas, thought processes, and tastes will inform the schedules, programming, and playlists for both stations. Radio One and 1xtra are already partially linked and, from the outside at least, it appears that the two stations would not benefit from further merger. Nevertheless, with redundancy a possibility for almost a quarter of all BBC employees, job cuts in both stations are a strong possibility.

When the structure for 1xtra was conceived in 2002, new ways of working were trialed, using smaller teams of people in the production of programmes, and creating greater synergy across programme making and online presence (Parkinson, 20 September 2004). These new methods of working have proven extremely successful and could therefore have an impact on its sister station, Radio One. With smaller teams proven to be effective, and an efficiency drive that will bring redundancies throughout the BBC, Radio One may find it increasingly difficult to justify its current way of working. It is possible that the station will be encouraged to adopt the production methods and the smaller team sizes employed at 1xtra. With the switch over to digital scheduled for 2012, management could also look to 1xtra for a number of other strategies that they may be able to employ in Radio One. The examination of internal structures could provide an ideal opportunity for Radio One senior management team to consider their own, pre-emptive changes, and link production and online teams on their own terms. My analysis of Radio One and 1xtra's output

suggests that one of the key problems Radio One currently faces is the lack of cohesion between its daytime and evening programming. The move to smaller teams, as at 1xtra, may help to bridge this divide, and assist better communication across the station.

The lobby for the increased quota for the use of independent production companies is directly aimed at television production, but could start to have an impact on radio in the near future. On Radio One around 12% of its programming is currently made by independent production companies with only occasional short documentaries made by independents for 1xtra's output (Humphrys, 11 November 2004**)**. All of the programmes made by independent companies for Radio One, are evening specialist shows. In the past there has been little or no interaction between employees working at Radio One on their daytime programming and employees working for independent companies on evening programming (Pearson, et al, 21 July 2004). The increased use of independent companies could therefore have the negative effect of compounding the split between the daytime and the evening. Should this increased quota be introduced, Radio One will need to consider new ways, and new spaces in which the independents and in-house production teams can meet to communicate with one another.

Radio One's Output

The difference between daytime and evening output on Radio One was one of the key findings of the content analysis discussed in Chapter Four. A level of difference was expected as programme formats change from day to evening, but the degree of contrast in comparison to that demonstrated by 1xtra, was significantly greater. There are a number of possible reasons for the difference in results between the two stations. Despite both targeting youth markets, Radio One follows a more mainstream programme, while 1xtra focuses on underground music in a bid to build 'street credibility'. To create this underground image, 1xtra has employed a number of DJs from pirate radio stations, and adopted techniques employed by these stations,[34] including the performance of a DJ mix in all daytime programmes. Unlike Radio One, where daytime presenters are generally celebrity personalities, daytime presenters on 1xtra are also club DJs and are therefore

[34] A pirate radio station is a station broadcasting without a licence and is therefore illegal. In Britain they are often associated with urban youth, and have been the place where many successful radio DJs have started their careers.

more likely both to have greater access to the latest music, and to have stronger connections to evening specialist show DJs.

Cross-referencing for evening shows on daytime programmes is more frequent on 1xtra, with evening specialist DJ's featuring on daytime programmes on a daily basis. Not only does this help to promote their programme later that day, it also helps to build relationships and communication between the daytime and evening DJs. My analysis of the output broadcast on Radio One and 1xtra during this research revealed that the improved communication between daytime and evening shows on 1xtra, resulted in greater diversity and synergy across the station's output.[35] Synergy across a station's daytime and evening output has the advantage of encouraging listeners through to the evening programming, and helps to inform daytime listeners by introducing them to music that they may not necessarily hear broadcast on other radio stations. Radio One have demonstrated that they support this theory with the programming of Zane Lowe's show, aimed at providing the bridge between the day and evening schedule.

The method of cross-referencing during daytime shows is also being utilised to a degree at Radio One, but not in the same way. Pre-recorded 'idents' are played giving information about an evening show with a song related to the show played afterwards,[36] but idents for evening shows are also not played as regularly on Radio One as the evening DJs promote their shows on 1xtra. I suggest that Radio One could significantly benefit from increased cross-referencing of its evening programmes and encouraging evening DJs to come onto daytime shows in person. Idents sound much like an advert, and are therefore more likely to be screened out by audiences than a DJ talking on the show in person. With many of the Radio One evening programmes made by external production companies, the regular interaction of evening DJs and daytime shows could also help to bring these two different groups of people closer together.

Assuming that Radio One continues its strategy of bringing new music to the youth market in the digital age, in my opinion, the station will need to pay greater attention to supporting new artists in addition to new songs. Support for new artists during Radio One's daytime

[35] 1xtra displayed lower levels of repetition in its daytime and evening programming in comparison to that of Radio One.
[36] An ident is a pre-recorded short advert-style trailer for a radio show.

output, particularly in relation to its support of new songs, was low. Radio One arguably has some of the greatest evening specialist programmes on its station in the country, with multi-award winning programmes, and a diversity of music genres catering to the taste of many different audiences across Britain. However, based on the differing results gathered during this research for Radio One and 1xtra, I suggest that Radio One is not using the expertise available to it from these programmes as effectively as it could. Making small changes to the current system could potentially utilise expertise from across the station in all programming.

For example, the introduction of the new specialist playlist meeting as described in Chapter Three, has had the positive effect of encouraging knowledge and music exchange across evening programmes. However, although a list of suggested songs from this meeting are put forward as suggestions for the daytime playlist, they do not necessarily make it onto the list. The Radio One playlist currently comprises fifty songs, in comparison to the 1xtra playlist that has sixty-five. Therefore, I suggest that it would be possible to extend the Radio One daytime playlist to include an additional song, increasing the list to fifty-one songs. This additional space on the playlist would be specifically allocated for a 'specialist selection of the week'. Those present at the daytime playlist could select one song from several forwarded by the specialist producers to become the specialist selection of the week. This small change could have a beneficial impact on the level of new artists supported in Radio One's daytime output over the year, as well as sending a positive message to evening programme production teams that their knowledge and expertise is taken seriously by the station.

1xtra's Output

Radio One and 1xtra are closely linked, with a number of management personnel working across both stations. Further association derives from the fact that many 1xtra employees came from Radio One. Nevertheless, 1xtra has managed to create a station unconfined by the four previous decades of broadcast and existing audience expectations attached to its sister station, Radio One. 1xtra has therefore enjoyed all the benefits of BBC professionalism, but broadcasting on a new platform, has been allowed the freedom to experiment with new ways of working and new formats in its programming. The independent review into digital radio commissioned by the Department for Culture Media

and Sport, commended 1xtra on their strategy of supporting underground music, pointing to the distinction this provides from commercial competition (DCMS October 2004, 67).

Greg Dyke's initial vision for the station was that it would help the BBC to better serve black audiences (*B,* 11 August 2000). However, when the proposal for the station was submitted to government, the BBC were clear that the station's main focus would be on content and not audience. 1xtra would 'reflect, support and provide a much-needed outlet for the young fan of black music' rather than being a station serving black audiences (DCMS October 2004, 57). As discussed in Chapter Three, the strategy of providing a radio station for black music instead of a station looking to serve only black groups has been positive, bringing together an audience from diverse ethnic backgrounds. However, I question whether the station is meeting the conditions of its license in 'bringing together the diversity of black music and culture across the UK' (DCMS October 2004, 58). If 1xtra's aim is to provide 'a station dedicated to playing the very best in contemporary black music to a young audience' (DCMS October 2004, 55), why are jazz and African music excluded from the schedule?

As both jazz and African music certainly fall within the 'black music' category, and each genre is producing contemporary music, I conclude that the reason for their exclusion is that these genres are not considered relevant to the young audience. If indeed this is the reason for the exclusion of these genres, this strategy is questionable. Over recent years there have been a number of young artists entering the British jazz scene, demonstrating a growing interest in the genre amongst groups of young people. One such example is saxophonist, Soweto Kinch, who creates music crossing jazz and hip-hop, expressing his passion for the two forms of music. He is just 26 years old, and has a considerable following amongst young people.

The census of 2001 recorded that 40% of the black population of Britain were from Africa. In comparison, 50% of Britain's black population classified themselves under the black Caribbean category, a difference of just 10%. Although music originating from the Caribbean is popular across different black and other ethnic groups, programming on 1xtra remains unbalanced, with four evening specialist shows each week dedicated to music from the Caribbean, and not one featuring music from Africa. With young people beginning to demonstrate an interest in jazz, and a significant percentage of black Africans

now living in Britain, I suggest that only through the acknowledgement and inclusion of both jazz and African music can 1xtra truly meet its remit to represent the diversity of black music and culture in Britain.

Diversity and the BBC Workforce

The 1980's brought the first serious attempts by broadcasters to address issues of diversity in their workforce. Equal opportunities departments were created, and media companies began to examine the problem that the industry was dominated by white males and therefore not representative of the population it was trying to serve. In the BBC, an equal opportunities policy was adopted in 1983, and a new Directorate Implementation Group that considered issues surrounding ethnic diversity, was created in the early 1990's (Born 2004, 201). Chaired by BBC 2 controller, Michael Jackson, the Directorate Implementation Group asserted that a clear action plan and strategy was needed, and concluded that overturning biases in employment would directly lead to greater representation of minority groups in the on-air broadcast of the organisation. Conclusions drawn by the group have had a significant effect on the BBC, seeing targets for the employment of ethnic minorities set and increased over the years. The theory that improved representation in the employees of the organisation would lead to better on-air representation seems to have held sway, and remains a policy that the BBC pursues today.

As discussed in previous chapters, Greg Dyke successfully met increased targets for ethnic minority employment in the BBC during his tenure as Director-General. These targets were recently extended, and demonstrate the organisation's increasing commitment to equal opportunities employment. Although the employment of greater numbers of a minority group is agreed to be a good place to begin when looking to provide a better on-air service for minority groups, it should not be assumed that one will always lead to the other. Black groups for example, are highly complex, comprised of people of different ethnic and social backgrounds. Assumptions can not be made that simply because employees are black, they will desire to create programming for, and immediately be able to communicate with, all black groups effectively. The assumption that there is a direct relationship between a person's ethnic origin and their ability to produce relevant programming cannot be made: 'white journalists have shown themselves capable of understanding the deepest impulses of black and Asian communities and communicating

these in a way that makes sense to readers from all ethnic groups' (Alibhai-Brown 1998, 119).

Essentially, the BBC has made admirable improvements in the number of ethnic minorities employed in the organisation, not only at lower levels, but also across senior management. An equal opportunities policy seems now to be firmly ingrained in the organisation. However, I argue that it is time for the BBC to seriously and objectively examine its on-air representation and programming for minority groups. This may mean that the organisation needs to set new policies or targets focused on on-air representation, and not rely solely on the assumption that the employment of ethnic minorities automatically leads to an increase in the quality of programming for these groups. My primary concern throughout this research is related to the content produced by the BBC, and more specifically by Radio One and 1xtra. I suggest that new policies or targets should concentrate on output only, using the skills of people, regardless of race, best able to speak to and serve the different ethnic groups in Britain.

The Effect of New Technology

The switch to digital broadcasting could possibly bring greater competition, as more stations are launched with the aim of reaching different ethnic and social groups in Britain. The digital broadcasting platform has the capacity to broadcast hundreds of radio stations. Media scholars believe that this increased number of available stations will fragment the market, with channels focusing on niche markets rather than the one-size-fits-all, mixed-genre broadcasting strategy followed by most analogue stations today (Gandy 2001). Former Director-General, Greg Dyke shared this view, believing that the public will not consume broadcasting in a mixed-genre format in the future (2004, 172). It was this theory that guided 1xtra's strategy to pursue a niche market and this looks unlikely to alter in the near future.

For Radio One, genre mixing is at the heart of the station and concentration on a single genre would alter Radio One so radically that it would become a different station. The mixing of genres is one of the key ways in which Radio One serves its public remit: it brings together different ethnic and social groups that are each attracted by different musical preferences, and introduces audiences to new music and creative ideas they would not have exposure to by listening to single genre niche stations. I suggest that, rather than

alter their genre format, Radio One will instead refine their focus on bringing new music to the youth market. Mixed-genre shows may simply have to be packaged or marketed in a slightly different way, emphasising the special qualities they offer. Zane Lowe's show on Radio One, for example, concentrates on offering the best new music across genres, focusing on quality rather than genre category. Ras Kwame's 'Home grown' show on 1xtra, offers a mix of sub-genres with the common theme of focusing only on British music. Both shows provide examples of ways in which Radio One could remain a mixed-genre station, maintaining its diverse music output, by positioning programmes in way that differentiates them from those offered by other radio stations.

When Radio One first began broadcasting in the late 1960's, it was the only pop music station in the country. Since that time, a number of changes in the industry and the creation of alternative forms of entertainment have accumulated in creating the extremely competitive environment in which Radio One, and now 1xtra, operates. Increasing numbers of satellite, digital and analogue television, and radio stations, computers and the Internet, all compete for people's time, providing an 'explosion of choice' as never before (Parkinson, 20 September 2004). This is particularly prevalent amongst the youth sectors targeted by Radio One and 1xtra, who traditionally are the first group to embrace new technology and methods of consumption.

With this vast array of options available to consumers and the increasing consumption of television, twenty years ago it appeared as though radio, as a format, could become obsolete in the digital world. This has not proved to be the case, with radio listenership in Britain rising each year since the early 1990's: 90% of the British population now tunes into the radio at least once each week (DCMS 2004, 4). Radio will certainly be affected by the shift towards digital technology in broadcasting, but will have a much more significant role to play than appeared to be the case two decades ago. Advances in technology had already affected operations within radio stations, reducing the size of production teams, as advances in technology enabled journalists to assemble and edit their own material (Parkinson, 20 September 2004). The shift to digital broadcasting will, however, bring far wider changes, altering not only the broadcast technology used in making and transmitting programmes, but fundamentally the way in which audiences will consume those programmes: 'Digital technology will transform the nature of radio listening and will lead future generations of radio listeners to have a fundamentally different view of what a radio

actually is and does' (DCMS October 2004, 12). Content and a radio station's output, therefore, become increasingly important.

A key feature of broadcasting in the digital age is the convergence of technology that is currently taking place across all platforms. The delivery systems used to transmit all types of audio and visual media, telephones and the internet are all coming together, bringing new levels of interactivity and visual possibilities for radio. In recognition of these relationships between the different types of media, 1xtra's production teams work on the programme's online presence in conjunction with the production of the programme itself (Parkinson, 20 September 2004). These are seen as inter-linked and the creation of content for both simultaneously is therefore a logical strategy.

In November 2004, communications regulator Ofcom, announced plans for the end of analogue, and full switch over to digital broadcasting in Britain by 2012 (*B*, 16 September 2004a). All broadcasters, including BBC channels, currently operating on the analogue frequency will move over to the digital format by this date. For Radio One, this will mean not only the move to a new broadcasting platform, but, potentially, changes to the way the station is operated, and the environment in which it operates. The convergence of technologies that the switch to digital brings, may lead Radio One to adopt the working methods of merging programme making and online production. This method of working has already been established and proven to be effective in the station's sister digital station 1xtra, and therefore could be easily transferred to Radio One.

Eight years away from the switch to digital, new patterns of radio consumption are already beginning to emerge. People are listening to digital radio on three types of technology: through a digital radio receiver, online, or through digital receivers attached to their televisions (DCMS October 2004, 12). Digital radio receivers work in the same way as do analogue receivers, simply encoding the signal in a different way. Methods of consuming radio through digital receivers are therefore similar to those of using analogue receivers. The main difference is that analogue radios are unable to receive digital radio stations. The most interesting new patterns of consumption have emerged in the online and digital television formats. Although the industry was aware that radio would be made available through allocated television channels on the digital system, they underestimated the number of people that would use this system to listen to the radio (DCMS October 2004,

12). The theory was that consumers would associate visual images with the television and would therefore be unsatisfied with the blank screen displayed when listening to radio through their television. Assuming that this form of consumption continues, it could provide an exciting opportunity for radio stations to begin visual interaction with their audiences. For Radio One or 1xtra, this could mean better cross-referencing of songs with evening shows by, for example, including scrolling banners, that help audiences to associate songs with related evening specialist shows. The addition of real-time visuals attached to radio shows could radically alter the way in which a radio show is put together in the future, as the capabilities of television, online, radio, and telephone all converge to offer a new level of interactivity.

Over recent years there has been a significant increase in the number of people listening to radio online (BBC July 2004, 51; BBC 2004d, 22). Again, this brings possibilities for interactivity and visuals in conjunction with radio shows. However, one of the most interesting developments for BBC radio online, has been the introduction of archive shows that allow people to listen to specialist evening programmes at anytime, up to one week after its broadcast. Choice available to consumers now extends further than shows broadcasting at any given time, because it includes all specialist shows archived online. With choice now significantly extended, the public can become far more selective about what they tune-in to. For evening specialist shows, particularly those broadcast in the early hours of the morning, the ability to listen to shows on demand could bring an increase in their listening figures.

There is likely to be greater demand for specialist programming during the daytime from music enthusiasts (BBC 2004d, 52), but there are still a significant number of people who will choose to tune into mainstream mixed-genre programming. Here competition will probably be fought on which presenters are the most entertaining, resulting in less tolerance for mediocre presenters. In these conditions there could be greater turnover in daytime presenters, with the best presenters becoming highly sought after and ultimately could hold considerable power over the radio station. Whatever the future brings, radio will certainly have a significant role to play. The move into digital broadcasting is far from the end of radio, rather it is a shift into a different and exciting new era for the format. My concern is that while programme makers focus on the possibilities of this new platform, the importance of the output being broadcast is not reduced in significance.

As both stations move into the digital age it remains to be seen what changes will be introduced. It is possible that after initial experimentation, 1xtra become bound by the restrictions of an established BBC radio station and be made to conform to standard formats. As Elliott and Matthews (1987) observe, only after the BBC became more established and pressure was applied to maintain reasonable audience figures, was creativity curtailed: the early days of the BBC were far more creative and experimental. Gradually, however, the leadership of the BBC changed its focus from broadcasting as a social function to efficient administration, which has inevitable consequences for cultural innovation. My research suggests, however, that this is unlikely to happen at 1xtra in the near future. With commendation given to 1xtra in the government's review of BBC digital radio for its distinction from commercial stations, it is likely that the station will continue its current strategy.

For Radio One, the move to digital broadcasting could bring a number of changes, as the station adapts to find its place in the new market. With 1xtra already established on the digital platform, adoption of ideas and ways of working from 1xtra to Radio One appears far more likely than Radio One influencing procedures in 1xtra. The move to digital broadcasting could be used by Radio One as a justification for shedding preconceived expectations of what the station should be, resulting in an exciting new phase for Radio One that could potentially bring the opportunity to reposition the station and challenge all current ways of working. Through the examination of management, policy, and output at Radio One and 1xtra I conclude that a significant relationship exists between each of these areas. Management and policy changes, however small, can have a direct effect on the music output broadcast on a radio station. The age of digital broadcasting will undoubtedly bring new challenges for all BBC stations, but I suggest that it is by maintaining policy that supports diversity across its output that the BBC can remain a public broadcaster, 'in the best sense of the word.' (*G*, 26 October 2004)

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APPENDIX ONE: INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED WITH RADIO ONE AND 1XTRA PERSONNEL

1A. Interview with Hugh Owen, Karen Pearson, and Marcus Charalambos Conducted at 11am, 21 July 2004, at the offices and studios of Somethin' Else production company, London.

Hugh Owen is the producer for the Radio One evening programmes: The Essential Mix, the Dreemteam, and Fergie.
Karen Pearson is the producer for the Radio One evening programme: Giles Peterson.
Marcus Charalambos is the producer for the Radio One evening programme: Judge Jules.

Author: Maybe we should start by talking about how you put together your playlists for the shows.

Marcus: The best thing, well the first point is in terms of the distinction between specialist and daytime. They're actually really good in terms of not getting too involved in it from a creative point of view in terms of what, suggesting tracks, although there is obviously, kind of an integration policy. For example Jules is kind of considered as the mainstream dance show, with a Saturday night slot. The aim is to pull through to or cross over dance tracks or main stream dance tracks towards the charts and towards daytime listeners. And he's always had a kind of rep for bringing through artists and tracks such as Benni Benassi 'Satisfaction' tune from last year, Tomcraft, a lot of the chart friendly or hopefully big selling dance tracks that all end up on pop compilations as well as the dance compilations. That's one of his main remits is to do that. But it's not a case of Radio One saying 'we need this' or we want this, it's kind of, it's an objective that he has himself, although obviously that's what they want too.

Hugh: It's probably important to say that there's no kind of direction or pressure from radio one to give him tracks to play. They're all tracks that he'd be playing anyway, as a club DJ. And finding them from that kind of club level and bringing them through. It's all bottom up. It's never, there's never any pressure top down to play records.

Marcus: Yeah. We see our role as bringing through the accessible side of the underground if you like, depending on how far down the specialist line our shows are positioned. For instance, Giles show is further down the line if you like and hasn't quite got the same objectives. So depends where in the hierarchy if you like.

Author: So is there a brief you have to follow, or did they simply make that selection based on what they needed for that particular slot?

Karen: Radio One itself doesn't make the selection. They kind of hire the DJ to bring the music, to represent that side of the music. Giles plays across the board, he hasn't got to play a certain amount of drum and bass or dance or jazz or any of that sort of stuff, it's more of a melting pot. No-one ever says to us this is what you… they hire the DJ on the basis that they're out there playing in clubs and stuff and representing that sort of music. They put the trust in them when they basically give them the job, that's what I've sort of seen. We do sometimes get, 'cause sometimes some the stuff Giles can play can verge on a bit 'not Radio One' So sometimes people from up above can not see the jazz side of things, so sometimes we get some stress from up above if we're playing a bit too much jazz, but apart from that, we are basically left alone to do, you know, these forms of music.

Author: Do you need to have your show approved before its broadcast?

Karen: No, we put it out as is. Our show isn't playlisted in anyway. I've never worked on a show at Radio One where it's been that much not playlisted, but Giles will turn up with his record box and we'll talk about the music verbally and he'll be given a track literally 10mins before the radio show and if it's good enough and he's into it, he'll play it. Apart from swear words and getting them overseen, there's nothing else that you have to kind of say, you know, you've played that too many times or you're not playing enough of any of that, so that is the most amazing thing...

Marcus: There's also a response or an understanding from Radio One's point of view that there's a responsibility on the presenter, producer and production team to kind of fulfil the objective of that show if you like. They say well , you know, We expect that to be part of your kind of aim to do with the show. It's not a case of just playing what ever you want.

Part of your objective should be to be playing certain tracks depending on what your show's kind of aim is. So the responsibility is on us, the production team, to do that and to make sure that we do bring through certain tracks, depending on what our show's aims are.

Karen: It's like, Giles is good at breaking, each of the DJ's is good at breaking, a certain type or sort of artist or type of music. And kind of the DJ's, Radio One sees that and the DJ's see that. It's like Giles with Jill Scott and The Streets. It's kind of, they were playing those things and then easing them into the mainstream. That's the good thing about Radio One. It does see it's specialist.. you're kind of left to do what you want, and then you know, through that becomes in your head as a producer and a presenter, it comes through.

Hugh: There's one formal area where they do, where there is a policy and they do listen to what they play and that's to do with conflict of interest. Cause often the DJ's are producers as well or they'll have interests in record labels, or they'll remix. So every week we have to tell the head of music at Radio One whether they're going to play a conflict of interest track and then they will then physically listen to it, approve it and then we report after the show whether we actually played it. So that's the only area where it's formalised. The rest of it is kind of down to common sense and good programming of the show to make it work.

Author: I think Radio One have some really good specialist shows, but I don't think enough of the public know that. I think there's a growing divide between their daytime programming and their specialist evening programming.

Karen: That's what they're trying to sort out with their new schedule.

Marcus: We've all been pulled into look at the future programming at radio one, what it's direction should be what the strengths are, what the weaknesses are and how to develop it and that's the one thing that we all kind of together, in our group, have said and that they're aware of and we're kind of developing strategies to change that. Their main aim now seems to be to kind of utilise the best of both worlds. To introduce the daytime listeners to whole other world of night time radio on Radio One. And also to utilise the specialists ie the ones with the musical knowledge to bring through towards the daytime

playlists. That sounds obvious but it something not as easily done in a structured way at times as it sounds. But I think that's the kind of focus for the next …

Karen: The change in schedule, bringing Zane Lowe earlier. That cross between mainstream and specialist, the perfect guy to cross that over and plug the specialist shows. And they've got Annie Mac doing a show on a Thursday night and she's there to represent the specialist shows the dance shows and stuff. Radio One are recognising it

Marcus: It's gradients of specialism if you like, daytime, early evening and then later evening and late night. Each getting slightly more specialised, but each referring up to the link in the chain if you like.

Author: Is it quite a new thing – asking you guys how they can do that?

Karen: Yeah

Marcus: It's a bit more structured now. I assume it's always been the case. I've only been working on Radio One for about that last six or seven months.

Karen: We had training. Since the beginning of the year for the first time. Ever.

Marcus: It's more focused now in terms of doing that.

Author: Why do you think they've done that?

Karen: I think they've realised that they've got to put certain strategies into place. The producers are at the forefront of that and I think they recognise that and we can sort of sit down and discuss things like we're doing now I guess.

Hugh: I think the bottom line, over the last sort of two or three years their listening figures took a dip. So that's why they moved Chris Moyles into breakfast and made all those other daytime changes. But I think off the back of that they probably naturally focused on their mainstream output, because that's where you're going to get the majority of listeners. When you present that image of Radio One, then you get away from the specialist output.

When Matthew Bannister took over in the early 90's, the focus was very much on the specialist side of Radio One and that it was a public service broadcaster that was it's role and it championed people like Pete Tong, Steve Lamaq and Tim Westwood, and that was the public image of Radio One and now, just in response to getting some market share back, because there's some much more competition, they said well, Radio One is kind of Chris Moyles really, and the mainstream, and the job now is to consolidate that listenership and then try and point them in the direction of Zane Lowe and then out to specialist shows I think.

Marcus: The big picture is two fold I think. One, that there's so many more opportunities for people to get their entertainment, whether that's radio wise or what ever, that they're fighting so much more than they ever used to with the kind of advent of digital or the internet, and the other thing is Radio One finding itself in funny position in terms of having to justify its existence as public service broadcaster. So it kind of needs to decide what it's identity is and prove that it's valuable. Obviously, these changes which have happened to mainstream over the last year and now specialist, were kind of the cards, in that everything goes round in cycles and needs to be renewed. But, there's extra impetus because of the time we find ourselves in I think.

Author: I guess these recent changes have been quite radical – for them. But I don't think its radical enough.

Karen: We think this is stage one.

Marcus: The crux is I don't think it should be perceived as radical by people, because I think Radio One should be more dynamic than that static change every kind of five/six years. It should be reflecting.. in the way the shows on a daily basis reflect everything that is now. The schedule or it's objectives should be kind of evolving, not changing every minute, but evolving. And it shouldn't be seen as, because something's changed it's kind of radical change or what ever. It's quite a shock that radio one's seen in that kind of traditional way. It shouldn't be like that. But it is, you're right.

Author: What are your thoughts on the playlist system? It's been there for quite some time.

Karen: It has. How long has the specialist playlist been meeting? We have a specialist playlist now. About a year?

Hugh: Yeah, probably.

Karen: Every Friday all the specialist producers sit down.. cause the mainstream playlist for us is on a Wednesday and it takes like the whole day, and you could be sat there for the whole day and you don't even get a word about a track…

Author: So can anyone join that meeting?

Karen: Yeah, But the specialists one is a good idea because we all sit down and we're all into specialist music and we bring a track or two tracks and we play it and we sort of say which ones to take forward. It's like a filter.

Hugh: That's not quite true anymore It used to be that any producer could go to the main playlist meeting, but now they've trimmed it down to kind of mainstream really, so it's a lot smaller and it's a lot more focused I think.

Marcus: I don't know how that was instigated. Was that brought forward from producers level?

Hugh: No that was from above really. From the music department. They felt like they wanted a more, when they streamlined the mainstream they wanted a more streamlined, focused list. I don't think they've cut the actual place in terms of numbers I think that's pretty much the same, Obviously it's still got it's A list, it's B list and it's C list, and all the records get played the same, they just wanted a more focused way of deciding which records went on there. I think there was a time when some records would go on arbitrarily because you'd get vocal support from a specialist producer and get a few mainstream producers behind them, slightly political. I think they just wanted to get rid of that and concentrate on what they wanted in the daytime really.

Author: When you've put together your playlist, what happens to it?

Marcus: We have this meeting every week and we go along, how ever often we can get over there, and you go along with one or two tracks, from your kind of shows or what ever, play them to everyone else, give everyone else a bit of back ground about the track and then discuss and come up with a shortlist at the end of say 3 or 4 out of the whole group of tracks we went through to put forward towards the main playlist meeting.

Karen: And seriously talk about whether the tracks are really relevant to the mainstream or whether they're really relevant to the mainstream. Or whether they're just going to laugh them out. If you could hear them, sort of on mainstream.

Marcus: Obviously it's a thing we have to take reasonably seriously, in terms of not just tracks we're really passionate about, but there's obviously got to be a reason to get it in there. But I think that's a really good thing in terms of a direct root in to the playlist.

Author: Are you guaranteed they will make the playlist?

Hugh: No, you're guaranteed that they're listened to, properly.

Marcus: But I think it's in our interest to make this channel stronger.

Karen: And quite a few tracks have come through I think. Looking at the playlist over the last.. It's took a few months to get in place, things like Estelle…

Marcus: Lolas Theme, Shapeshifters, which came from the last seven eight months..

Hugh: You could argue that that song would have got on to the playlist anyway, but at least it's a formalised structure of doing it. And also the shows that first kind of played those records, the specialist shows, get kind of credit, because then when they play them on daytime, certainly at the start the DJ's will say this was first played by Pete Tong in Miami or Judge Jules in Ibiza.

Author: Is that a recent thing?

Hugh: It's been about a year.

Author: I question the validity of the playlist system and the way it is all done. Isn't it time to look at that again?

Marcus: It's such a big, the most central part to Radio One's identity in terms of it's output I think and their kind of objectives in terms of putting together their playlists are separated from the other commercial stations. Who's playlist is based on listener or purely ratings if you like, and commerciality and so on. There's kind of a number of reasons why a track would get on the playlist. Not every single track fulfils all of the criteria, but there's reasons why this band should be supported or because you'll know about them in sic months time or we believe passionately in this track or what ever, or this is the next track everyone wants to hear from Kylie or whatever, I don't know. There's a whole bunch of different reasons. That's what separates it from a kiss playlist which is notoriously, like, the rotation on that…

Hugh: They have to do a balancing job because they have to sort of get as many listeners as they can. I think Radio One sees themselves as a kind of a non-commercial youth brand in a market place which has got commercial corporate companies all over the place, trying to sell their products to that demographic of 16-24 year olds. And Radio One, the job it does for the BBC is to offer that market public service broadcasting, so on the one hand it's got to get as many as possible because otherwise there's no point doing it. There's no point in broadcasting to a million people because you're not going to effect anything, but also then they also try and incorporate the public broadcasting side of it which is probably finding new bands, showcasing new styles of music, and things obviously with things like Keane and the Darkness they've done that. Obviously those bands would have eventually got on to Capital's playlist or Emap playlist but, by sort of supporting them and putting them on gigs and playing their records before they, I think they started playing the Darkness before they were signed to a major label…

Marcus: I first heard Jo Whiley play the darkness track, the Christmas of 2003 no, 2002. It was kind of around and then went away and then came back again. And a year later it just exploded. That's how far back. And that was daytime. So god knows how long before that it was played on other shows.

Hugh: So in that respect, they have to have a playlist. And you have to do that, because you have to give the station a kind of sound. And you have to formalise the way you do find these bands and give them that BBC radio one support. Whether they do it right all the time, it's not a perfect science. That's their sort or job, their aim I suppose.

Marcus: All of the major criticisms of Radio One, are all tied up in this constant identity struggle that is has, which I don't think there could be any other way it could be. Because it has so many criteria to fulfil that other stations don't, or other commercial stations don't. That it's always going to have that. It's always going to feel like it's limping along in one way, but as long as the positive objectives are strong, I think that's what gives it it's validity, otherwise I don't think there's any need for it. If it doesn't set itself apart and do these things, what's the point. The charter renewal coming up, it could just be scrapped.

Hugh: What they've just done recently which is sort of associated with it is the live events they do, like the one big weekend in Ibiza, that used to be run by just the live events department at Radio One. Now that is run by music department at radio one. Because part of the justification for having Radio One is that you can put on these events, like one big weekend in Derry is a really good example because it cost a huge amount of money to do it was a free festival for people to go and gave radio one the opportunity to showcase bands that are radio one core artists I suppose, like Faithless, Ash, and Franz Ferdinand and those kind of people. I suppose they strategise the way they do it to make sure the artists and the bands they're trying to make core Radio One artists, so that when people buy them in the shops they think, I heard this on Radio One, that's why I like them. It makes more sense. There's more of a procedure for doing that with the live events.

Marcus: I think there's also worryingly – I don't know if this is the case, this is just my opinion – that as much as they're trying to do that, I think the market place has changed. Kids today, don't necessarily make that connection. In terms of the source of the brand or the product..

Karen: It's just that they're bombarded with stuff..

Marcus: I mean, we've done research recently for part of this whole strategy stuff, so much of it is – and I don't know if this was the case before or not – kids are like, they don't seem

to have recall as to where they heard a tune. It's like, If the station gives me what I want, then I listen, until it doesn't and then I flip. As much as I admire everything that radio does in terms of how it sees itself, compared to these other stations, I don't know whether it's a case of a loosing battle, just because the market's changing, people are changing, or everything's more disposable now and is there a place for that – what Radio One are trying to do? So, how ever much they try, is it a loosing battle? I don't know, but certainly hope not.

Author: So if you were made Radio One controller, what would you do?

Marcus: You sympathise, it's kind of impossible, because as soon as you go down the chasing ratings route, you're not going to have a radio one. You're basically setting up for the next time things are decided; you're not going to have a Radio One. You can't do that. And if you go too far the other way, you kind of get the criticism they're getting which is that they're which is radio one are too out of date, too stuck in the past. Although I think it is this identity thing and people don't realise all the below the surface things radio one do in terms of informing people as well as entertaining them.

Karen: Like, they know about Chris Moyles, but they couldn't name a specialist DJ. When I did audience research, they couldn't name a specialist DJ. Not one.

Marcus: It surprised even us. We weren't aware.

Karen: It's only when you go out into the audience that you totally realise. I did it in Hackney I interviewed about 10 people and not one of them could name a specialist DJ. No, one of them could name Tim Westwood, and that's probably because he has adverts for his albums,

Marcus: We were blown away. Some of the major research that Radio One took on, I can't remember which company did it.

Hugh: If you think about all the brands that a 20 year old sees everyday, brands from artists, to sports brands. If you compare what Radio One spends on marketing themselves to what Nike spends marketing themselves, Radio One's is probably equivalent to one of

the marketers at Nike's salary. So there's no wonder they don't know who Pete Tong is, but they'll know all the members of D12.

Marcus: They showed us their results and even for daytime, they could name Sara Cox, because she's doing breakfast, Moyles, because he's a big personality, they were the two main one's. Jo Whiley was then third, Mark and Lard because that's the daytime. Dave Pearce slightly – because he was on drive time. And that was pretty much it, and they went incrementally smaller as it went down. You got very few mentioning others. And that's talking about the daytime spread of people, not actually those who got up to listen to the evening.

Author: But somebody like Pete Tong for example, who's been on Radio One for years, it's not a new show.

Marcus: It made me realise how a small a part were contributing to the overall kind of broadcasting we're contributing. When you're working on it everyday, you feel like everyone else knows what's going on as well. It was a good wake up call. Makes you realise what a niche area you are targeting, even though it's mainstream specialist.

Author: I'd really like to know how the declining youth market in this country is effect R1 listening figures and whether they are loosing listeners or whether R2 is just more popular because the population is just older?

Hugh: Radio one over the last five years genuinely did loose share of the market, there's no getting away from it. Even compared to other stations. Streamlining the mainstream and putting Chris Moyles and all the rest of it and making it more focused, that's had an effect. Certainly in breakfast that's had effect. Obviously breakfast show effects listening on the rest of the station. Listeners will stay with you if you've got a good breakfast show, so that's why they did that and they have turned it. The specialist shows, we could have the best specialist shows, we probably do have the best specialist shows in the world, but you're not going to get listeners unless the people in the daytime are listening. There's nothing we can do to add listeners to the station. We can add 10,000 here and there, but won't affect the overall slide of the station. Specialist DJ's got nervous at the same the Radio One's sort of figures were dipping, cause they thought, well what am I doing, if

they're loosing 10,000 here and 10,000 there, quarter on quarter for my show, but then compare that with a million they were loosing in the daytime, it's always going to have an effect.

Marcus: I think a lot of the lessons we learned from this research was, it is all brand awareness. So much of it is that. And that kind of, not beyond our control but something that Radio One as a whole kind of find ways of doing. And we in part can help with that. There needs to be more cross referencing for example and leading through. So if you like this, the darkness, check out Zane Lowe or something. Which again is something we all talked about. Exactly what he said. The Radio One awareness needs to be there more. But it's limited to funds and what you can and can't do.

Author: I think there's been so much negative press about what Radio One is.

Marcus: There always is.

Author: It's not always true. I don't know how without spending huge amounts of money on marketing you can get over that.

Hugh: One of the ways you do it is you can spend millions in marketing and press and the rest of it but, other companies use radio because it's such a great marketing tool and radio one are on their own marketing vehicle 24 hours a day,so I think what they're doing is with these producer courses that they've been doing is just refining and focusing on the actual output to make every time you tune in it's a good experience, so technically it sounds good and smooth, and content wise, there's something interesting in there, the music is relevant and the DJs are relevant. A lot of the reasoning behind moving Chris Moyles and bringing in Colin and Edith was to do with what listeners felt about not necessarily the individual DJ's but the actual tone of Radio One. Sara Cox was seen as quite abrasive DJ to listen to in the morning. A lot of people like that, but for a lot of people it was actually just a switch off. So the amount of time they were listening actually went down. They're trying to improve the overall experience of listening to the radio station. Because if it's a pleasurable thing to do. If you hear good records, that are relevant to the listener, and the way it's presented is good, you can get something from it, or you can win something or there are events that you might want to listen to later on, it becomes habitual again.

Karen: It’s internal promotional as well. Getting better at that.

Author: When specialist shows were removed from BBC London I was worried that the same might happen at Radio One. And worse still, they got rid of good shows, but gain listeners.

Marcus: But that’s their job.

Hugh: But it upset people in Nottinghill and Brick Lane, but at the end of the day the majority of people and who their listeners were, decided that Coldcut and Norman Jay weren’t for them, and changed the format. And it worked. They couldn’t have gone on in the same way.

Author: As the next station in real need of change I was concerned about the effect these (successful) changes at BBC London would have on future changes at Radio One.

Hugh: After being shown this research we realised that we hold specialist music precious to us, but to a lot of people, the majority of people music is precious overall, but specialist music and specialist Dj’s overall aren’t. They’re important because the fuel mainstream music, and they inform what culture in Britain is, but actually, them being there isn’t as important. So what you have to do, you do have to have those specialist shows, but unless you’ve got a daytime output is relevant to the majority of people, there’s no point in having it. No point having a Pete Tong.

Author: My fear was that as a result of that, they would do actually the opposite of what they’ve done, and shift specialist shows back into late night slots where no one would listen to them. Extending daytime programming.

Karen: I think they’ve taken their unique thing, which is their mainstream crossover stuff and their live music. A lot of money goes into live music, the things that other radio stations can’t do, and put that at the forefront more.

Marcus: I think a lot of it comes down to Andy Parfitt, At the top as well. His idea was, a lot of it is the challenge of basically, justify yourself as a station and he's a complete believer in everything radio one stands for. His attitude is, I believe so much in what we do, we just need to refine it and focus bits of it and make sure people are aware of that. And lets show them, what makes us different is our specialist output, and specialist to mainstream output, lets really show everyone that we can do this properly and not lets chase ratings. He knows as soon as he does that, there's nothing unique about it to justify their position. In one way he's been very brave and he's staking his position and banking the charter renewal on that strategy. But, it's purely a strategy he believes in.

1B. Interview with Benji B: Conducted at 2.30pm, 11 August 2004, at the Offices of the British Council, London.

Benji B is a DJ on 1xtra, and formally a producer of Giles Peterson's show on Radio One.

Author: Radio One has probably got some of the best specialist shows in the world at moment.

Benji B: Undoubtedly.

Author: But I think a lot of people don't know that.

Benji B: Yeah, there's something to be said about that. I think people increasingly do know that. I think people of my generation, certainly in the kind of early 90's, it didn't really get much more un-cool than Radio One. Radio One was pretty 'whack'. I mean it was like, we were listening to Kiss, and pirates, you know. And that's it. We never really checked out Radio One. I mean, people kind of thought Annie Nightingale was pretty groovy and obviously, everyone from your uncle to your mum and dad, probably brother, and what ever, John Peel obviously has a great deal of respect towards him. Pioneering pirate radio through to specialist radio level, but in terms of the real cutting edge, underground of music and stuff. At that time Radio One was saying nothing. Certainly to people of our generation. I think if your 15/16 now its completely different. You think that Radio One is far more in touch. Its more music and specialist music and youth culture orientated than it ever has been, but you know. Obviously that classic time that everyone talks about in the 90's when they brought in Pete Tong and Westwood and that whole thing, was obviously the catalyst for what the station's become today. Its kind of representative of youth rock scenes, drum and bass scenes, pop youth, you know, they've got it all covered really. I think in that respect its very, very different from how it was even only 10 years ago. Or maybe 11-12 years ago because now if you want to hear a certain music whether you love Radio One or not, you've got to go there. You've got to go there to check it out, to get certain records and that kind of thing. Its re-established its power base in that sense. I think there's some brilliant programmes on Radio One.

Author: Do you think 1xtra, with a smaller audience, are allowed more freedoms than Radio One?

Benji B: First of all, I want to say that everything I say in this interview represents my opinion and not the views of the BBC at all. Right. Because I'm employed by them not all the time, but obviously it could be misconstrued, so everything I say represents my view. But I think certainly in terms of 1xtra, I understand what you're getting at, but in a way, you can't really look at it through those spectacles because it is a specialist service. It has a remit. And its remit is that its designed for fans of black music, and everything that comes with that. So in one sense it's like one strand of specialist programming that other radio stations deal with. You can't really look at it in that sense. What you're getting at is does it have more artistic license because the listenership on it is less, but really its like there to fill its own remit which is to be the best possible station for fans of black music, covering hip hop, drum and bass, dancehall, whatever and where as Radio One's remit is to please everything from the 13 year old girl from Shropshire who's into Busted through to the 24 year old who really into hardcore grind and gangster rap, you know to the kind of hard core junglist. You're trying to please all of those different things. As well as pleasing the everyday person who wants to just hear some fun and jokes in the middle of the afternoon. And no-one or the other of things can be given more priority or considered more important or better. So in that respect, the two things are quite different. In terms of the fact that it has less listeners and it's in a more infant stage, it's only natural that it's going to grow over time, and find its own sound and polish its own programmes, through just evolution, as it grows as a station. I don't think that it should be considered that its allowed to be any less professional or less excellent, because its in its infant stages or for that matter, I feel very strongly that it doesn't really matter whether there's 30 people listening or 300,000, I just think that the programmes have to be polished to the same level, and certainly in the situation where you've got the resources. You know the 'Rolls Royce' studios which we're luck enough to have. There's no real excuse for not turning out the best, top notch material you can.

Author: What I mean is just being allowed a little more artistic license. To experiment with records that maybe couldn't be broadcast on radio one. In terms of being allowed to have a greater diversity of output onto maybe daytime programming, that you couldn't on radio one.

Benji B: I think it's basically about extremes. You're talking about record programming, and you could definitely, on 1xtra, if you look at it from one perspective, you can get away, it's even more conservative. From one perspective. It's far more limited. You can get away with far less. You've got to ask yourself questions like – OutKast, Roses, Is that a record relevant to our audience? You know, its billboard top 10, Its R&B top 10, its black music, will our audience like it? It's basically a kind of rock-pop tune. Those kind of things. I mean the answer in that particular scenario is its 150% relevant, but you have those questions. And so in a way, if you look at it in that respect, it's even more limited. You can't stretch the boundaries. It's got to fit into what an average person would consider, it's got to fit into that remit basically. Where as at Radio One, you could have a thrash metal tune, followed by 50 cent, followed by some kind of cheese-tastic trance song, followed by this week's number 1. So in a sense the radio one programming is far wider. Far more extreme, you know, it is, you are allowed to fit more musical styles in. That's the difference. If you're talking about genres then Radio One's got to cover them all. Where as, within those genres, if you think about extremes, there's no way that radio one would play a kind of 8 bar grime-Whiley tune in the middle of the day with no vocals on it. Or a kind of the latest tune that Fabio's playing, a kind of roll out drum and bass tune. Or they wouldn't take a house tune and edit it to 3 minutes and just play it because its big in the clubs. And that's something that 1xtra definitely does. And so 1xtra can take it to the most hard core of drum and bass in the daytime and it can take the most ghetto like garage or the most raw UK hip-hop and play it during the daytime, because you know, they're our own stars on our station. You create your own stars in way. So in terms of genres, its much more limited on 1xtra but in terms of artistic license to play more extreme records there's an argument that we get away with that more.

Author: Specialist producers at Radio One now have weekly playlist meeting on Friday where they put together a list of suggested tracks for the main playlist meeting. This was set up to stop daytime producers promoting non-playlist records. Does this happen in 1xtra? Or are producers allowed more freedom?

Benji B: Do you mean if you're producing a lunchtime show and you like a record, can you play it?

Author: Yeah

Benji B: No you can't. You certainly can't. You can in designated areas. Most shows will probably have 1 or 2 'freeplays'. Or maybe more. They'll be a point in the show where on the running order it will say DJ freeplay. At which point the producer or the presenter plays a record, which I might add has to be sympathetic to the playlist or has to have already been on the playlist or will be on the playlist. So something that won't sound out of place by any means. They can then play that tune and later night shows and overnights, the DJ's get a lot more freeplays. All of the daytime output, you'll find on most radio stations, whether its capital FM or whatever, is all playlist. From the moment you wake up in the morning, the first thing you hear, from 6am probably, early breakfast, breakfast, lunchtime, drive-time or a variation there of, up until about 6-7, is always playlist. Same is true on Radio One. I'm not sure where the gear change is on Radio One it's probably about 6,7,8. So what is happening in those hours just to clarify, is that is music that is basically generated by computer. Not by the computer, but you know, based around the choices made in the playlist meeting.

Author: Bascially, how are specialist programmes bridging through to the daytime programming? How do you filter tunes from your specialist show to the mainstream playlist?

Benji B: I'm supposed to go, I'm invited to go, I am able to go, as a DJ, I could if I wanted to go to every single playlist meeting every week. The nature of my life doesn't always allow that. I should really go at least once a month. Sometimes I don't even do that. But its, the playlist meeting takes between 3-4 hours you know. It's a long process, so in answer to your question, the way that specialist people can have an influence on the playlist is by turning up at the playlist. Or more often than not, flagging it with the head of music, a record that they want to be brought up. In my case, I'm lucky because sometimes, I'm in a position where, sometimes, because I'm not always there I can kind of say, can we listen to this and they'll say yes. But more often than not, you've got to bring it up before hand. Give them a copy and whatever. So yeah, you get the drum and bass producers in there talking about drum and bass and you get the hip hop producers in there talking about hip hop and vice versa, for what I do its really hard because I know for a fact 98% of what I play, there's no point in even bringing it up. It's a hard one. I can have that influence. The

reason they've organised that in Radio One, and its interesting to hear that that's working is, first of all it's a much larger meeting. And it's quite chaotic at times, but it is actually extremely democratic. And it needs to be because when you break it down, if you actually break it down, that one meeting probably ranks amongst the powerful meeting in the UK music industry. And so the implication then is huge. The decisions that are getting made there are making and breaking careers, signing and dropping artists, etc. So I think the pressure on the Radio One meeting, like WH Smith and Woolworths decide what they're going to stock based on the Radio One A list. So I think that it's very important for them to make sure it's organised properly. I think maybe the reason they've done that and siphoned off the specialists, was, there's 2 different priorities. When you're sitting round a table of 25 or 30 people and they play the kind of latest tiny bop tune or you know, there's no point asking like Trevor Nelson's producer what they think of that. You can try and fake it and say like, Umm, good for our audience or something but that's just like beating a dead horse. So I can understand why they've separated it in that way. In 1xrta the meeting's much smaller than that, so I don't think there's as much need to organise it in that way, because the whole station's kind of specialist in a way.

Author: I wonder what's going to happen once everything final moves over to digital. They'll obviously be many more stations, not only BBC stations. Despite news reports Radio One still pulls something like 20million listeners a week.

Benji B: I'm kind of bias, because I've always loved the BBC. There's some people that don't care and there's some people that do.

Author: For me, my worst nightmare would be to loose public broadcasting and go the American route.

Benji B: That would definitely be my worst nightmare. That would be like loosing a family member. Its one of those things that I feel really passionate about. The more you understand the workings of and you see the beauty of BBC. You only have to go across the world and turn on BBC News 24 or what ever, the reputation of the BBC is there for a reason. People might associate that with Radio 4 and Newsnight, documentaries, drama etc but actually, there's no reason why you can't apply it to Cbeebies and Radio One and those services as well. There's really no difference.

There's acres and acres of infuriating red tape, but at the end of all that red tape, what you get is a service that's second to none. I remember working on some of the outside broadcasts for Radio One, but also stuff I've done in Miami for 1xtra. When it comes to working with people like the OB crew or technical guys, people, even going to Maida Vale, you sit there and think, ok. I've got the worlds best here. It's that simple.

Author: In terms of the service offered now, I still think there's a long way to go, for Radio One and 1xtra. I get the feeling, certainly with Radio One, that this is stage one. I feel that there's more to come.

Benji B: I think the problem with Radio One; it's the Manchester United of radio. It's the biggest football club. As a footballer, if you get a call from them saying they want you, you don't really say no. There's no option. The same thing is true for DJ's with Radio One. Certainly of the generation that are there now. Radio One – it's the nation's favourite. You have DJ's that represent genres. You have to remember. I'm a Londoner, I'm spoilt with music. I know hip-hop DJ's in London, R&B DJ's, drum n bass DJ's, all of these things are accessible to me, every weekend, every hour, any station, you know. People who live in a very remote part of the countryside in East Anglia, hip hop is Westwood. Drum and bass is Fabio and Grooverider. That is your access. Radio One is your access to that. So when you have a situation when those shows are as influential and important as they are, I can only imagine how hard it must be to make those changes. It's a jigsaw puzzle. If you move one thing, you've got to move the whole damn lot. So that's why it will always seem gradual to the press. I'm a music lover. I've got my own thinking about what should be where and what the priorities should be and all of that stuff. We could all moan for hours about what we'd like to hear more of and given more opportunity and the rest of it.

Author: But there needs to be a balance. Obviously I'd like to see more specialist programming, but in reality, if you do that. People stop listening.

Benji B: Yeah, people don't want it. The great thing about Radio One is I often discover a great rock record that I would never have come across. You know what I do, you know my musical background. Sitting in a Radio One playlist meeting was for me just… hard.

Author: But at the same time. They have a remit and if they don't have people listening during the daytime, they don't have a station.

Benji B: That station's for everyone. Including 1xtra. 1xtra's for everyone, you can't do some deep kind of, let's play loads of album tracks for an hour and be really indulgent. Some people want to listen to Chris Moyles, they want to listen to Sara Cox, they want to listen to drivetime and then there's others that want to listen to specialist shows. There's two different audiences there and they often cross over. But really. On 1xrta, specialist output is second to none. Within garage you got all styles of garage. Within hip hop you've got all the styles. No matter what your particular niche thing is you can go to. But even on 1xtra, it might be a specialist remit station, but daytime is, for fans of that music or people who are partial to that side of the music world, the daytime is all about accessibility, it's about hits, big tunes, about commercially viable records. And the hardest thing of any station director is going to be able to make that sound as though they're not 2 completely different communities and that's always been the crux of any radio station if you listen to anything its obvious. When Kiss was really rockin' in the early 90's, that was you turn on at 7 and you could like Paul Trouble or Max Lex and Davy J or Grooverider or LTJ Buckem or whatever and its exactly the same thing, but the daytime is basically an accessible mix that is often influenced by the specialists. So in a sense, you could see the specialists as A&R people or scouts for records that would eventually become part of the daytime playlist.
The specialists are there for a reason. Personally I want to hear 3 minutes of the latest big drum and bass tune on in the middle of the day on Radio One, or I would be interested to hear what ever the biggest tune is maybe a Giles or even a Rob da Bank, whatever, because you don't always get to check in with those shows. It would be nice to have some kind of representation. But in reality, a lot of those records are specialist records. They would not sit easily in between these 3 minute polished, power ballad kind of things. It would just sound completely out of place. You have to remind yourself that the specialists are there for a reason. As long as somewhere in the station that music is covered, then it's cool. On 1xtra for example, you've got an R&B show, you've got a hip hop show, but there are certainly records that are obviously 1xtra records but no one would play. Because they're not cool enough or they're not specialist enough or whatever. That's the job of the daytime to represent them. As long as both things are doing their job I don't think there's that much

of a problem. Although I'm always the person to be flying the flag for the slightly underground, but I know it's not a representation of our audience.
The whole beauty of public service is that its there to take risks and to provide for the minority as well. If you're Capital or Galaxy or what ever, damn, right, you need to make sure you're keeping listeners up because of that advertising revenue. The whole operation is a money making exercise. Whilst no-one wants to broadcast to no-one, and its important to fulfil the needs of everyone, at the same time, that's the reason why when you turn on BBC 4 and there's some amazing contemporary dance piece on or you turn on BBC 2 there's some brilliant, forward thinking cutting edge documentary which takes risks and poses some dodgy political questions. You don't get that anywhere else for a straight forward reason, and it's no different in radio. And so I think in that sense, contrary to that argument, about all of those stations. Whether they put it on at 1 in the morning or whatever, and Radio One included, have a responsibility to be the risk takers in radio. When a band comes along that might be the next Coldplay or the next Oasis or maybe not, someone genuinely sits around and thinks this is a fucking great record, they need to put it on a playlist. Or give people chance to hear it. And that really is the crux of it.
The record has still got to get vetoed by all of the people in that room. It's very likely that someone who produces an R&B show, will really respect the choice of someone who produces the hip-hop show. And it really likely that any set of passionate people that get together, whether you're into hardcore tear up jungle, or really camp house, doesn't matter. If one person makes a choice you'll be like, oh yeah, that's a good tune, or might not be my thing but I'm feeling that. But once you're out of the enthusiasm of that room and in the reality of the daytime producers playlist, it's still got to make it round that room. People have still got to go like, no when we do the call out or we do the phone in or we do this feature, that's not going to work. And that's the reality of daytime radio. It sounds like a cool idea, but its still got to get through the hardest critics of all, which is are reality….

Author: There's also the problem that those tunes are probably not being represented at the main meeting

Benji B: Can't comment. Playlist is hard one anyway. But in a sense it's also democratic because you could stand there and say this is brilliant, you all need to recognise, but there's 15 other people from various different walks of life or music, sitting there going, well actually no. And you can't underestimate the head of music. Whoever's in that role, will

steer the station in what ever direction he or she thinks is relevant. So fundamentally, they will always have the final veto, although, they're not in a position to completely manipulate it to their own.. but they decide what gets brought up in the first place. They decide whether something is right to even be considered. So they decide what makes it into the room in the first place. So there's definitely a high level of influence going on with them as well. But that's the reason their in the job.

1C. Interview with Ian Parkinson: Conducted at 5pm, 20 September 2004, by Telephone.

Ian Parkinson is the Head of Live Events, Speech and Specialist Music at Radio One and 1xtra.

Author: I want to ask about the market in which Radio One is operating now. Obviously it's been changing quite a lot over the last few years, becoming increasingly fragmented. During your time at Radio One, how have the policies within Radio One changed in response to that?

Ian: The decision to focus Radio One at a 15-24 year old audience was taken probably about 10 years ago, up until that point it had been much more a general pop music station, which started in 1967 and then the audience grew older with it. So it became increasingly difficult to satisfy its existing audience at one end and young listeners at the other end. So the decision was taken by the BBC to concentrate on 15-24 year olds, although our audience is just as large amongst 25-35 year olds. But when Radio One started it was the only pop station in the country, though there was commercial radio in the 70's, but still on a relatively small scale, there was an explosion of commercial radio stations in the 80's and 90's plus pirate radio and now satellite and digital broadcasting, and the 15-24 market in the UK has exploded. There are so many offerings available to 15-24 year old music fans, from satellite and digital TV channels, satellite and digital radio stations all offering countless choices.

Author: So would you say that digital technology has had a massive effect on Radio One and the way it operates now?

Ian: Errm, it's not had a massive effect so far, but I think it clearly will. I think the explosion of choice has had a significant effect on Radio One. We had to become much, much clearer about what we're for. That's the principle thing. And what our audience wants. Yeah, and we think they want to be guided about new music. They want new music but they want to be guided about new music, and they want to be entertained as well. And they trust Radio One to find new music for them that they're going to like. So we've had to

become much more focused and much clearer about what we stand for. Apart from that, I think we've altered the overall shape or strategy of the station particularly. It's still a popular music station, but we've just had to become much more focused about what we're doing because 10 years ago there was very little competition and now people in our age group, the age group of our audience, have almost limitless choice.

Author: One of the most exciting things happening, particularly this year, is, the changes within specialist programming. What is the thinking behind the bridging of the daytime and specialist programming? The expansion of Zane Lowe's programme etc.

Ian: I think the changes were probably overdue. The specialist output on Radio one have been largely unchanged during the week for quite some while, we'd made some minimal changes. Steve Lamacq is a very valuable broadcaster and has a big fan base, but probably unfairly, the evening session show was always associated with Brit-pop and it was actually quite off-putting to some members of the audience who needed a fresh, a more inclusive I think introduction to alternative music. I think it's easy to over estimate how knowledgeable about music and how actually clued up a young audience is. And therefore to design shows which are really, really super specialist for them, which will, you know, serve some segment of that audience really, really well, but actually, leave a lot of the audience just unaffected. It was actually Zane Lowe himself who said to us, you know, the most important thing, that he feels, is we should be doing more than preaching to the converted. We have to reach out to audience who may not traditionally be alternative music audiences, and say to them, try this because you're probably going to like it because it's really good. That was really laid behind the changes. The moving Zane forward into a bit more of a daytime, putting in new shows at 9 o'clock with Annie Mac, Bobby & Nihal, and Mike Davis who a) had not been on the station before, and Bobby and Nihal had been buried in the middle of the night. But we knew there was a demand for their music and we also knew that if they were exposed to it, then a lot of people who ordinarily might think they might not like punk or Asian music or dance music either, would actually like it if it was presented to them in the right way, and not just the enthusiasts, who weren't too deeply into the music that they couldn't communicate it. So I think that was the thinking behind it, trying not to just preach to the converted. But introduce really exciting music into a slightly more mainstream audience, without deserting the specialist audience who want the credibility. I think that the time at the moment is also right. The work that Zane

and Steve Lamacq have done with young bands over the past few years is really paying off, you've got bands – not just the obvious ones like Coldplay and Keane, but the smaller bands like Razorlight, etc who really, really, there's so, hundreds more actually. There's really a lot of depth and quality in the music which there probably wasn't 5 or 6 years ago actually. Guitar music in particular went through a bit of a baron phase 5 or 6 years ago, when a lot of the more creative people were working in dance or urban or garage or what ever. But now I think you know, British guitar music is in its healthiest state for ages. So I think that means that we can, bands like Kasabian can be in the mainstream now, when they wouldn't have been 4 or 5 years ago.

Author: So do you consider your daytime listeners and your evening listeners to be the same audience?

Ian: Yes, they are. Even the most sort of specialist of our specialist shows, something like one world or Fabio and Grooverider, the number of listeners that are unique to that programme, ie the people that only tune in to that programme, only listen to Fabio and Grooverider, is tiny. Absolutely tiny. It's way less than 10%. So Fabio and Grooverider listeners, listen to the rest of the network, they listen to the mainstream. Mainstream listeners listen also to Pete Tong and Tim Westwood. They are the same audience. Obviously there are some people who are far keener on some parts of the output than others.

Author: But the way you approach it is to look at it as one market?

Ian: Yes.

Author: The changes to the schedule are obviously quite visible, I just wonder what's also happening behind the scenes? Some of the specialist producers mentioned that they now meet on a Friday, to put together a specialist playlist to go forward to the main playlist.

Ian: That's been very useful on two counts. Previously, specialist producers were allowed to go along to the mainstream playlist meeting, but they weren't particularly in-tune with what the rest of the network wanted, necessarily. I think what they do now, which is very valuable as well, is actually share information amongst themselves which they didn't used

to do. So the different specialist producers get together and Bobby and Nihal's producer might play a track to Pete Tong's producer and Pete Tong might then play it next week, even if it doesn't make the mainstream playlist, or get accepted that way, there's actually a lot more interchangeability of the music. Zane Lowe's show will listen to shows from the hip-hop producers or the dancehall producers and they'll actually start incorporating output, and drum and bass in particular. They get a lot of their drum and bass from Fabio and Grooverider. As well as putting forward stuff to the mainstream playlist, Kasabian is a perfect example of band which were very much championed by the specialist playlist group to be put forward to the mainstream playlist successfully. They also share the information amongst themselves which has made a big difference as well.

Author: So when you have your meeting on the Wednesday, is there anything in particular that you're looking for when you're putting a song forward for the playlist? Are you looking at the marketing strategy that goes along with it or are you simply looking for a song that fits the Radio One sound?

Ian: The playlist isn't my department, but I think what I would say is that we're looking for something that fits in with the overall Radio One sound. And there has to be a balance there you can't have too many urban, well, it doesn't have to be the same every week, but you can't have a playlist that's entirely full of urban records or entirely full of guitar records. So you need to have some sort of balance, for listeners of all different tastes across the week. You have to have something which you think that the audience is going to like. We never test new music on people, unlike other radio stations actually. That's one of the things that we don't do. A lot of radio stations test new music on people, ie they play the forth coming new single and if the audience don't like it they won't put it on the playlist. We actually do put it on the playlist and then, the only testing we do is at which stage we should take it off. When they're fed up with it. But we do ask listerners, have you heard enough of this record yet. And that can be quite interesting. But, in terms of the marketing, no. That doesn't really play a part. The only thing that does play a part in terms of putting records on the playlist is release dates. It's very annoying for our audience if we play a record that they really like and they can't buy it. So in order to get a lot of plays on our playlist a record has to be available. You know, we play them well in advance of their release, 3 or 4 weeks normally, but at some stage they have to have a national release. By a reasonably competent distributor otherwise there's no point in playing it.

Author: When making strategic decisions, internal decisions, what data are you using to make those decisions? Market research, trends?

Ian: Some of it is based on the most crude demographic, quantitative stuff, such as Rajar audience figures, but we do a lot of research of our own and commission others. Which is to ask people about, sometimes to ask them about specific DJ's they listen to or what DJ's they'd like to listen to, but also what mood they're in at certain times of the day and what things they enjoy listening to. At the end of the day, a lot of it is just down to instinct unfortunately, because you can't, no one will tell you in advance that they want Zane Lowe. Until they'd heard Zane Lowe, because he was different other broadcasters who've gone before, so you just have to use you're instinct. All you can do, yeah, using audience research to get to people to tell you what they want will never work. Using audience research to kind of back up your own instincts and your own intuition to give you an insight into what people might want, is perfectly valid.

Author: Are Radio One and 1xtra managed differently as they are on different platforms? Has 1xtra been approached in a different way?

Ian: It has. Platform has always been a big factor for 1xtra. And it's also an opportunity, because you're starting a radio station from scratch, to use new methods of working. So they have smaller teams, they, the teams, work across online as well as the on-air output, which is so important to digital at the moment. It is different, but at the end of the day it's a music radio brand. The target audience for 1xtra is your young lover of black music. And obviously there are a lot of those on Radio One as well.

L: How does the BBC diversity policy filter down to Radio One and 1xtra? Not only in employment, but also in the station's output.

I: I think, it was good to hear Greg saying that. I don't think that he actually instituted any policies, which made any difference, certainly not to radio one, because radio one always had a more diverse work force than the rest of the BBC, because it's younger, partly. And a younger work force is inevitably going to be more diverse. But, there is a target for ethnic employment in particular across the BBC and management across the BBC, which both

Radio One and 1xrta far exceed. And exceeded already before, well, 1xtra, the recruitment was done before, when Greg was here. The policies are that our jobs are open to everybody, and we encourage the recruitment of people who understand the music and understand the audience. And if you're doing your job therefore then you can recruit a diverse group of young people to do that.

One of the breakthroughs, one of the symbolic breakthroughs, I think, was the appointment of the Dreamteam to daytime radio 4 or 5 years ago. And Spoony continues, solo. That was important I think because for a lot of people in the UK that was the first time they'd heard that sort of voice and that sort of personality on daytime radio. Especially because it was a mainstream show rather than just a late night specialist show. So that was significant. That was just because the music they were playing at the time was, really vibrant and really important at the time. And we wanted, our Sunday morning output in particular sounded quite old. And it had quite an old audience, and we needed to shake that up. And putting in a very different sound and group of presenters, was a bit of a risk but to be honest not that great a risk, but it worked. But I think that, yeah, I still think we could do better. But we do have a far more diverse range of voices across the network than other BBC stations and certainly more than we used to. Its actually, its not just black or Asian voices either, its significant that we've now got Colin Murray and Edith Bowman on mainstream, you know, very strong northern Irish voice and quite a strong Scottish voice. And hue Stephens as Zane's deputy, who has a very identifiable welsh accent. Actually, until 5 or 6 years ago Scottish Accents were, Scottish, Irish or Welsh accents were a complete rarity on radio one. I think Nicky Campbell was the first Scottish broadcaster and that was a very, very upper class accent. So I think that its not just black voices and Asian voices, it's good to hear a range of accents. People like Sara Cox and Vernon Kay, its interesting to hear a range of British regional voices on the network as well.

1D. Interview with Gail Gallie: Conducted at 4pm, 4 October 2004, by Email.

Gail Gallie is a Broadcasting Strategist for Radio One and 1xtra.

Author: Operating in such a dynamic sector as the youth market, Radio One is forced to constantly revise its position to ensure it doesn't fall behind the market. During your time at Radio One, what do think the biggest changes and challenges have been? (particularly to policy)

Gail: The biggest challenge is to not age with the audience. It is essential that the radio station both in terms of its talk and its music remains focused on a youth audience, which grow up and renew themselves at a much faster rate than out staff turnover.

Author: Recently, there have been exciting new changes to the Radio One schedule - bringing specialist programmes such as Zane Lowe's to earlier time slots. What is the strategy behind these changes?

Gail: We researched our specialist output with potential listeners, and found out that whilst we had much to offer them, they simply didn't know about it. The Zane move is the front line of the idea to bring specialist "out of the dark" and more into the daytime, to allow people to sample his show as a gateway to other shows. This is why the schedule change also involved moving the shows that had previously been at midnight to nine.

Author. Are there any further changes in the pipeline? A couple of producers I have spoken to seemed to feel as though these changes were stage one of a bigger plan.

Gail: We constantly evolve our schedule to meet the needs of our audience and the changing media world- as technology evolves (ipod, internet etc) we need to make sure we have the most modern and relevant schedule possible. So yes, there will be more changes.

Author: The changes to the schedule are very visible. Are there any changes happening behind the scenes, to policies or procedures?

Gail: As above, we are very in touch with our audience, and constantly feed information into all the shows, which will react with changes to their shows/ features/ playlists all the time.

Author: Do you consider your daytime listeners and evening listeners to be the same audience? Or do you target two different groups?

Gail: Almost all of those who listen to a Radio One specialist show listen to a daytime show, but not the other way round. We look at listener need at any given time of the day, and try to match the show accordingly. For example, Giles Peterson the need is for new music of his particular style, the breakfast show the need is to wake up, be cheered up, perhaps conversation fodder for when people get to work etc.

Author: As 1xtra is also concerned with youth markets, do have any interaction with strategy for that station?

Gail: Yes, same as with Radio One.

Author: 1xtra is still a very new station, on a brand new platform. Does the fact that it's new and on a different platform impact on the policy within the station? What fundamental differences does this have on programming policy at 1xtra and Radio One?

Gail: There are no givens with 1Xtra. To make the effort to go digital (via a set, or the TV, or the internet), we assume people are pretty serious about their music, and so the station is programmed accordingly.
There is also no baggage, and so the station is free to connect directly with its audience without the mantle of history pulling it down, the mentality of "it's always been like that" is lacking/ liberating.

Author: Does the BBC diversity policy affect strategy and policies within the radio stations (Particularly in reference Radio One and 1xtra)?

(No answer given)

APPENDIX TWO: CONTENT ANALYSIS

2A. Content Analysis Category Definitions and Full Table of Results

Repetition Ratios

Category Definitions:

The repetition ratio is calculated by dividing the total number of songs played by the number of different songs played. Where the same song is performed by a different artist, it is registered as a different song. Where the same song is performed by the same artist, but as a live or acoustic recording, it is registered as the same song. Where the same song is performed by the same artist, but is a remixed or altered version, it is recorded as a different song.

Repetition Ratio Results:

	Radio One	1xtra
Day (week days only)	2.8	**2.3**
Day (weekend only)	1.9	**1.26**
Day (week days and weekend)	3.3	**2.2**
Evening (week days only)	1.13	**1.03**
Evening (weekend only)	1.01	**1.016**
Evening (week days and weekend)	1.13	**1.04**
Weekday (day and evening)	1.7	**1.7**
Weekend (day and evening)	1.5	**1.2**
Total output for full week	**1.8**	**1.7**

New Songs

Category Definitions:

New songs are those released in Britain during the previous four weeks before monitoring took place. If a song is a pre-release or has not yet received commercial release it is registered as a new song. . Only the release date of the individual song is monitored. If the song is contained on an album that was released more than four weeks before the monitoring took place, this would not affect the status of the recording registered.

Where a recording has received non-commercial release, such as through mix-tapes, it is registered as a new song. Where an artist is performing 'freestyle' it is registered as a new song. Where an artist performs a song live, that has received commercial release longer than four weeks prior to monitoring; it is registered as an old song. If the song has been during the previous four weeks before monitoring took place, or has not yet received release, it is recorded as a new song.

New Song Results:

	Radio One			1xtra		
	New	**Old**	**Unknown**	**New**	**Old**	Unknown
Day (week days only)	61.5%	38.2%	0.3%	68.6%	31.1%	**0.3%**
Day (weekend only)	66%	34%	0	35.1%	59.5%	**5.4%**
Day (week days and weekend)	63.8%	36.1%	0.15%	60.1%	38.3%	**1.6%**
Evening (week days only)	72.8%	24.9%	2.3%	73.3%	18%	**8.7%**
Evening (weekend only)	65%	29.4%	5.6%	61.7%	27.8%	**10.5%**
Evening (week days and weekend)	68.9%	27.2%	3.95%	69.6%	21.1%	**9.3%**
Weekday (day and evening)	67.2%	31.6%	1.3%	70%	27.1%	**2.9%**
Weekend (day and evening)	65.5%	31.7%	2.8%	45.3%	47.3%	**7.4%**
Total output for full week	**66.4%**	**31.7%**	**2.05%**	**63.3%**	**32.6%**	**4.1%**

New Artists:

Category Definitions:

New artists are those who have released their debut album within the previous twelve months. The album must have received national release in Britain. Where an artist has released more than one album, regardless of whether all releases have been made within the previous twelve months, they are recorded in the established category. Where an artist has released just one album, but this album was released more than twelve months before the monitoring took place, they are registered as established artists. Where an artist has never had a national album release in Britain, they are registered as new artists.

New Artists Results:

	Radio One			1xtra		
	New	**Estab.**	**Unknown**	**New**	**Estab.**	Unknown
Day (week days only)	29.6%	69.2%	1.3%	56.1%	43%	**0.9%**
Day (weekend only)	40.8%	59.2%	0	72%	21.7%	**6.3%**
Day (week days and weekend)	37.3%	61.7%	1%	61.6%	35.4%	**3%**
Evening (week days only)	46.1%	50%	3.9%	54.5%	36.4%	**9.1%**
Evening (weekend only)	48.6%	46.8%	4.6%	69.6%	17.9%	**12.5%**
Evening (week days and weekend)	48.1%	47.4%	4.5%	59.8%	29.4%	**10.8%**
Weekday (day and evening)	41.9%	54.6%	3.4%	56.3%	37.9%	**5.8%**
Weekend (day and evening)	48%	49%	3%	68.9%	21.1%	**10%**
Total output for full week	**42.4%**	**53%**	**4.6%**	**60%**	**31.6%**	**8.4%**

Nationality

Category Definitions:

Nationality is allocated to artists dependent on their country of residence. Where an artist has been resident in a country for ten years or more, they are registered under that country's nationality. Where an artist was born in one country, but has held residence in a different country for more than ten years, they are registered under their current country of residence. Where an artist has held residence for less than ten years, they are registered under their country of birth. Where an artist owns property in several different countries, and frequently moves between them, the country of origin attributed to the artist on their official website is used.

Nationality Results:

	Radio One			**1xtra**		
Nationality	**Daytime**	**Evening**	**Full Week**	**Daytime**	**Evening**	**Daytime & Evening**
Australian/NZD	3.6%	1%	2.3%	0	0	0
British	40%	40%	40%	49%	46%	47.5%
Canadian	1.3%	1.4%	1.35%	0	0.3%	0.15%
European	5.4%	12.6%	9%	0	1.7%	0.85%
Irish	4.5%	0.6%	2.6%	0.4%	0	0.2%
Jamaican	0.6%	4%	2.3%	4.5%	23%	14%

American	43.8%	33%	38.4%	43%	22%	32.5%
Unknown	0.4%	6%	3.2%	1.6%	7%	4.3%
Other*	0.1%	1%	0.55%	0	0.3%	0.15%

Record Labels

Category Definitions:

A major label is registered as any of the four major record labels - Sony-BMG, EMI, Universal and Warner – and other record labels affiliated or owned by these companies. These are listed below. Any songs released by record labels not included on this list were registered as independent labels. All white labels were also registered as independent labels.

Major Record Labels:

Warner	**Sony-BMG**	**Universal**	**Universal:** Island/ Def Jam Group	EMI
WEA	Epic	Bad Boy	Rocafella	**Heavenly**
Atlantic	Columbia	Blackground	Murder Inc	**Positiva**
Elektra	Arista	Casablanca	Lost Highway	**Additive**
Lava	J Records	Cash Money Records	Road Runner	**Parlophone**
Sire	Jive	Foundations	American Records	**Priority**
Reprise	LaFace	Republic		**Virgin**
Word	RCA	Roun' Table Entertainment		**Capitol**
Nonesuch	Legacy	SRC		**Blue Note**
Maverick	Provident Music Group	Strummer Recordings		**Chrysallis**
Rhino	So So Def	Polydor		**Innocent**
East West	Verity	Island		**Relentless**
679	Hidden Beach	Geffen		**Regal**
Code Blue	Ruthless Records	Interscope		
	Desert Storm	A&M		
	Loud	Motown		
		Verve		
		Decca		
		Shady Records		
		MCA		
		Mercury		
		Rawkus		

Record Label Results:

	Radio One			1xtra		
	Major	**Indie**	**Unknown**	**Major**	**Indie**	Unknown
Day (week days only)	65.7%	34%	0.3%	50.9%	46%	**3.1%**
Day (weekend only)	67%	33%	0	30.4%	66.1%	**3.5%**
Day (week days and weekend)	66.4%	33.5%	0.15%	45.8%	51%	**3.2%**
Evening (week days only)	22.6%	75.1%	2.3%	14.6%	81.5%	**3.9%**
Evening (weekend only)	19.3%	79.2%	1.5%	5%	83.3%	**11.7%**
Evening (week days and weekend)	21%	77.2%	1.9%	11.6%	82.1%	**6.3%**
Weekday (day and evening)	44.2%	54.6%	1.3%	39.2%	57.4%	**3.4%**
Weekend (day and evening)	43.2%	56.1%	0.1%	20.5%	72.8%	**6.7%**
Total output for full week	**43.7%**	**55.4%**	**1%**	**34.2%**	**61.5%**	**4.3%**

2B. Radio One Playlist During the Week Monitored: 1st To 7th November 2004

Radio One 'A' List

Artist	**Song Title**	**Nationality**	**Record Label**	Date of UK Release
Bedingfield, Daniel	Nothing Hurts Like Love	British	Polydor	**25 October 2004**
Deep Dish	Flashdance	American	Positiva	**27 September 2004**
Destiny's Child	Lose My Breath	American	Columbia	**1 November 2004**
Embrace	Ashes	British	Independiente	**15 November 2004**
Eminem	Just Lose It	American	Interscope	**1 November 2004**
Estelle	Free	British	V2	**4 October 2004**
Franz Ferdinand	This Fire	British	Domino	**15 November 2004**
Gray, Michael	The Weekend	British	Eye Industries	**1 November 2004**
Jamelia	DJ	British	Parlophone	**1 November 2004**
Kelis feat Andre 3000	Millionaire	American	Virgin	**18 October 2004**
Lemar	If There's Any Justice	British	Sony	**15 November 2004**
Nas feat. Olu Dara	Bridging The Gap	American	Columbia	**8 November 2004**
Prydz, Eric	Call On Me	Swedish	Data	**13 September 2004**
Scissor Sisters	Mary	American	Polydor	**11 October 2004**
Sean, Jay	Stolen	British	Relentless	**25 October 2004**
Snow Patrol	How To Be Dead	British	Polydor	**25 October 2004**
Spears, Britney	My Prerogative	American	Jive	**1 November 2004**
Stefani, Gwen	What You Waiting For	American	Interscope	**8 November 2004**
U2	Vertigo	Irish	Island	**8 November 2004**
Usher	**Confessions/My Boo**	**American**	**Arista**	**1 November 2004**

Radio One 'B' List

Artist	**Song Title**	**Nationality**	**Record Label**	Date of UK Release
The 411	Teardrops	British	Sony	**15 November 2004**
Aguilera, Christina	Car Wash	American	Dreamworks	**1 November 2004**
Bedingfield, Natasha	Unwritten	British	Arista	**29 November 2004**
Coxon, Graham	Freakin' Out	British	EMI	**25 October 2004**
Dizzie Rascal	Dream	British	XL	**8 November 2004**
Fabolous	Breathe	American	Elektra	**15 November 2004**
JoJo	Bay It's You	American	Universal	**15 November 2004**
Keane	This Is The Last Time	British	Island	**22 November 2004**
Kings Of Leon	The Bucket	American	Arista	**25 October 2004**
Lavigne, Avril	**Nobody's Home**	**Canadian**	**RCA**	**15 November 2004**

Radio One 'B' List Continued

Artist	Song Title	Nationality	Record Label	Date of UK Release
The Libertines	What Became Of The Likely Lads	British	Rough Trade	**25 October 2004**
Minogue, Dannii	You Won't Forget	Australian	All Around The World	**25 October 2004**
Minogue, Kylie	I Believe	Australian	Parlophone	**6 December 2004**
Nelly & Aguilera, Christina	Tilt Ya Head Back	American	MCA	**22 November 2004**
Steriogram	Walkie Talkie Man	New Zealand	EMI	**8 November 2004**
The Thrills	Not For All The Love In The World	Irish	Virgin	**15 November 2004**
Travis	Walking In The Sun	British	Independiente	**18 October 2004**
Williams, Robbie	**Radio**	**British**	**EMI**	**4 October 2004**

Radio One 'C' List

Artist	Song Title	Nationality	Record Label	Date of UK Release
Goldielookinchain	Your Mother	British	Atlantic	**25 October 2004**
Green Day	Boulevard Of Broken Dreams	American	Reprise	**29 November 2004**
Ice Cube feat Mack 10 & Ms Toi	You Can Do It	American	Priority	**29 November 2004**
Ja Rule feat Ashanti	Wonderful	American	Def Jam	**25 October 2004**
McFly	Room On The 3rd Floor	British	Island	**15 November 2004**
Razorlight	Rip It Up	British	Vertigo	**29 November 2004**
Stone, Joss	Right To Be Wrong	British	Relentless	**29 November 2004**
The Streets	Could Well Be In	British	679	**29 November 2004**
The Strokes	**The End Has No End**	**American**	**Rough Trade**	**1 November 2004**

2C. 1xtra Playlist During the Week Monitored: 8th To 14th November 2004

1xtra 'A' List

Artist	**Song Title**	**Nationality**	**Record Label**	Date of UK Release
Dizzie Rascal	Dream	British	XL	**8 November 2004**
I Wayne	Can't Satisfy Her	Jamaican	Jet Star	**5 October 2004**
Mase	Breathe, Stretch, Shake	American	Bad Boy	**8 November 2004**
Nas feat. Olu Dara	Bridging The Gap	American	Columbia	**8 November 2004**
Twista feat. R.Kelly	So Sexy Chapter II	American	Atlantic	**8 November 2004**
MJ Cole feat. Tubby T	When You Said You Loved Me	British	Prolific	**7 November 2004**
Lethal B feat D Double E	Forward Riddim	British	Lethal Bizzle	**10 January 2005**
Talib Kweli feat Mary J Blige	I Try	American	Universal	**6 December 2004**
Talib Kweli	Broken Glass	American	Rawkus	**Album Release only**
Jadakiss feat Nas & Common	Why (Remix)	American	Ruff Ryders	**USA Release Only**
Jadakiss feat Mariah Carey	U Make Me Wanna	American	Interscpoe	**Album Release only**
Jay-Z & R. Kelly	Big Chips/Don't Let Me Die	American	Island/Def Jam	**8 November 2004**
Snoop Dogg feat Pharrell	Drop It Like Its Hot	American	Geffen	**29 November 2004**
Potential Bad Boy feat Yush	You're Mine	British	Ganja	**3 October 2004**
Nina Sky & Babysham	Turning Me On	American	Universal	**15 November 2004**
Trim feat Roll Deep	Boogey Man	British	White	**25 October 2004**
V Double O	Let Talk It Over	British	Tao Jin Studios	**No National Release**
Mario	Let Me Love You	American	J Records	**28 September 2004**
Walker, Terri	L.O.V.E	British	Def Soul	**2005 - date tba**
Roll Deep	Let It Out	British	XL	**Album Release Only**
Fabolous	**Breathe**	**American**	**Elektra**	**15 November 2004**

1xtra 'B' List

Artist	**Song Title**	**Nationality**	**Record Label**	Date of UK Release
Kyza	Real Rap	British	Kemet	**10 November 2004**
Shawna	Weight A Minute	American	Def Jam	**Album Release Only**
Peshay	Third Party, Fire And Theft	British	White	**Album Release Only**
Sway feat Tedi	Month In The Summer	British	DCypha Productions	**Promo Release October 2004**
Zena	All Of Me	British	Mercury	**2005 – Date tba**
Legend, John	Let's Get Lifted/ Number One	American	Columbia	**Album Release Only**
Blak Twang	GCSE	British	Bad Magic	**10 January 2005**
Tweet & Missy Elliott	Turn The Lights Off	American	Atlantic	**2005 – Date tba**
High Contrast feat Nolay	Angels & Fly	British	Hospital	**16 December 2004**
Kanye West	The New Workout Plan	American	Roc-A-Fella	**29 November 2004**
Memphis Bleek feat Jay-Z	Yes	American	Roc-A-Fella	**No National Release**
Elephant Man	Sesame Street	Jamaican	Spoilt Rotten	**No National Release**
Lemar	If There's Any Justice	British	Sony	**15 November 2004**
Sticky feat SLK	Hype Hype	British	White	**6 January 2005**
Sincere	That's Not Gangsta	British	Young Entrepreneurs Ent.	**No National Release**
Assassin	Ediat Ting	Jamaican	Renaissance	**No National Release**
Ludacris	Get Back	American	Def Jam South	**19 November 2004**
Bruza	U Get Me	British	Afterlife	**21 December 2004**
Ashanti	Only U	American	Murder Inc.	**24 January 2005**
Omar	**It's So**	**British**	**Omar Music**	**Promo Release Only**

1xtra 'C' List

Artist	**Song Title**	**Nationality**	**Record Label**	Date of UK Release
Tami Chin	Hyperventilatin'	Jamaican	Kingston 5	**4 November 2004**
Houston, Marques	Because Of You	American	Atlantic	**15 November 2004**
Jah Mason	Princess Gawn	Jamaican	Jet Star	**September 2004**
Xzibit	Hey Now (Mean Muggin)	American	Columbia	**24 January 2005**
Blade feat Life & Respek	Soldiers	British	691 Influencial	**8 November 2004**
The Game feat 50 Cent	**How We Do**	**American**	**Amato**	**29 November 2004**

1xtra 'R' List

Artist	**Song Title**	**Nationality**	**Record Label**	Date of UK Release
Eminem	Just Lose It	American	Interscope	**1 November 2004**
Destiny's Child	Lose My Breath	American	Columbia	**1 November 2004**
Kelis feat Andre 3000	Millionaire	American	Virgin	**18 October 2004**
Ja Rule feat Ashanti	Wonderful	American	Def Jam	**25 October 2004**
Illogic & Raf feat Don-E	One Step To Glory	British	Southern	**8 November 2004**
Terror Squad feat Fat Joe	Lean Back	American	MCA	**4 October 2004**
Vybz Kartel	Stress Free	Jamaican	Reprise	**Unknown**
Vybz Kartel & Beenie Man	Picture Dis (Scoobay Riddim Melody)	Jamaican	Reprise	**Unknown**
Calibre feat MC Fats	Drop It Down	Irish	Creative Source	**12 September 2004**
Calibre & ST Files	Red Light	Irish	Soul:R	**Promo Release Only**
R.Kelly	Happy People	American	Jive	**18 October 2004**
Taz feat Kardinal Offishall	Cowboy Film	British	Def Jam	**25 October 2004**
Taz Feat Sway	Cowboys & Indians	British	Def Jam	**25 October 2004**
Estelle feat Talib Kweli & John Legend	Freedom	Mixed	V2	**10 October 2004**
Kano	P's & Q's	British	679	**22 November 2004**
Wiley & Kano	Baby	British	XL	**Promo Release Only**
Jay Sean	Stolen (Rishi Rish Mix)	British	Relentless	**25 October 2004**
Nelly	Flap Your Wings/My Place	American	MCA	**30 August 2004**
Ciara feat Petey Pablo	Goodies	American	La Face/BMG	**17 January 2005**
Lloyd feat Ashanti	Southside	American	Murder Inc.	**USA Release Only**
Elephant Man	Bun Bad Mind	Jamaican	Cargo	**26 October 2004**
Usher feat Alicia Keys	**My Boo**	**American**	**Arista**	**1 November 2004**

2D. Radio One Schedule During the Week Monitored: 1st To 7th November 2004

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
07.00	Chris Moyles	Chris Moyles	Chris Moyles	Chris Moyles	Chris Moyles	Spoony	Spoony
08.00							
09.00							
10.00	Jo Whiley (Newsbeat at 12.45)	Jo Whiley (Newsbeat at 12.45)	Jo Whiley (Newsbeat at 12.45)	Jo Whiley (Newsbeat at 12.45)	Jo Whiley (Newsbeat at 12.45)	Vernon Kay	Vernon Kay
11.00							
12.00							
13.00	Colin and Edith	Colin and Edith	Colin and Edith	Colin and Edith	Colin and Edith	JK & Joel	JK & Joel
14.00							
15.00							
16.00	Scott Mills (Newsbeat at 17.45)	Scott Mills (Newsbeat at 17.45)	Scott Mills (Newsbeat at 17.45)	Scott Mills (Newsbeat at 17.45)	Scott Mills (Newsbeat at 17.45)	Trevor Nelson	UK Chart Show
17.00							
18.00					Pete Tong		
19.00	Zane Lowe	Zane Lowe	Zane Lowe	Zane Lowe		Judge Jules	Dave Pearce
20.00							
21.00	Lamacq Live	The Lock Up	Bobby Fricton & Nihal	Annie Mac	Westwood Rap Show	Westwood Rap Show	Sunday Surgery
22.00							
23.00		John Peel	John Peel	John Peel	Reggae Dancehall	Fergie	Giles Peterson
0.00							
01.00	The Breezeblock	Radio One Rock Show	Trevor Nelson	Annie Nightingale	Fabio & Grooverider	Essential Mix	One World
02.00							

2E. 1xtra Schedule During the Week Monitored: 8th To 14th November 2004

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
06.00	Jason & Iyare	Jason & Iyare	Jason & Iyare	Jason & Iyare	Jason & Iyare	Manny Norte	DJ Fitz
07.00							
08.00							
09.00	Rampage	Rampage	Rampage	Rampage	Rampage	Dev	Dev
10.00							
11.00							
12.00	Ace & Invisible	Ace & Invisible	Ace & Invisible	Ace & Invisible	Ace & Invisible	Twin B & Jenna G	The Basement
13.00							
14.00						Letitia SD	Letitia SD
15.00	G Money & Nesha	G Money & Nesha	G Money & Nesha	G Money & Nesha	G Money & Nesha		
16.00							
17.00	TX Unlimited	TX Unlimited	TX Unlimited	TX Unlimited	TX Unlimited	G Child	Ras Kwame
18.00							
19.00	Ronnie Herel	L Double	Richie Vibe Vee	Robbo Ranx	Rodney P & Skitz	Semtex	Seani B
20.00							
21.00						Hot Sound	Heartless Crew
22.00	Robbo Ranx	Excalibah	Flight	Panjabi Hit Squad	Diggz		
23.00						1xtra Live	Bailey
0.00	J Da Flex	Silver Star	1xtra Live Reload	Benji B	Aaron Ross		
01.00							Slic & Machel Montano
02.00							