

TIKI TO MICKEY:
THE ANGLO-AMERICAN INFLUENCE ON NEW
ZEALAND COMMERCIAL MUSIC RADIO 1931-2008

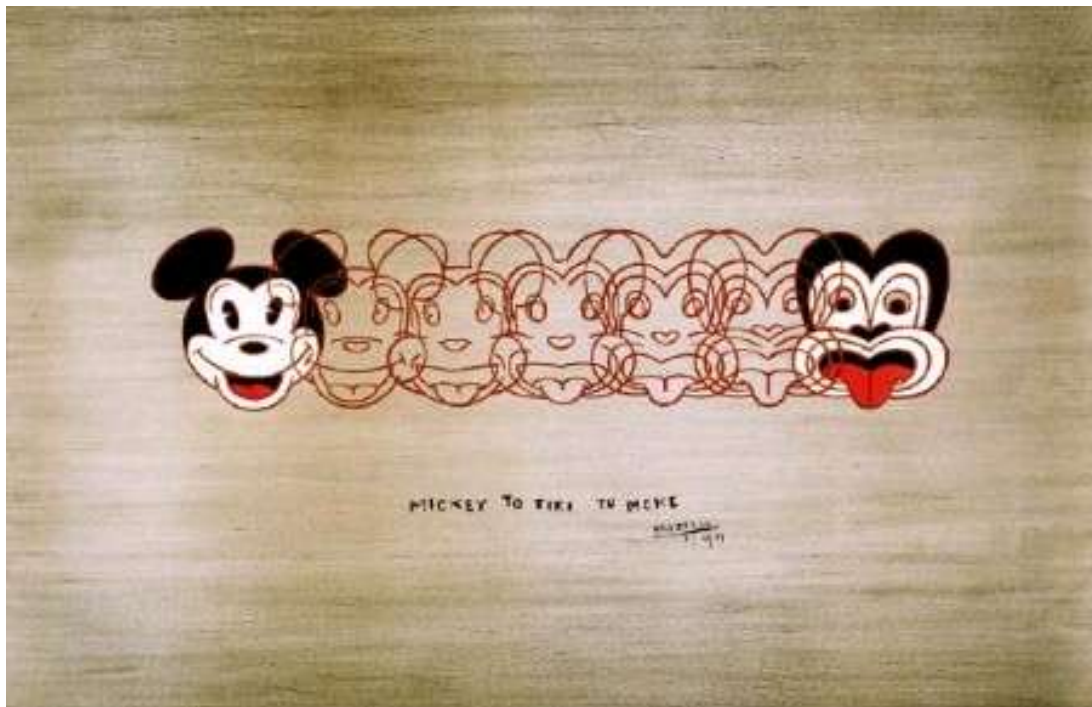
A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements
for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in Media and Communication
by Brendan Reilly

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Tiki to Mickey:

The Anglo-American influence on New Zealand Commercial Music Radio 1931 -2008



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Finally, I thank my wife Megan for her support near the finish line while I completed this project over an unexpectedly long seven years.

Abstract

Emerging consensus tends to suggest there is overwhelming American dominance of New Zealand radio in music. This study sets out to investigate such claims by looking at music, and incorporating a study of technology, announcing and programming as well. There is evidence emerging that instead of overwhelming dominance, there is a mixture of American as well as British influence.

Foreign influence in the radio scene has been apparent since the time it became a popular addition to the New Zealand household in the 1920's. Over the following decades, the radio industry has turned to the dominant Anglo-American players for guidance and inspiration. Now with a maturing local industry that is becoming more confident in its own skin, this reliance on foreign industry is coming under question regarding its effect on indigenous culture. The cultural cringe is slowly disappearing, but what is replacing it has been the centre of cultural debate.

Utilising methods of content analysis and interviews, we set out to question which theory best describes the new landscape that the radio industry finds itself in, and how this is affecting the production of content received by the listening public. Working within a framework of cultural imperialism and hybridity, the findings indicate a complex mixture of the local and the global that could not be explained by simplistic notions of hybridity.

Key words

globalisation, cultural imperialism, hybridity, culture, media dependency, radio industry

Abbreviations

APRA	Australasian Performing Rights Association
ASCAP	American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
IBC	Independent Broadcasting Company
IRN	Independent Radio News
GWR	Great Western Radio
MOR	Middle of the Road
NBS	National Broadcasting Service
NCBS	National Commercial Broadcasting Service
NZBC	New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation
NZBS	New Zealand Broadcasting Service or New Zealand Broadcasting School
NZoA	New Zealand on Air
NZPA	New Zealand Press Association
RBA	Radio Broadcasters Association
RBCNZ	Radio Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand
RNZ	Radio New Zealand
TRN	The Radio Network
WTO	World Trade Organization

Chapter One: *Ownership and the Question of Diversity*

Introduction

Music plays an important part in shaping New Zealand culture and radio has a major influence in shaping a nation's popular musical culture. Since the rise of the youth-based industry in the 1960's, mass mediated popular music has been linked to "youthful idealism and political concern, to supposed degeneration and hedonism, to drug-taking, violence and antisocial attitudes" (McQuail, 2000 : 27). Music also has the ability to shape our language. Many words have been added to our vocabulary originating from the streets of America, partly due to film, but also filtering into our vernacular through imported music. From new bands who are influenced by overseas artists while attempting to emulate foreign music 'styles' such as rap and pop, there can be no doubt that music does have an integral role in shaping parts of New Zealand culture.

This thesis is motivated by broad globalisation themes and questions whether too much of commercial radio's playlist is influenced by North American trends? Does commercial radio push overseas content too much in a bid to remain profitable, promoting 'safe' middle-of-the-road music at the expense of new voices?

New Zealand bands, trying to reach a mass audience, rely on radio airplay. Radio is still the default route bands or solo artists take. But commercial radio is not an environment conducive to experiment or risk. Familiar songs get thrashed while unfamiliar or untested songs risk losing listeners. Perhaps New Zealand commercial radio is too risk averse to promote fringe New Zealand music and make it not so fringe?

Major changes have shaped New Zealand radio, especially since the industry was deregulated in 1989. Positive changes were promised through competition and diversity. Have these promise been kept? All types of media are more important now

than they were a generation ago. People increasingly look to them to help shape their sense of identity and purpose. At the same time, now that more New Zealand media are owned by overseas interests, do their goals threaten the strengthening of our own national identity? The cultural industries create texts that have an influence on our understanding of the world. Contributions to this debate suggest a “complex, negotiated and often indirect nature of media influence, but of one thing there can be no doubt: the media do have an influence” (Hesmondhalgh, 2002 : 3). They help to create our emotions and identities and the “sheer amount of time that we spend absorbing the texts [...] makes the cultural industries a powerful factor in our lives” (ibid).

During the change from local to foreign ownership, commercial radio has been charged with abandoning public service norms of informing, educating and entertaining its listeners while it tried to protect profit and audience share in the face of falling advertising revenue. It is nothing new for commercial radio to defend itself against charges of ‘cultural imperialism’ through over dependence on overseas music. The love affair of listeners and programmers with North American content existed long before the radio market was deregulated.

Stations assume their mass audience wants to hear a feast of the ordinary and familiar and overseas ownership has resulted in musical diversity being compromised. Today’s radio is tailored to be generally acceptable to the average listener. The emphasis is on brevity, pace, sensationalism and entertainment in both music and news. Radio tends to copy popular overseas music formats.

What will be studied is whether North America still pulls most of the strings in formation of structures that guide the day-to-day presentation of New Zealand radio programmes. With a population of listeners brought up on North American popular culture, it is inevitable that radio must reflect and reinforce its listeners’ television-watching rituals. Otherwise it risks alienating its audience. The influence of North American consultants in guiding programming decisions will also be looked at.

Songs selected have to sound as good – and as similar to – international artists already being played. Too many programmers assume their listeners are comfortable only

with what they know. Even a smaller station such as Sounds FM has half of its New Zealand playlist coming from just eight artists.

With such influence from this medium, there needs to be some critical investigation on whether commercial radio is a reflection of the diverse culture of New Zealand. After 18 years in a deregulated market, perhaps it is time to scrutinize an industry that touches so many people's lives every day. An obvious starting point would be music content, but combine this with analysis of radio programming, announcing and technology; we have the building blocks to examine an industry that has strong ties with America. This relationship needs to be studied to see how well we are holding up as a unique country in the face of massive global influence from foreign cultures.

Commercial Radio Focus

It would be dangerous to attempt any sort of 'Grand Theory' of radio for a number of reasons. First, the sheer quantity of radio around us presents an insurmountable empirical task; a lifetime of study would not allow us to listen to more than a fraction of output, so any analysis will end up being very partial. Secondly, the range of global activity at any given time is huge – tiny pirate and community stations, so called LPFM, large national networks, multinational satellite services, syndicated chains and groups, a burgeoning number of Internet-only radio stations – all broadcasting anything from non-stop urban rap to business news, these strikingly different phenomena cannot easily be grouped under the one heading of radio and explained in the same way. Thirdly, radio can sometimes be an extraordinary dynamic medium – changing too quickly to let us see it properly. Hence a narrow focus on a subset of current radio that has enormous influence on one particular nation will only be considered. Commercial radio has the lion's share of listeners in New Zealand, and this in itself still poses difficulties in the sheer number of fragmented formats that operate. Therefore, a further narrowing of the field of research is necessary, so the focus will be solely on commercial music radio.

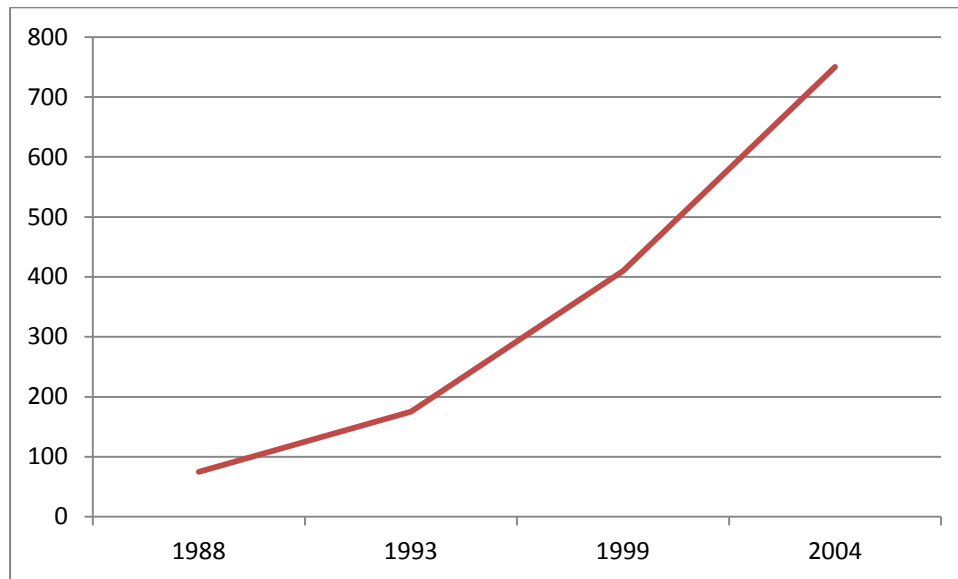
Radio in New Zealand

New Zealand radio has undergone unique and major changes since the industry was deregulated in 1989. Among such changes is the total opening up of radio broadcasting to foreign ownership that promised positive changes in terms of competition and diversity. This thesis is motivated by the concern as a New Zealander whether these promises have come to fruition after 20 years. Issues involving concentration of ownership, diversity and homogeneity all stem from the neoliberal policy decisions made in the 1980s and the effects of these decisions warrant rigorous academic debate as to the outcomes, whether they be intended or unintended on the broadcasting landscape of New Zealand.

Growth in the local market

Chapter Two documents the history of New Zealand radio and will explain this change more fully. In essence, radio deregulation meant an industry that historically belonged to New Zealanders was opened up to private players both nationally and internationally. In March 2004 a search of the Ministry of Economic Development's Radio Frequency register showed nearly 800 frequencies have been allocated around the country by 2004. Of those, about 50% were fully commercial. Another 20% had some commercial component. As seen in Figure One, by the mid-1990s there was one radio station for every 12 000 Kiwis, rising to a ratio of 1:5250 by 2004.

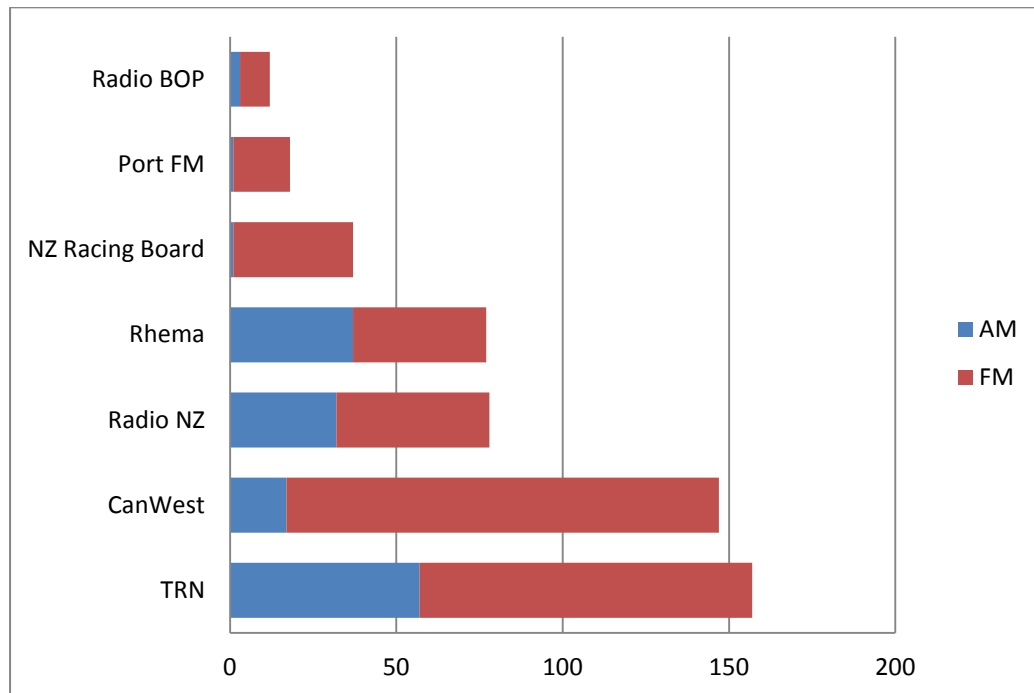
Figure One: The Increase in the Number of Stations/Frequencies in use in New Zealand between 1988 and 2004



Source: Shanahan and Duignan, 2005 : 18.

During this time, the five major radio groups had consolidated to form more strategic business models to their operation. After the sale of the commercial operations of RNZ to overseas interests, further mergers and acquisitions happened in rapid succession, detailed further in Chapter Two. The introduction of foreign ownership was to conclude the rapid expansion/consolidation phase of New Zealand commercial radio. As seen in Figure Two, by mid-2004 TRN and CanWest owned over 300 radio frequencies.

Figure Two: New Zealand Radio licences owned in New Zealand in March 2004



Source: Shanahan and Duignan, 2005 : 24.

Networking for Profit

As a result of globalisation, it can be argued that capital has transcended national boundaries and the outcome of this is the involvement of foreign capital in New Zealand radio ownership. The reality today shows that this has only brought concentration and massive overseas investment. Dominant North American ownership was evident in the two major commercial radio companies, at the time CanWest's RadioWorks and the More FM Group, as well as the former state-owned Radio Network. MediaWorks acquired CanWest's shares in RadioWorks under a share option agreement on 24 June 2004. MediaWorks has since amalgamated its television TVWorks and radio RadioWorks operations under a new parent brand called MediaWorks NZ Ltd.

One important fact to note is that unlike television, radio's battle with the label of being too 'American' stems from the mid 1930's. Television suddenly became 'American' with the introduction of consultants and with the imminent arrival of TV3 back in 1989. Americanisation was one defence mechanism to ensure longevity and profitability. Radio on the other hand, was confronted with claims of debasing New Zealand's unique culture with the importing of American cultural content right since the beginning.

The networking of commercial stations changed the New Zealand radio environment from one based on predominantly local stations to one of national broadcasters. In effect, this trend means shifting the New Zealand radio listener's community of fellow listeners from a local to a national community.

Ownership and Lack of Diversity

When we reflect on the processes of media imperialism and cultural imperialism, it becomes clear that the outcome of both is the loss of cultural autonomy or diversity. In the New Zealand example, to begin with, deregulation promised the termination of monopoly followed by the promise of quality through choice. It was justified as a way of bringing market competition that will accord the audience a choice from diverse media contexts. But globalisation placed deregulation in an unprecedented situation that has serious consequences for the promises made by deregulation reformers to their audience. Contrary to the projection that predicted a high growth in competition among domestic broadcasters, foreign ownership became the main feature of broadcasting in New Zealand. This concentration of owners meant the compromise of diversity.

Preliminary examination of New Zealand commercial music stations suggests this trend towards homogeneity of format-specific elements has indeed taken place. Most have similar format structures across breakfast shows, news is at the top of the hour, sourced from a network location, and the combined training of breakfast personalities at 'boot camp' by American consultants is further testament to the homogeneity of breakfast services. While each may approach audiences differently, the structure of the breakfast show programming is extremely normalised across stations and markets.

Homogeneity

The standardisation of content and delivery has not meant a better product for citizens. Instead of the promised diversity, radio engages in copying popular foreign music formats which ultimately leads to a tendency to homogenise a product for general acceptance by a mass audience.

The industry argues for the merits of consolidation and networking while at the same time implementing strategies to ensure clients who want a local relationship with a station can do so through TRN's Community Radio Network and CanWest's LocalWorks stations. Industry practitioners argue that by catering for their own financial self-interests they are also providing the citizens of New Zealand with global radio services for those who want them while maintaining local connections with the geographically centred community of interest.

Despite the protests from the industry about the resources being poured into network personalities and marketing, it could be argued that there is a detrimental effect to local audiences. Consolidation, by nature, is a centralising, homogenising agent that must achieve economic efficiency by swallowing up individual station cultures that in the past have served as local laboratories for new ideas and emerging talent.

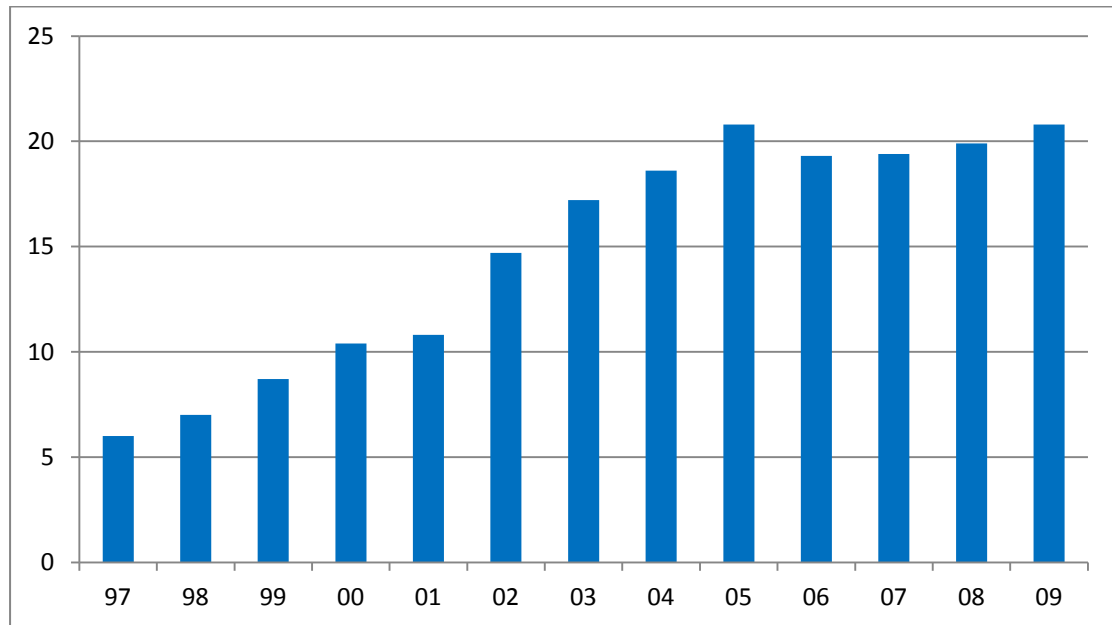
Efforts to reclaim the culture

After a decade in which its direction and development has been largely driven by commercial priorities, the government has reclaimed a significant role for broadcasting. Current broadcasting policies emphasise the capacity of broadcast media to promote New Zealand's culture and identity, to support participatory democracy and to encourage the availability of many different sources of information.

Recently, commercial radio has played a significant role in promoting the country's cultural interests through the Code of Practice for New Zealand Music Content on Radio. Under the agreement between the Radio Broadcasters Association (RBA) and the government, commercial radio stations worked towards a 20% New Zealand music target by 2006 as demonstrated in Figure Three. It is a good example of the

benefits of operating in a mixed economy where cultural, social and commercial values can intersect (Maharey, 2005b : 12).

Figure Three: Percentage NZ Music on Commercial Radio: 1997 – 2009



Source: NZonair, 2010.

The challenge set by the Code of Practice for New Zealand Music Content on Radio was achieved ahead of time by 2005, but it is notable that the industry's momentum has slowed. There appears to be little commitment to get more local music on air further than the required 20%.

Summary

The decisions made back in the mid-1980s have had a profound impact on the New Zealand radio environment, particularly the commercial radio sector. The reduction in ownership to just two primary commercial providers has had implications for the citizens of New Zealand. There has been a definite shift in attitude by broadcasters from a medium where the needs of all stakeholders were considered to one where the shareholder is principal. In a drive to increase revenue efficiency, there appears to have been a tendency for normalisation of products and maintenance of the status

quo. This has resulted in a loss of localism, centralisation of technology and decision making (mainly to Auckland), and a lack of innovation, risk-taking or development of further brands aimed at fulfilling identifiable audience needs.

The attempt to counteract the pressures from overseas cultural products on the uniqueness of New Zealand culture may be too little, too late. The radio industry is now so far amalgamated into the global radio arena, and in particular Anglo-America, that effort to counter the balance back in favour of a distinct New Zealand culture may be a dream. With the growth in the industry and reliance on foreign music and guidance, does this mean that the New Zealand radio industry is now at the whim of Anglo-American influence? Due to its geographic isolation and comparative size it is impossible to remove the country from the rising 'globalism', but is New Zealand radio so tied up in American influence that it is impossible to keep the unique culture intact? This of course assumes that this broadcast medium is predominantly influenced in this way, or is radio a breeding ground of cultural hybridity? Or is the American influence dominant at all considering New Zealand's historical tie to Britain?

Under the umbrella of globalisation, I intend to look at how the discourse of hybridisation manifests itself in a New Zealand context and in particular, looking at New Zealand commercial music radio. The study will also look at the validity of the term and investigate whether the trend towards a balance of influences between global and local is favouring one side or the other.

The issues here are finding evidence of hybridisation, the equally visible structural imbalances involved, and how hybridisation takes place and what it produces. Do the globalised production practices in the cultural industries indeed accomplish little more than the hybridisation of hybrid cultures, the further mixing, blending and synthesizing that ultimately leads to a homogenous faceless global culture? Is there governmental or industry support for the replication of overseas styles and themes that makes local cultural productions hybrids of established common global ideas?

This study seeks to discover the strategies that may be involved in bringing about hybridised products, the contingencies in which hybridisation takes place, the ways in

which it has been achieved and the new cultural forms that may be generated due to the complex array of factors involved.

Using interview and survey methods, this study will explore developments in the New Zealand radio landscape, structure and process to understand how these combine, and probe New Zealand's struggle to find a compromise between the dominant American and British influences, at the same time trying to make an industry that still reflects New Zealand cultural values.

The research techniques employed in this study will include utilising content analysis to measure the relative amounts of foreign and local music played on the sampled stations. This is the quantitative element of this study. Following on from this, using interviews allows more detailed analysis from the key players in the industry, to find out how they engage with foreign culture in areas of technology, announcing, programming and training. This is the qualitative feature of this study. Together, the research is optimised with a mixed method to ensure the weakness of one method is countered by the strengths of another.

Chapter Two looks at New Zealand radio history from the beginnings in 1921 and moving through the decades showing that American influence was never far away from the country's airwaves. Chapter Three investigates the theories of globalisation, looking at how cultural imperialism and hybridity as models could provide an explanation of the New Zealand experience. From that launching point, Chapter Four is a literature review that aims to provide insight into what studies have been done in New Zealand and elsewhere on radio generally but also on music radio. In Chapter Five methodologies will be addressed providing a rationale for the data capturing section of the thesis. Music will play an important role in the discussion of radio, but equally technology, programming and people will be contributing factors in determining a country's culture. The empirical findings will be displayed in Chapter Six, and then the discussion of the content analysis will follow in Chapter Seven. Chapter Eight discusses the interviews with key industry players leading to debate about the unintended outcomes of cultural policies and the future of identity politics. Chapter Nine will be a summary of the key findings and some suggestions for future research.

Chapter Two: *The Development of Radio in New Zealand*

History

Radio's history has always been influenced by two nations, England and the United States. Even the very early attempts to create radio came from work done in these two countries. The inventor of wireless telegraphy, that is messages as distinct from signals, was Italian-born Guglielmo Marconi, working in England; and the inventor of wireless telephony or as we know it today, radio is Canadian-born Reginald Aubrey Fessenden, working in the United States.

There are those that say that Marconi's greatest triumph was when he succeeded in 1901 in passing signals across the Atlantic, and this has earned him the title "father of wireless", although

Fessenden's continuous waves, a new type of detector, and, his invention of the method as well as the coining of the word heterodyne, which is fundamental to the technology of radio communications did not by any means constitute a satisfactory wireless telegraphy or wireless telephony system, judged by today's standards. They were, however, the first real departure from Marconi's damped-wave-coherer system for telegraphy that other experimenters were merely imitating or modifying. They were the first pioneering steps toward radio communications and radio broadcasting (Belrose, 1995).

New Zealand radio has always been a hybrid mix of Anglo-American and Kiwi. No one influence has outright dominated the radio scene in its history. Format, presentation, consultancy, staff, music, advertising mantras and technology have been a combination of the spheres of influence from the UK and US. Throughout time, this influence has not evolved from one distinct sector to another, but has co-existed since the first days of broadcasting. The Americanisation of New Zealand commercial radio

therefore does not suggest a change from a solely BBC model pre deregulation, but an intensification of influence since 1990. American themes developed hand in hand with the growth of the broadcasting industry, and began to dominate as more players came onto the market and as commercialisation became the key to profits, and therefore success. The concept of broadcasting as essentially an entertainment medium, contrary to the public service vision of the BBC's Lord Reith, is not a recent development, but one accepted just six or so years after the adoption of the wireless in New Zealand.

Conflicting Models of Broadcasting

In the beginning, the two major players in the international radio market were the United States and Britain. The two began in a very similar vein, with governments concerned over providing a service that would be beneficial to the traditional tenets of informing, educating and entertaining the population. In both countries, the uptake of the wireless was substantial in a relatively short period, and it quickly became an essential part of the country's media diet. However, the future direction of the medium in each country was to be diametrically opposed.

American broadcasting in 1922 was already "moving towards advertising finance; so the BBC would be licence financed. American radio began locally and anyone could set up a radio station; the BBC would be national and controlled in the public interest. American radio was competitive; so British radio would be a monopoly. American radio was becoming geared to the market; so British radio would be insulated from the market" (Tunstall, 1977 : 98).

In the history of US/British radio, the factors such as business-commercial and national-cultural were more powerful at different times. Policy was developed not necessarily reflective of what people wanted or was ready for. At different stages policies looked at what was best for business. The two countries came to an ideological fork in the road at a very early stage.

The British Model

British radio has had a tradition of public service and one person in particular contributed most to the founding principles of the BBC. Lord John Reith (1889-1971) is identified with the BBC's public service aims to educate, inform and entertain. A Scottish engineer, he became General Manager of British Broadcasting Company in 1922 and Director-General of the BBC from 1927-1938. He resisted the US commercial radio model and campaigned for the BBC's Royal Charter. He publicly criticised competition in broadcasting and falling standards until he died.

Reith's personal contribution to the founding principles of the BBC has been well documented. His general approach was typical of the public servant of his day and the staff he recruited came from the same educational and social background as he. Burns comments "the BBC was developed under Reith into a kind of domestic diplomatic service, representing the British – or what he saw as the best of the British – to the British. This dedication codified the profession that expected its listeners to take their listening seriously" (Burns 1979, as cited in Crisell, 1994 : 69).

What have been emphasized have been Reith's religious zeal, high-mindedness and authoritarianism, and these have been found to be characteristic of the service he created. In Reith's manifesto for a public service broadcasting system, there was an overriding concern for the maintenance of high standards. The service "must not be used for entertainment purposes alone...the preservation of a high moral tone, the avoidance of the vulgar and the hurtful, was of paramount importance. Broadcasting should give a lead to public taste rather than to pander to it. Broadcasting had an educative role...to develop the use of the medium of radio to foster the spread of knowledge" (Scannell and Cardiff, 1991 : 7).

This advocates the public service model as a cultural, moral and educative force for the improvement of knowledge, taste and manners, and this has become one of the main ways in which the concept is understood.

Reith also understood that it had a political and social function as well. As a national service broadcasting might bring together all classes of the population, a powerful

means of promoting social unity. “Thus the definition of broadcasting as a public utility to be developed as a national service in the public interest came from the state” (ibid: 6).

Broadcasting had an immense potential for helping in the creation of an informed and enlightened democracy. The concept of public service, in Reith’s mind, had “as a core element, an ideal of broadcasting’s role in the formation of an informed and reasoned public opinion as an essential part of the political process in a mass demographic society” (ibid: 8).

Sir Michael Swann, chairman of the BBC’s Board of Governors, told the 1970s Annan committee that “an enormous amount of the BBC’s work was in fact social cement of one sort or another.... reinforced the sense of belonging to our country, being involved in its celebrations, and accepting what it stands for” (ibid: 10).

The ideal of service was a crucial component of the ideal of public service broadcasting in its formative period from the twenties to the fifties. The Victorian reforming ideal of service was animated by a sense of moral purpose and of social duty on behalf of the community, aimed particularly at those most in need of reforming – the lower classes. It did nothing to change the balance of power in society, and maintained the dominance of the middle classes over the lower ranks.

This leads on to the question as to whose interests is broadcasting there to serve, those of the state or those of the people? At this early stage, Reith’s vision was utopian, with scant concern for audience desires. Radio was a tool for nation building, not for commerce, nor for a plurality of views.

“If once you let broadcasting into politics, you will never be able to keep politics out of broadcasting’. So said the Postmaster General in November 1926, explaining to the House of Commons why the terms of the new charter and licence which would transform the British Broadcasting Company into the British Broadcasting Corporation included a clause forbidding it to deal with controversial matters in its programme service” (ibid: 23). Reith fought hard to win the right to deal with political controversy and to establish some degree of independence for the BBC.

Policy was based on the basic principle that “broadcasting should be operated on a national scale, for national service and by a single national authority” (ibid: 15). The BBC distanced itself from its audiences both geographically and culturally. From a local and regional service, the BBC changed into a national one that purveyed an elite culture with the avowed intention of converting the masses to it. This period was the heyday of the public service model and although it has been modified, it remains influential as the basis on which the British broadcasting system has been founded.

Before the Second World War, British radio consisted of two BBC stations broadcasting mixed programming. Broadcasters share the claim to know ‘what the public needs’ with, for example, the medical and legal professions, where success and reputation are mediated through the judgement of professional colleagues, not of clients. This was broadly the attitude adopted by the BBC from the start and it has remained an enduring legacy of Reith’s time.

To begin with, the range of output on both sides of the Atlantic remained broadly similar – news, music, variety, drama etc. What began to diverge sharply, in the late 20s were “the manner and style of broadcasting – modes of address, production values and styles. At the same time the American domination of the emerging entertainment industry – notably cinema and popular music – created widespread alarm in Britain” (ibid: 292).

While adapting some US formats and ideas for British audiences, the BBC was still wary of the US style of broadcasting. In 1929, Gerald Cock, in charge of Outside Broadcasts, wrote a report on ‘American Control of the Entertainment Industry’. He warned that the BBC’s monopoly would “not necessarily protect it from the ‘ramifications of the Transatlantic octopus’, since American interests were investing in Britain and would attempt to establish monopolies of performers, writers, composers, plays and copyrighted music. It is even possible, he declared that the national outlook and with it, character, is gradually becoming Americanised” (ibid: 292).

In the early years, the major criticism of American broadcasting was directed not at its content but at the ‘chaos of the ether’, which arose from unregulated transmission.

This was always one argument advanced to defend the BBC's monopoly in Britain. There was also of course "advertising on American radio and sponsorship of programmes to promote a product or a corporate image - a feature which the British always thought of as the quintessence of American vulgarity" (ibid: 292).

Britain noted the USA's free for all in the airwaves at this time as a warning of the need for tight regulation. It was the fear of unbridled airwaves piracy which helped various committees in the UK to reject outright deregulation and free enterprise and opt for a form of control that would at the very least eliminate the profit motive and avoid the possibility of disorderly exploitation of scarce public resources. "It is a recorded fact that the BBC was formed in part to combat the perceived evils of free enterprise radio as demonstrated in the USA. The so-called 'American experience' provided a 'devil's advocacy' of alternatives to be avoided at all costs if broadcasting was not to descend into anarchy" (Pauling, 1994 : 6).

Modes of address and styles of talk are always crucial indicators in broadcasting of the relationship between programme makers and their audience. In the early era, the BBC sought to preserve a distance from its audience that contrasted sharply with the more friendly, informal and democratic style of American radio.

In 1924 it was decided to insist on a standard form of announcing in all stations as well as London. The American style was explicitly ruled out, and announcers were to build up in the mind of the public a sense of the BBC's 'collective personality'. In November of that year, it was decided that all radio announcers should be anonymous.

To prevent Americanisms creeping into the British vocabulary, the Radio Times mounted a sustained campaign against American manners and mannerisms in 1925. BBC personnel tried to root out Americanisms from BBC programmes. A live swing music session was introduced as a 'jam session' much to the distaste of programmers who saw it as some sort of Americanism, "They were to interest, not to entertain" (Scannell and Cardiff, 1991 : 191).

The BBC was forced to take heed of the musical stylings coming out of the United States, and play what was demanded of them, with jazz, dance, swing and crooning in

the 30s. Despite attempts to obliterate this style of music, attempts to define what they wanted to ban proved elusive. Because the nature of the BBC did not favour one kind of music at the expense of another, and because its social direction was towards the whole community, being the sole broadcaster in a city, “the BBC rapidly found itself undertaking the presentation of all forms of music that had any appreciable audience side by side in a single channel” (ibid: 182).

American influence also operated more diffusely through notions of ‘professionalism’ within each of the communications occupations in Britain. Radio producers looked toward their opposite numbers in New York, Washington and Los Angeles. The very powerful pull of this influence can be seen in many small ways, “for instance the eagerness with which most senior British media people demonstrate their up-to-date knowledge of working conditions in the USA” (Tunstall, 1977 : 102).

The public service model could not survive the assaults of multinational competition and policies under which, in Garnham’s words, “the state’s ideological functions are progressively transferred to the market with the active collaboration of the state” (Garnham, 1984 : 5). In this scenario, national institutions are “transformed into junior partners of multinational enterprises and their audiences fragmented and reassembled in trans-national aggregations which answer to market demand” (ibid: 6). The reach of new technologies and the tendency for intermediary levels to disappear between the individual household and the national supplier help to work against localism in the communication industries. The relationship between local media and local communities is a prominent topic of contemporary media analysis. Commercialisation and internationalisation have brought charges that globalised media are losing their local specificity.

The loss of localism does not mean a loss of identity for the nation-state, but does lead to a mix of Anglo-American media content. These levels of hybridity were already apparent. The development of radio styles of entertainment culminated in ‘Band Waggon’ at the end of the thirties. The play was “a successful adaptation of American techniques to produce a show with a wholly British flavour” (Scannell and Cardiff, 1991 : 294).

Adaptations of American plays and drama followed, and were described as successful home-grown versions of an American format. Concepts such as Spelling Bees were copied, BBC directors suggested departments to copy American ways to liven up presentations. The BBC even at times broadcast relays of variety programmes from the United States.

It was Claude Cockburn who pointed out that the attraction of Americanised content in the thirties lay in its democratic appeal and that it was just that quality which led ‘British statesmen, thinkers and leaders of the upper sort in general to observe it with alarm and utter warnings against it’. American culture, as inflected in film, radio and mass advertising, custom-built a more “equal, open society than Britain. It had a democracy of manner and outlook which was as much a matter of communicative style as of content” (ibid: 298).

While American speech was beginning to assume a universal, classless manner, the accents of the BBC continued to exude what some called “finicking, suburban, synthetic, plus-fours gentility. Anti-Americanism in Britain was, in reality, always more indicative of threatened class attitudes and postures [...] Working people in Britain massively enjoyed and consumed American entertainment because it did not treat them as second-class citizens” (ibid: 298).

The British listeners did become familiar with American style entertainment through listening to European commercial radio, such as Radios Normandie and Luxembourg. Even regular BBC performers began to turn up on the imported stations. It also created new job opportunities for British musicians. Media critics, now familiar with alternative forms of music began to write how much they now desired the ‘honest vulgarity of radio’ instead of the ‘refrained BBC English’.

In 1933, the BBC fought back against the influx of American content with its own dig at American life. It was one of the few examples of contra flow at that time. It put out a series of burlesques of American radio, named ‘America Calling’, and it was “one of the very few BBC variety shows to be relayed to the United States” (ibid: 295). Send-ups of American films and advertising were a frequent ingredient of BBC

revues, and “sniping at American radio continued even as the BBC increasingly borrowed its ideas” (ibid: 295).

The BBC offered little radio material to match the sort of appetite indicated by the pre-war appeal of Continental commercial radio stations. During WW2, the British domestic audience showed a marked liking for American music and humour. In 1944, Norman Collins, the BBC’s Director of the General Overseas Service pointed out realistically while he had been “constantly and persistently nagging for straight English Variety, if any hundred British troops are invited to choose their own records 90 percent of the choice will be of American stuff” (Tunstall, 1977 : 101).

When commercial radio began in the UK, with pirate broadcasting and later with legally sanctioned commercial broadcasting, “British radio entrepreneurs looked to the USA for ideas, as had BBC personnel before them. The US was seen as the originator of commercial radio and of the particular style of fast-moving, fast-talking radio that many UK youth-oriented stations emulate” (Morris, 1999 : 48). The energetic style of delivery has been associated with US announcers since as early as the 1930s, when a BBC magazine noted the “Full-blooded zest of a US presenter’s approach to the microphone” (Radio Times, n.d. cited in ibid: 54). A particular style of radio delivery – brash, emphatic and male links to a sense of the US as a source of much youth-oriented popular culture, a connection felt to be a positive one for the stations’ target audiences.

The result of American media products being slowly introduced into British life meant a resulting hybrid of Anglo-American tastes and desires of both producers and consumers. This feedback loop ensures neither a strictly American diet nor British, but a hybrid of both.

What emerges from this discussion is a focus on the high moral end of broadcasting, challenged by American influence. Despite both countries having high ideals of what this new radio technology should bring to its citizens, the British tried to stay the path of providing a service with a monopoly on high morals and a policy of non-commercialism. This Reithian ideal was in theory a direction that the government pursued on behalf of the citizens, by the country’s elite, but it was not one that the

public necessarily wanted. Access to American products, both in the form of records and pirate radio stations gave the British listening public a choice and desire for the latest musical stylings from the States. This forced the BBC to reluctantly modify its policy and deliver more of what the public wanted. Growth in the industry led to more radio stations and a segmentation and networking of brands. The three tier listening system of universal, specialty and popular was a British precedent. Further growth in the market meant the arrival of the commercial competitors, and more mimicry of American music and style.

As a broadcasting model, the BBC and public service broadcasting is now more mature and more diluted than when it first came to the fore. Much of what is heard today in Britain in some part can be attributed to the importation of American musical values and styles. Through hybridity, much has been copied, but radio retains essential elements of what constitutes being 'British'. It remains an enduring legacy of Lord Reith and as a model to be aspired to; it still holds some traction in respect to it being a valid countering force to the more popular pull of rampant commercialism.

The United States Model

The radio scene developed in the U.S. was quite different to the one in Britain. Well before Marconi's first successful demonstration of wireless telegraphy in London in 1896, Britain's position as leader of the industrialized world had been "overtaken by European rivals and by America. In the USA, the emergence of giant corporations, the development of mass production techniques and the growth of advertising, coupled with an ideology that honoured profit, the pioneer and 'individualism', created a peculiarly different seedbed for radio" (Lewis and Booth, 1989 : 12).

Initially, historians generally assumed that the nation as a whole was more important than one of its individual institutions, the media. They therefore favoured media philosophies and activities that they believed worked for the good of the nation. Historians reasoned that America's past was marked more by general agreement than by conflict and that Americans, "rather than being sundered by class differences, tended to be more united than divided. While Americans from time to time might disagree on particulars, their differences existed within a larger framework – such as

belief in democracy, human freedom, constitutional government and the national welfare – that overshadowed their differences” (Startt and Sloan, 1994 : 6).

The large geographical extent of the USA and a tradition that favoured individual commercial or city initiatives against federal planning, i.e. a free market, ensured maximum use of frequencies in the major cities initially and a relative deprivation in rural areas. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) has since maintained a policy that seeks “wherever possible to fill frequency space rather than find reasons to deny its use. It is aided in the process by Constitutional Amendments and a Freedom of Information Act” (Lewis and Booth, 1989 : 22). The courts have also supported the position taken by the Commission that “the interests of the whole listening public require that provision be made for local programme service” (FCC, 1946 : 255).

In both Britain and America, radio was shaped by political parties, the central government, the press and the radio hardware manufacturers. The national political parties favoured a national framework. The national newspapers were opposed to any radio incursions into either advertising or news, while the manufacturers wanted any radio service that would sell out their sets and hardware. David Sarnoff’s appointment as General Manager of RCA in 1921 encouraged the drive towards broadcasting and the manufacture of sets, while a flood of licence applications overwhelmed the Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover.

Initially, radio went through the same sort of expectations as the phonograph. The intellectual elite viewed radio as a way to educate the masses. They reasoned that lectures, news reports, readings of fine literature and ‘good’ music received from the radio could only help lift the common man from his lowly position.

Radio grew in popularity much more quickly than the phonograph. In April of 1922, the Bureau of Standards in Washington DC estimated the radio audience at nearly one million people. By September of 1924, that audience had grown to around five million. An industry publication estimated the 1926 audience to be close to twenty million strong and 26 million the following year. By the time of the 1930 census, over 12 million American families or 40 percent had radios in their homes. It grew to an

audience of nearly 61 million people after about 13 years in existence (Hyde, 1994 : 240).

By the time broadcasting began, jazz music had a firm hold on the interest of the public. Radio's wide reach made possible the expanded appreciation of new music as well as the increased exposure of songs and performers. In the United States, the idea of musical entertainment in the home via radio was communicated through channels such as "friends, popular magazines, newspapers and department stores over a period of about twenty years from 1920 to 1940 when penetration reached more than 80% of U.S. households" (ibid: 236).

Despite the increasing popularity of jazz music, it was still considered a lowbrow product. The volume of complaints about jazz music indicated that the phonograph and radio were indeed spreading the popular forms of music around the country. Articles by journalism's elite "condemned the predominance of popular music, referring to it as candy compared to the more substantial classical music" (ibid: 239).

Critics of radio broadcasting often claimed that jazz music made up too much of radio programming, but it was the public that repeatedly told broadcasters they liked jazz. Radio 'wore out' popular songs due to overplaying, the public began to demand more variety as they tired of songs. New musical styles heard on the radio such as the blues filtered into popular music eventually evolving into rock and roll. The radio spread the new American musical forms around the world.

The music being played on radio stirred interest in the purchase of the records of these songs. This led to the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP) to withdraw its music from radio unless broadcasters agreed to pay royalty fees. Despite much protest from the broadcasting industry, they eventually paid.

This growth of the recording and radio industry was assisted by a United States governmental policy shaped by the tradition of minimal interference. Both at home and abroad, this means primarily regulating and smoothing the way for the existing commercial media. American government involvement is effective precisely because it only operates to support the commercial media or to fill gaps where there is no

revenue inducement for the commercial media. Under the American Constitution, ideals of individualism, competition and equality under law, it reflects not only a liberal common sense; it also constitutes 'the way it is'. Popular interest in amateur experiments forced the switch from broadcasting as a means of publicity, and the development proceeded without much concern for either frequency planning or public service.

The exact opposite is true of Britain. An Official Secrets Act passed (1911) "in the very period we have been considering when military interests dominated the infant technology [...]. It is part of an even older civil service tradition, which continues to this day, of being economical with the truth and has habituated a British public uncomplainingly to accept a shortage of information. The onus is on the citizen to show cause why s/he should use the frequency spectrum at all" (Lewis and Booth, 1989 : 22).

Along with the political importance of the media, historians such as David Potter explained the distinctive feature of the modern American as materialistic. A key instrument in the growth of that characteristic historically has been advertising. This was instrumental in turning America into a society of massive consumers.

The American style of commercial radio at first revealed itself in the "streamlined regularity of the scheduling, in the cheerful informality of the presentation and in the ubiquitous hard-sell advertising of the products in between the dance numbers" (Scannell and Cardiff, 1991 : 296).

In the formative period of American radio from 1919-34, US radio moved quickly from being state dominated to a commercial medium. The state's suspicion of British imperialism and monopoly laid the ground for breaking the patent deadlock. Safeguarding military interests and to wrest control of international wireless traffic from European and particularly British control and from then on commercial interests spearheaded the medium's development. Soon after radio stations appeared in the early decades of the twentieth century, "they began broadcasting weather reports, commodity market reports and running advertising useful to farm families" (Startt and Sloan, 1994 : 11).

With the success of the American 'penny press', media in general grew away from its ideological public service character and began to emphasize news and appealing to the mass audience. The sector grew up primarily interested in the progress of the institution rather than in its participation in the broader affairs of the nation. They discarded the earlier historical concept of the interaction between the media and the nation's affairs and replaced it with a narrower view of the operation of the media. In the process, they began to annihilate the earlier assumption of the natural importance of the media. The "developmental explanation eventually became the dominant explanation of media history, and the traditional acceptance of the media's broad national significance disappeared" (ibid: 7).

One of the major differences lies in the measure of accountability for the radio providers. Primary responsibility for the American system of broadcasting rests with the licensee of broadcast stations, including the network organizations. It is to the "stations and networks rather than to federal regulation that listeners must primarily turn for improved standards of programme service...through self-regulation by the industry itself" (FCC, 1946 : 259).

The role of guardian of the airwaves was left to the professional radio critics through responsible criticism, radio listener councils, and education and research through colleges and universities. The Commission was primarily concerned with the carrying of sustaining programmes, local live programmes, discussion of public issues and the elimination of advertising excesses, although the Commission had no desire to concern itself with the particular length, content, or irritating qualities of particular commercial plugs (ibid: 261).

America's media dominance after the Second World War was primarily thrust through commercial means. American governmental agencies did some restrictive licensing and controlling, but primarily worked for, and through, the commercial media. Washington support for the exporting of American media equipment and materials was also evidenced "in various pieces of legislation, which provided useful commercial assistance or exempted the media from anti-trust provisions obtained at home" (Tunstall, 1977 : 224).

In 1947-8, American radio reached their highest point in terms of direct dominance of the media in other countries. Control of raw materials was one basis of this dominance, the USA had a commanding position “with over twice as many sets per population as Britain, three times France and thirteen times the Soviet Union. Along with this radio predominance went manufacturing capacity and leadership in all other aspects of radio – except perhaps serious programming” (ibid: 141).

By 1945 in the realm of radio news, the British and the Americans had evolved two somewhat different styles of news, “one or both of which, after 1945, served as models for nearly every country in the world” (ibid: 34). The BBC’s underlying assumption is that the news was supplied as part of their responsibility to “provide a rationally balanced service of news which will enable adult people to make basic judgments about public policy in their capacity as voting citizens in a democracy” (Curran, n.d., as cited in Maharey, 1992 : 98). The American model saw news as entertainment, treated like a business that produces a product for sale to consumers. This model of news makes only a superficial contribution to the nation’s democracy.

The international services of state organizations such as the BBC World Service, Radio Australia or the Voice of America have had a steady but low key presence in the world, and have been identified with a political or diplomatic thrust in their country of origin, particularly in times of war. Imported programmes from such sources, including news items, format and of course, music may have had an influence on local radio output. But what cannot be ignored is that “entire radio services, whether they be satellite music services from the US, or news and information services long revered for their association with public service values, are being distributed on a commercial basis in foreign markets” (Wilson, 1994a : 167).

In the USA, VHF/FM took off slowly and for a number of years was an unregarded backwater, but in contrast to Britain, the FM band was ‘freed’ to develop separate programming. In 1964 the FCC “ordered AM-FM licence holders serving populations over 100 000 to stop simulcasting and broadcast original programming on FM for at least half their airtime. By this historic decision, FM radio was able to take off, assisted by an extraordinary convergence of music, radical politics and youth culture” (Lewis and Booth, 1989 : 25).

However, globally, the cost of filling broadcasting time with original or domestic material has always strained the capacity of production organizations. It is virtually impossible without great repetition or extensive importing. Commercial motives and demand for imports have fuelled the expansion of radio stations since the 1980's. The main beneficiary and the main exporter has been the United States, which has a large and surplus production of popular entertainment and an entrée into the New Zealand market secured by the familiarity of its products mainly as a result of the presence of decades of American music and film. Early recorded music from America had a quasi-international character, firstly because of the classical repertoire and secondly because of the increasing diffusion of American popular songs, sometimes associated with musical films. The English language is an added advantage.

American and British products have traditionally dominated the New Zealand popular music industry. In a study of the content of New Zealand radio between 1957 and 1984, Lealand found that New Zealand popular music was dominated by Hollywood musicals, "with lingering traces of the British music hall tradition. Overseas artists have always been the most popular in New Zealand, with usually at least half of these from the United States" (Lealand, 1988 : 61). This is not an unusual situation considering that "most of the world is dominated by music from Britain and the United States" (Malm and Wallis, 1992 : 2 as cited in Joyce, 2002 : 96).

After the introduction of television in the US, radio had to reassess its place in the media diet of the population. As local American stations adapted for survival they

Researched the times and tastes that would appeal to advertisers, since the mass audience and evening prime time now belonged to television. Teenagers with money to spend could not find in the (white) ballads that headed the network charts the pace and excitement they wanted to dance to: they bought black music, and, observing the trend, stations began to play rhythm'n blues for white audiences. Meanwhile the record industry plagiarised and 'cleaned up' versions of black hits that filled the jukeboxes and were played out on air. So began the close association of the record companies and the radio stations that resulted in

the playlist, based on the charts published weekly in national trade papers, themselves based on sales (Lewis and Booth, 1989 : 48).

Meanwhile, precise demographic surveys allowed formatting to develop and deliver targeted sections of the audience to the advertiser. Formats were separated out in the search for markets as stations multiplied in the 1960s.

American media's stress on reaching young people dates from attempts of the English-language press to wean young immigrants away from foreign-language papers. The preference for advertisers is for reaching the young – regarded as “better prospects for new products and for switching their brand loyalty. The part played by record purchases in radio-hit selection produced an enormous bias towards youthful preferences. These themes are literally embodied in the star” (Tunstall, 1977 : 83).

Popular music recordings lend themselves to globalisation of ownership and control of production and distribution. The products are more easily designed for an international market and lend themselves to more flexible marketing and distribution over a longer time span even if originally produced for a domestic market. Its predominant form of organization and means of transmission are such that it cannot be easily contained within national frontiers nor kept out. This will usually imply a downgrading of specificity in themes and settings and a preference for formats and genres that are universal. Because of the influence of the United States in music production, transnational content is sometimes considered as essentially North American. Some features of the current media situation point without much doubt to an accelerating trend of trans-nationalization affecting news, music and entertainment. “Commercial urgency, rather than artistic insight, fostered by contrast a hectic vivacity in the corresponding American operation” (McLuhan, 1964 : 83).

Although the recent phenomenon of satellite radio has been slow on acceptance and is subscription-based, the future for broadcasting funding seems increasingly to lie in advertising, despite listener opposition. While not inevitable, even the bastion of non-commercial public service broadcasting, the BBC could not withstand the onslaught of commercialism from the United States. A modern mix of public service with more dominant elements of commercial output is now the model seen in many countries of

the world. In the modern pursuit of commercial profits, networking is becoming increasingly common.

The beginnings of networking, at this time known as ‘chain broadcasting’ responds to the commercial logic of advertising. To complete the picture of the American system at this stage it is worth noting what was involved in networking, the most important feature of American broadcasting. Barnouw notes the effects of networking’s earliest stages:

- 1 As NBC developed prestigious New York-produced programmes for networking, sale of airtime locally became easier to obtain.
- 2 Long-distance listening declined. In the early days, many local stations had observed a weekly ‘Silent Night’ to allow listeners to search the dial and indulge their choice of distant stations. Now network pressure on affiliated stations swept listener protests aside and duplicated programmes on most stations at peak hours.
- 3 Local talent, dropped in favour of high quality network shows, disappeared.

(as cited in Lewis and Booth, 1989 : 43).

Networking is concerned with putting a maximum number of stations or affiliates at the disposal of an advertiser/sponsor. Such contractual arrangements limited listener choice and worked against the diversity and provision of minority programming. Paul Lazarsfeld, founder of Columbia University’s Bureau for Applied Social Research concludes,

A programme must be entertaining and so it avoids anything depressing enough to call for social criticism; it must not alienate its listeners, and hence caters to the prejudices of the audience; it avoids specialization, so that as large an audience as possible will be assured; in order to please everyone it tries to steer clear of controversial issues. Add to this the nightmare of all broadcasters, that the listener is free to tune in to competing stations whenever he pleases, and you have a picture of radio as a stupendous technical achievement with a strongly

conservative tendency in all social matters (Lazarsfeld, 1940, as cited in *ibid*: 45).

The United States broadcasters and the FCC recognized that sustaining programmes played an integral and irreplaceable part in the American system of broadcasting. The merit of network programmes is recognized as helping to achieve that goal, “indeed, the Commission’s Chain Broadcasting Regulations 3.101 and 3.102 were designed in considerable part to insure a freer flow of network programmes to the listener. In January 1945, approximately 47.9% of all the time of standard broadcast stations was devoted to network programmes” (FCC, 1946 : 253)

Networking began as a public service broadcasting network whereby governments saw financial and ideological benefits from networking a single product into as many markets as possible. By being able to use technology to simulcast a single voice into multiple markets cuts dramatically the cost of employing multiple actors to do the job achieved by one person. In a modern context, companies also see benefits from networking, but these are more focussed on profits and audience share rather than for any public service ethos. What was considered unusual a few years ago are now considered the norm.

What emerges from this discussion is a transition from a British blueprint of broadcasting, modified to suit America’s individual needs. To begin with, like the BBC, ideas of using radio to fulfil public service obligations were paramount. However, America chose a different model to pursue this in the form of free commercialism. The Constitution granted freedom of speech and protected those rights, so right from the outset; the radio spectrum was filled up rather than being suppressed. Instead of a monopoly of one national broadcaster, localism was encouraged by the federal bodies alongside national stations. This bred competition and a desire for profits.

The government had a hands off approach, leaving the operators to self-regulate. In this environment, commercialism expanded, as did the operators. A classless society opened the way for an explosion of innovation, both musically and operationally. Radio adjusted to its displacement by television and now sees the American model

operating with a worldwide influence. That broadcasting should develop as a capitalist enterprise, a vehicle for advertising and commercial expansion, is not surprising in a country that by the end of the First World War led the world in industrial production.

The American commercial broadcasting system found increased profits by exporting its model worldwide and expanding its ownership into different countries in the hunt for profits. Station owners worldwide have copied the financially preferable model of networking its various brands.

The focus is on giving what listeners want, rather than by providing them with what the government thinks they should be consuming. This has led to claims of ‘dumbing down’ of local products. The American influence has spread across nation states, but is subject to hybridisation. Countries do not accept *carte blanche* the American broadcasting mantras, but adapt them to suit local needs. This hybridisation argument will be furthered in Chapter Three.

The New Zealand Experience

During the first half century since radio's inception, broadcasting grew from an eccentric fad to a powerful and enduring social institution with a daily presence in the lives of most New Zealanders. The early radio years saw the development of a new form of communication and its use to provide new genres of entertainment, new varieties of information and education and new forms of community and national understanding. It was shaped by many talents and it created stars and early household names like Aunt Daisy and Uncle Scrim. Within each centre, the local radio station became the focus for entertainment and information in leisure time and for community activity. It proved itself as a reliable means of communication during times of emergency and the dominant medium through which the government spoke to the people.

In the beginning, the government had little interest in the medium, “New Zealand law and the fear of detection forced amateurs to neglect the transmission potential of radio...many felt the official attitude was working against the development of radio.

Political and commercial interests were concerned to reduce amateur activities to the level of a ‘harmless hobby’” (Day, 1994 : 22). The government had shown little sympathy for New Zealand amateur experimenters. With its own radio system in operation, the government regarded amateurs as unwarranted eavesdroppers on the messages of others. This led to a “ban on all amateur use of radio in 1912, the reason was that unauthorised wireless installations were interfering with official messages” (ibid: 27).

The interest and importance of broadcasting lies in its widespread acceptance by the population and in the way it became part of and changed people’s way of life. Initially, radio was regarded as an impractical fad, not to be taken seriously. This attitude passed and within fifteen years of the start of broadcasting in New Zealand, more than half of households possessed a set and radio ownership was continuing to grow rapidly. Radio sets were eventually put in the workplace, in hotels, in motorcars and other places. However, most were in the family home as broadcasting developed as a home-orientated form of entertainment and information. The convenience of the home based radio sets and the popularity of the programmes was such that radio listening became an everyday activity for individuals of all ages.

The history of New Zealand broadcasting falls into two periods, divided by two developments of the early 1960s - the introduction of television and the removal of the long-standing administration of broadcasting as a government department. To build up to this point, and show where this has led, the history of New Zealand broadcasting will be laid out in decades from the first broadcast in Dunedin through to the present day.

1920s: Control of the medium

Dr Robert Jack, Professor of Physics at Otago University was the man who first transmitted a series of concerts that included live voice and music along with gramophone recordings in New Zealand on the night of 17 November 1921. The broadcast was heard over a wide area of New Zealand. Early stations were amateur and sub-standard; radio was taken under government control soon after its invention,

and treated as part of the telegraph and postal services. Broadcasting was another matter; “the government’s initial view was that it should not be involved except as regulator and licensor” (ibid: 1), much like the early days of American broadcasting.

The 1923 regulations set out conditions for private individuals to operate a station under licence from the Post and Telegraph department. One major concern over the power of radio was legislated against in January 1923. The first regulations were issued defining limits for broadcast material including the edict that stations must not be used for ‘the dissemination of propaganda of a controversial nature’. What could be broadcast included matters of “an educative or entertaining character such as news, lectures, useful information, religious services, music or elocutionary entertainment and such other items of general interest as may be approved by the Minister from time to time” (ibid: 51).

Small private stations were started in various towns. This individual radio ‘freedom’ lasted until the government decided to become more involved in radio in November 1923, when the Postmaster-General, Gordon Coates announced a government plan to amend existing legislation to enable the setting up of a country wide service. The official view soon became that broadcasting should be organised nationally. The following year it was investigated into how this could be done. On 30 August 1925, one station in each of the main centres, 1YA, 2YA, 3YA and 4YA, passed into the hands of the Radio Broadcasting Company of New Zealand (RBCNZ), a private company contracted by the government. The RBCNZ assumed control of the country’s official broadcasting policy and focussed principally on technical and engineering matters to do with station establishment and operation. While it was concerned only to a lesser degree with programming, what is notable is the speed with which it developed an enduring broadcasting style. The General Manager was Ambrose R Harris who had a background of experience that included several years in the United States where he had worked in the Edison laboratories.

When Prime Minister Coates came to give wireless statutory recognition he chose not to make it a full government responsibility. At the same time, he hesitated before letting it be entirely its own master. The Coates compromise introduced the principle to cabinet as a watchdog of the airwaves. Other countries let broadcasting develop as

a private enterprise with certain basic rules of conduct, or as a corporation owing some responsibility to government. New Zealand chose to adopt a system that, for more than 50 years, made the broadcaster answerable to government. This model is certainly in contrast to the American self-regulation model.

In New Zealand in 1927, the age-old conflict between ‘popularity’ and ‘quality’ of broadcasting began. A new director of music, Mr W.J. Bellingham was more aligned with the Reithian ideals of broadcasting as opposed to Harris, who was interested in audience size. In Bellingham’s view, the duty of broadcasting was to give people not necessarily what they wanted but what was good for them. This argument ran counter to the growing democratic ethos of the twentieth century. The debate outlasted both men and is still argued over today.

Debate over broadcasting practices centred at first on music. At issue was the purpose of broadcasting. It was argued that broadcasters had a duty to concentrate on established classical music rather than on contemporary popular songs. To educate the audience in the appreciation of classical repertoire meant the “deliberate neglect of contemporary music. This was never accepted by the general New Zealand audience” (ibid: 2). This is certainly reminiscent of the ideology the BBC were forcing on their listening population at the same time.

Before long, the clash between public service broadcasting and commercial reality became an issue. Money became an object in 1926. In the RBCNZ annual report, it alluded to the fact that artists’ fees were going to be of concern. “The sources for obtaining free talent for programmes are becoming limited and the present standard generally cannot be maintained six nights every week” (Downes and Harcourt, 1975 : 38).

Further elements of American radio modelling crept into the early broadcasts. The first incidence of what is called a ‘talkback programme’ happened on 5 May 1927. Station 1YA announcer John Prentice took calls over the air and it was noted that many of the questions were “extremely pertinent and showed a keen interest in foreign affairs on the part of New Zealanders” (ibid: 31).

Early short-wave broadcasts were received from both Britain and the United States. Prize-fights from the United States were described to listeners on 22 September 1927. However, an actual broadcast relayed directly was to come a few weeks later. On 11 November 1927, a short-wave broadcast was relayed from the BBC's overseas transmitter at Chelmsford. On Armistice Day, the Director-General of the BBC, Sir John Reith sent his greetings "to all those thousands of listeners overseas and particularly to those in Australia and New Zealand" (ibid: 43). Five years passed until before a daily Empire Short-wave Service began transmission from Britain.

1928 saw radio in a survival mode. From the early rash of privately owned 'B' stations, only a few were to survive in Palmerston North, Gisborne and Wanganui as well as the four main centres. They existed on a starvation diet. They could not benefit from the licence fee, they could not earn revenue by selling advertising time and they were not protected against claims for royalties by copyright owners. A demand for payment would have forced them to close down. In September 1928, the Radio Record magazine suggested sponsoring, American style, might produce more money and better programmes. However, the thought of advertising of any kind met with stiff opposition. There seemed to be an impression that its effects were somehow debasing or demoralizing. It was also considered to be lacking in tact to poach so openly in an area regarded as a newspaper service. This policy follows quite clearly after the BBC's contempt of advertising in any form. Despite the criticisms, it was clear that unless the B stations advertised, they too were going to be out of business.

The first use of 'audience research' came in 1928. To establish a liaison between itself and the listeners, the Radio Broadcasting Company set up a public advisory committee for music, drama, religion and children's programmes. The committee alongside a selection of 'official listeners' gave some insight into the satisfaction levels of the public.

Plays became a regular feature, however these were originally designed for stage and little attempts were made to adapt them for radio. It was not until 5 July 1929 was one heard which had been specially created for the new medium. It was called a 'listening play' and it was from the BBC's original broadcast in January 1924. It was called 'Danger' and it was the world's first radio play (ibid: 46).

From a discussion at a meeting of the 3YA musical and dramatic committee, 7 August 1929 “the chairman, Mr. W. H. Dixon, said that for a long time during the war he was musical organizer for community singing among soldiers, and that after the war a scheme was devised by the BBC for broadcasting community singing with some wonderfully successful results. He would like to start this in New Zealand, with the singing of national songs of New Zealand. He hoped it might be the means of stirring creative artists into composing songs of their own country” (ibid: 77).

This decade followed an initial Anglo-American pattern, with a hands off approach to begin with, then realising a potential for providing a cultural product for the benefit of the citizens. At this stage, managers were acting in the best interests of the country rather than the listeners, avoiding advertising like the BBC and leaning towards highbrow cultural products. Like in Britain, the government policy was to do what was best for the citizens; control of the medium was the best method. Content at this stage was carefully monitored and reflected New Zealand’s close ties to the British realm.

1930s: A combination of international influence

The 1930s were a decisive decade. During these years, radio became a common household possession and broadcasting grew to become a national institution under government control. Radio broadcasting developed a range of new entertainments, and from the time a choice was available, the majority New Zealand audience chose not to use the radio to educate itself in an appreciation of the classical fare. The eventual decision made by broadcasters was to develop different types of programming for different stations, to provide a range of entertainment and let the audience choose which station to tune into. Allied with this station specialisation was the political decision to link the majority programming with commercial broadcasting and to finance the other stations from the annual licence fee.

The programmes broadcast were new presentations of older forms of entertainment and instruction, along with new variants. It rose in popularity but also became the topic of public discussion and dissension. Radio serials were debated both for their

content and, because most of them were imported, for their introduction of what were regarded as non-New Zealand values.

On a political level, the growth and increasingly public nature of broadcasting saw governments become more and more involved in what they had originally regarded as beyond their concern. New Zealand politicians were slow to see political influence for radio. Nevertheless, during the 1930s broadcasting became part both of the political contest and of the terrain where that contest took place.

The first Labour government developed radio as a means of circumventing what it regarded as unfavourable newspaper publicity. Radio became the new way for representatives to communicate with the electorate. As listening to radio programmes became a favourite pastime, broadcasting became a topic of public interest. As radio was used as a medium for news and political communication, broadcasting came under increasing scrutiny.

1930 saw the depression years, but not so for radio. Sales of sets still went up. Advocates of radio argued that the hard times led people to decide to purchase a radio, “with less money available for entertainment, radio gives a definitely better return for every pound spent than any other expenditure on amusement” (Day, 1994 : 96).

At this time, the radio industry and the broadcasting profession in North America had been expanding rapidly. The general manager of the Broadcasting Company, A.R. Harris decided to head over to the United States to see what progress it had been making. A development that caught his attention was the ‘transcription disc’ a 16-inch recording on which could be contained a single half hour programme. To test their possibilities, Harris arranged for some of these transcriptions to be sent to New Zealand. In February 1931, a test of the new ‘feature programmes’ began to gauge the public reaction to this novelty in programming. The Company had anticipated a negative reaction to these ‘American’ imports, so to disarm the critics they “played some examples of programmes which, they said, were highly popular in America, but were not being purchased for New Zealand. In other words, ‘See how we look after your interests you lucky people! We wouldn’t subject you to this’” (Downes and Harcourt, 1975 : 57).

The Radio Record publication agreed. Some of these ‘undesirable’ programmes, it was explained were from “lengthy serials which are said to create the greatest furore imaginable among listeners all through America. They would not, however, be acceptable in New Zealand” (ibid: 57). What Harris had done was to bring to New Zealand an early form of syndicated radio production that would eventually grow into a flourishing satellite industry. Some firms were creative and supplied the market; others were branches or departments of existing networks. They operated largely in Britain and America, distributing recorded versions of the world’s best in entertainment. The transcription programmes were described as ‘International Nights’ and the music was broken mid-evening with a talk on international news and current events.

Despite the fact that these programmes were touted as American novelties, their effect was profound. From ‘Observer’ in the Radio Record, February 1931,

Two things...impressed me greatly: atmosphere and continuity. The Americans have certainly mastered the difficult art of presenting radio entertainment in the most acceptable manner...It appears the American aim is to make the listener forget his loudspeaker. The second point, that of continuity, is perhaps the most important. From start to finish the programme flowed on evenly, in well-defined sections, each lasting for a generous length of time (ibid: 58).

Some people could not come to terms with the internationalism of radio broadcasting. They disliked the thought of New Zealand being polluted by ‘foreign’ or ‘false’ values. In a letter to the Radio Record, the writer objected to the damage being done in the name of entertainment,

I have many friends who resent the company’s action in broadcasting such poor entertainment. We are a British community and, wishing to preserve British ideals, do not want to be surfeited with American nasal twang and cheap and nasty forms of American ‘music’, either vocal or instrumental. The Americanisation of Australia and New Zealand had gone too far already without the Broadcasting Company furthering the process. If thousands of misguided

people do patronize the American sound pictures they do so voluntarily, but wireless listeners have no option but to switch off their sets (ibid: 79).

In response to this, the General Manager of the Broadcasting Company, Mr. A. R. Harris replied in an interview in the Waikato Times in the first week of November 1930,

There is no doubt that radio broadcasting is now widely recognized as one of the greatest economic and social factors of the age. I have no hesitation in stating that every possible endeavour is being made to cater for every section of the community, without discrimination or favouritism. I would stress the social value of radio in the homes of the people, and more particularly in country homes. The ramifications of the radio service embrace practically every phase of human activity, religious, social, intellectual and industrial. It brings into the home, no matter how remote, a diversity of interests that cannot help but widen the individual outlook, create a better understanding between all classes, and a keener interest in national affairs (ibid: 79).

In taking the American position, New Zealand radio began serving its own interests rather than serving British ones. It began a slow process of moving away from the public service ethos of Britain towards American commercial imperatives, and giving the public what they desire.

At this time, there was a move away from the stereotyped and fairly parochial approach to broadcasting music in New Zealand. It may have been described as 'American trash', but the new dance music could not stop it being attractive to the young.

While the company's programme department cautiously allowed for that, they had to bear in mind that conventional attitudes change slowly. These attitudes were ones of programme managers and others in control of broadcasting policy; people more aligned to the British Reithian public service ideal rather than the more egalitarian motives of the American democratic media. Trying to

reconcile new trends in social habits with the increasing side-effects of the world recession made the programme organizer's job no easier (ibid: 59).

After six years, a distinct concept was emerging of broadcasting as an entertainment medium. It owed little or nothing to its established rivals. As well as assisting the ratings of the Government 'A' stations, the decade did provide a glimmer of hope to the B stations. Draft legislation promised that plans would be investigated whereby they can be run along with the government stations. Opening the Wellington Radio Show in June 1931, the Postmaster General, Mr. J. B. Donald announced clearance to begin sponsoring. Then after closing a station for exceeding his instruction, he appeared to backtrack when he announced 'the government would not allow advertising in any shape or form to go on the air.' This naturally caused some confusion, but was only settled when the government clarified that sponsorship could continue but advertising could not. It was a policy that had softened from the original non-commercial BBC standard. After 1931, the B stations became increasingly political. The government was accused of having an irresolute attitude towards the whole broadcasting question. However, they were still rejecting advertising as "rank and deplorable commercialisation" (Day, 1994 : 139).

In the middle of 1931, a new Postmaster General was appointed, the Hon. Adam Hamilton. In November, less than two months before the administration was due to make an alliance with the Reform Party, he informed the House that Broadcasting would be under a three-member board of management. It was to be non-political. This was to be called the Broadcasting Board (1932-36).

One of the Board members Mr. L. R. C. Macfarlane returned to New Zealand from a trip 'home' to Britain and said he had been struck by the way English people regarded the BBC with pride and affection. He wondered why New Zealanders could not feel the same way about the Board, instead of constantly criticizing it.

Controversy was still not allowed. However, when George Bernard Shaw visited in 1934, he sparked the debate with some remarks in a broadcast from Wellington. A sizeable proportion of listeners wanted debate and discussion on radio to be free. The government disagreed. When asked by a journalist if the government intended to

follow the British example and use radio for party political broadcasts, Prime Minister George Forbes replied “No. It would be regarded in a similar light to advertising, which is not desired” (Downes and Harcourt, 1975 : 94).

From the Radio Record 1 June 1934,

In broadcasting, especially in a small isolated country such as ours where the radio service must necessarily exist on a limited income, the fashioning of the service along the lines of the BBC is an excellent method. Americans (that is, the ones who deplore the middle of the road mediocrity of many of the sponsored programmes) are turning envious eyes in the direction of the British listener whose ears are unoffended by advertising of any kind (ibid: 94).

Despite this desire from some elements of the press to keep all things British, more American broadcasting techniques were being introduced, in stark contrast to what had been the norm in broadcasting up until that time. Personality radio from the B stations had arrived, whereas previously, personalized radio programmes were outlawed. A voice known up and down the country, Clive Drummond was never allowed to say who he was or to let his name be mentioned. He recalls “I broadcast for almost 30 years, and I never mentioned my own name once on the microphone during all that time!” (ibid: 40). Announcers conveying information and public messages must have seemed completely anonymous. Drummond’s individual way of saying ‘Goodnight’ was temporarily banned. The change was something the public were ready for and they embraced this new type of populist informal patter.

The still independent B stations, the ones that fell outside of government’s direct control, were struggling to keep on the air, but were a persistent thorn in the side of the major YA stations. The government however had a plan in mind regarding the B stations. It had come round to the idea of setting up its own commercial network. B station owners could either become incorporated into it by selling to the government or they could remain independent, without advertising but with a subsidy. In July 1936 Auckland’s 1ZB was bought. On 30 October, it opened as the first station of the National Commercial Broadcasting Service, replacing the Broadcasting Board. It immediately was a success. It introduced ‘personality quests’ to find worthwhile

talent and it capitalized on topical matters, including a series of radio programmes based on Māori legends.

Commercial stations opened after 1ZB in sequence, 2ZB in Wellington in April 1937, 3ZB in September and 4ZB in October. Almost as soon as 2ZB was on air, it was a popular station. People had not really heard of commercial broadcasting and staff were worried how the public would take all the commercials. Initial concerns over the American influence of commercialism and delivery were soon allayed. Station member K.W. Kilpatrick remembers, “We had a programme called ‘Easy Aces’. Mr. and Mrs. Ace were Americans, and it was the first of the American programmes and something quite new to listeners then – this very brash American type. It wasn’t doing any good, and we were going to take it off, so I said to the advertiser, ‘Let’s give it another fortnight and see how it goes’. Well, do you know, after that fortnight it never looked back? It became the number one programme” (ibid: 108).

Serials, stunts, promotions, quizzes, talent quests, on-the-spot broadcasts, commentaries, the latest ‘pop’ songs, studio performances, personality announcers, competitions, drama productions, sports results and special breakfast programmes were all daily fare on the ZB network. The genuine adult quiz had come to New Zealand in 1938 with a show called ‘Information Please’. The idea had been brought from America and after an initial fortnight on 3ZB proved so popular that it went on to all commercial stations (ibid: 141). The programmes were designed to attract the masses with serials, popular music and advertising right from the start in 1936 and 1937. This is a format more in line with what American listeners were accustomed to rather than following a BBC public service mantra. The chase for audience share was becoming the dominant driving force and radio was giving the public what they wanted rather than what some policy makers believed they needed. Experimentation in formats and foreign ideas led to audience growth and satisfaction.

This bred competition. The night of 25 April 1937, the National Broadcasting Service anticipated the opening of 2ZB on 29 April, and launched 2YD, a similar style of station just without any advertising. Competition bred rivalry; one of the main jobs of the Commercial Service was to beat the detached, impersonal style of the government YA stations. The Commercial Service was full of personalities with the intention of

becoming listeners' friends and welcome guests. This was in stark contrast to the YA announcers who were strictly anonymous, following a more BBC style format.

New Zealand listeners, accustomed to the YA stations, were unprepared for the cheerful, headlong, carefree 'anything goes' approach of their upstart rivals. A mainstay of the new advertising stations was the radio serial. It took some time for the old prejudice against things American to die down, but eventually listeners came to enjoy what was being offered and listened in increasing numbers. They became familiar with this new brash style and focus on personalities. It was a refreshing change from the formal broadcasting coming out of the BBC style YA stations. One of the actors remembers,

The first ever serial ever done over the commercial stations was 'One Man's Family'. It was all about a family and all the funny things that happen, so you felt like you knew these people. It's the same with a series now, say 'Coronation Street', you seem to know the people and so it's very popular. We went on for about two years, I think. It was an American script and we used to anglicise it (ibid: 106).

The commencement of the National Commercial Broadcasting Service in 1937 meant the creation of celebrities such as Colin Scrimgeour and Daisy Basham. Aunt Daisy as she was called was one of the first to break down a curious but stubborn (and largely unspoken) opposition to the idea of 'personalities'. Her theme tune and cheerful introductions helped to break down this barrier. Basham epitomised a style of announcing that characterised the commercial service and differentiated it from the NBS, "previously the radio announcer had merely been a voice timidly intruding at frequent intervals and scrambling out of the programme with the least possible delay but in the ZB era the voice was to occupy a different role. The station and programme revolved around the announcer who, overnight, became a radio personality" (Mackay 1953, as cited in Day, 1994 : 241).

Aunt Daisy was at the forefront of early sponsorships and advertising. While continuing to broadcast, she left the Broadcasting Service and joined the advertising sector, where she was employed first by Carlton Curruthers and eventually by her

own agency, Aunt Daisy Radio Advertising. She acquired the reputation for advertising only products in which she personally believed, but this was clouded by the fact that Basham believed in and advertised those products for which she had an individual contract. She was noted for being the first and most successful salesperson on radio.

The continued growth and success of radio meant that the government decided that their involvement in this powerful medium should be increased, culminating in the Labour Government's 1936 decision that broadcasting be run by the State. Nearly all stations were taken over. The National stations (the 4 YA stations) became a government department. Local stations were purchased and transformed into commercial stations, coordinated through another government department.

In August 1936, Professor James Shelley was appointed Director of Broadcasting (1936-49). It was generally believed that he would raise the tone of broadcasting to a higher cultural level. However he found himself in competition with another service that was "well content to pander to public taste without shouldering any significant responsibility for its education" (Downes and Harcourt, 1975 : 104). From the start, he made clear his impatience with the concept of radio as a mere source of amusement, "If the New Zealand public really wants vaudeville, it is not the slightest use appointing me as Director of Broadcasting. Are we going to use such a tremendous instrument merely to fill in the gaps, or as a background for the noises we make when we eat our soup?" (ibid: 104).

The advent of war in 1939 tied the New Zealand identity back to the Empire. There has always been a sense of cooperation with Britain. Being a colony, you would expect there to be more common ground than any other country. The call to war by Prime Minister Savage cemented the country's place beside Britain. In the address to the nation on 3 September 1939, Savage stated "Both with gratitude to the past and with confidence in the future we range ourselves without fear beside Britain. Where she goes, we go. Where she stands, we stand. We are only a small and young nation but we are one and all a band of brothers, and we march forward with a union of hearts and wills to a common destiny" (ibid: 122).

A little known activity of radio throughout the war years was the 'listening watch' in Wellington. For 24 hours every day an officer was on duty in the main 2YA control room listening to the BBC and other allied and enemy radio stations. He had instant recording facilities and if any news flashes or important announcements were received, they were immediately available for rebroadcasting to New Zealand. Seven short-wave receivers were tuned to various BBC and other transmissions and complete, written records were kept of everything received.

This stage in New Zealand's broadcasting history is characterized as a combination of spheres of influence, the Reithian model delivered through the YA stations (NBS), and the more American commercial model finding growing success in the NCBS. The listening public were growing accustomed to choice, and the government policy was formatted to keep control of the industry. At this time, there was variable influence from both the BBC and American commercial ideals. New Zealand was beginning to find its own feet and decide what was best for itself, rather than being a slave to British colonial rule. Radio was an Anglo-American hybrid during this decade.

1940s - 50s: The rise of the commercial stations

However, with the advent of the Americans joining the war effort in 1941, the American influence clouded any definitive ties back to Britain. With United States servicemen to the country's shores came recorded programmes from America, especially for their benefit, and for New Zealanders too. Because of the large numbers of American servicemen in New Zealand during the latter years of the war, for nine months in 1944 station 1ZM was handed over on loan to the United States Army. It was run wholly for the American troops, who naturally enough were delighted to have their own radio programme. Many Aucklanders too were delighted to be given the chance to hear American radio at first hand.

The NBS and NCBS were separate and competing organizations until 1943 when the two departments were amalgamated and later renamed the New Zealand Broadcasting Service (NZBS). New Zealand broadcasting was run by this organization until the 1960s.

The introduction of the new commercial stations in 1946 had a competitive variation on the 'hit parade' method of presenting new records. Early in the war it became obvious that importing the overseas product was likely to be increasingly difficult, so NZBS management decided to set up the commercial production department, which produced many successful light entertainment and feature programmes.

However criticism had been raised again in 1946 that too many of the feature programmes were American. As it turned out, only 5 out of 82 different serials were from the US. Even so, no new American features were imported for 10 years from 1946, although the continuing serials were continued until they ended. Emphasis was placed on the Australian product, many of which in fact were re-creations of American scripts. F. W. Doidge, Minister of Broadcasting stated in April, 1950, "We have 450 000 registered listeners in New Zealand. The main complaint is that there are times when every station seems to be given over to one type of programming, and times when the listeners' choice is limited to an irritating sameness" (Downes and Harcourt, 1975 : 145).

Therefore, the solution was to re-power the YC stations. Their range was extended and it gave birth to the YC (Concert) Programme. It was labelled as 'three level listening' by the NZ Listener after it was introduced in Auckland in 1950. The other centres followed within a few months. YA remained the channel for news, national announcements, schools broadcasts, most sports material and middlebrow music. YD (later ZM) was designed to meet light listening and was to continue as before with light and varied entertainment. The YC output was in effect to be the local equivalent of the BBC's 'Third Programme' with music, drama, talks and discussions of the highest standards, designed to appeal to more specialized and intellectual tastes. This follows very closely the BBC three level listening policy. Therefore, the structural impetus is to separate American influence on lower classes so that middle classes could continue to be educated, while the lower classes can listen to the American influenced content. This is a case of the New Zealand Broadcasting Service trying to be all things to all people.

This caused some friction in the direction that radio should be taking in 1950s New Zealand. The heads of each department, Colin Scrimgeour and James Shelley each

felt the other was unnecessary and that he should be the head of the combined service. They came from the opposite ends of the broadcasting spectrum, with Shelley's Reithian and Scrimgeour's populist sentiments always at odds and this was compounded by a mutual personal dislike. The NCBS controller, Scrimgeour argued that commercial broadcasting required rapid action. He was soon regarded as intractable and not amenable to civil service discipline. Furthermore, the NCBS cultivated a business image and pattern of expenditure that were seen as unbecoming to the civil service.

It is at this point where the separation between the two ideals becomes most apparent. The commercial stations were increasing in popularity, especially where listeners had a choice. There could be no going back to pure Reithian ideals, as the New Zealand public now had a taste and a desire to hear the commercial programmes. BBC style anonymity in announcers was outdated as personalities flourished. New Zealand radio came to a fork in the road and separated into two very distinct products. Commercial radio stations were being promoted now not for the benefit of audiences, but for the benefit of advertising dollars, and it was a very lucrative market.

In 1950s New Zealand, broadcasting referred to the radio programmes from the government department that controlled all but two of the country's commercial and non-commercial stations. Broadcasting was society wide. Most homes had radio sets, as radio listening was an accepted part of life. This was common in many countries, but New Zealand parted company from most with its state control of broadcasting. This politically controlled system gave New Zealand a cohesive national voice and a near universal coverage of a thinly populated country, but there were also disadvantages not found overseas. In serious discussion, only voices favoured by the state were heard, news broadcasts were politically controlled rather than independent and there was a political refusal to allow broadcasting innovations.

The 1950s saw the continuing rise of less formal styles of broadcasting, especially from the commercial stations. The earlier desire to keep broadcasting employees anonymous began to fade with commercial radio announcers, actors, sports commentators becoming national identities.

The mid-fifties saw the introduction of long playing records and the age of rock'n'roll. In 1955, the rock'n'roll virus swept through the United States, and within a year had drifted across the Atlantic, infecting teenagers in Britain and Europe. In New Zealand, community standards were still staid and conservative. Nevertheless, an evolution in music from American influences was inevitable.

It also meant further evolutions in announcer styles. Announcers on commercial stations shed their formality and emerged as disc jockeys, common overseas but foreign to New Zealand's shores. Established rules were cast aside and personality projection took over. "Rapid –fire Austral-American accents frenziedly scattered the latest 'hip talk' jargon in between and over the top of supercharged but infectious beats of the records" (ibid: 164). The NZBS had great difficulty in coping with the enormous changes in social tastes during the 1950s and early sixties. Popular music of the period was often limited in play time or simply banned. Politicians were determined to keep broadcasting appropriately decent, so artists like Elvis Presley were carefully regulated. Under the directorship of William Yates, the New Zealand Broadcasting Service "did its best to ignore the decadent new music, and the press concentrated on the music's sensational aspects: record-burning rituals in Alabama and wrecked theatres in Britain" (Dix, 1988 : 11). This chapter of the country's history sounds exactly like the early days of the BBC, where concern was voiced over the new styles of jazz music. Attempts to control its influence were problematic, as defining what they wanted to control was nearly impossible, whereby trying to control the importation of rock'n'roll was impossible with an audience that demanded radio stations play what they wanted to hear.

During this time of musical upheaval, the airwaves were not entirely taken over by foreign records. In contrast to the 1956 pop revolution, commercial stations embarked on the search for talent under the 'Mobil Song Quest' banner. The contest was an attempt to find serious singers and was based on a similar competition organized in Australia by the same company. ZB stations in the mid 50's introduced 'Sunday Showcase', part of a plan to attract more listeners to ZB stations on the advertising free Sunday nights, with some of the highest quality single radio shows of the day and reached enormous audiences.

This decade saw the rise of the commercial stations and the spheres of influence from America. Although there were still definitive ties to Britain and the BBC style of broadcasting, the revolution of rock'n'roll started a landslide of desire to consume American musical products. The commercial stations supplied this want, and listeners were getting exactly what they wanted. Government policy was confused, trying to cover all bases by being a provider of commercial and non-commercial radio. There was still a mixture of BBC style being supplied, but the growth of radio was to be seen in the rise of the commercial stations. Radio was finding great profits and audiences following an American style of announcing and content.

1960s: A New Sense of Independence

One of the biggest threats to radio's monopoly in this decade was the introduction of a new medium of communication. With the introduction of television on June 1, 1960, the NZBS focussed much of its attention on getting the signal to as many New Zealanders as possible. But the requirement to concentrate expenditure on extending television coverage meant a relative neglect of local programming, particularly drama and an opting for imported programmes, mainly from the United States and Britain. This cost far less than making local productions. The government department became, on a world scale, "an abnormally high scheduler of imported programmes. Local voices were a small minority in the country's broadcasting" (Day, 2000 : 3).

Television forced radio to make much greater use of recorded music, "because as we have seen it is ideal for secondary listening; records, because they are cheap, enabling stations to dispense with their own bands and orchestras. This trend began in the United States, where the major networks turned their energies to television straight after the Second World War" (Crisell, 1994 : 71).

During this time of mounting upheaval, pressure was being applied from within the industry as well. Accompanying a radical change in the country's musical diet, there were regular attempts to introduce a broadcasting news service and mounting disquiet over the political control of broadcasting. National and Labour, the two main political parties both saw political advantage in allowing change and the government

department became a public corporation, the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation (NZBC) in 1961.

As part of its policy to update and diversify radio to counteract television's lure, the NZBC made some significant changes. On 15 September 1964, the YA and associated non-commercial stations were networked into the single National Programme. Because it originated from Wellington, it met certain resentment from places that felt it threatened their local identity; 'programme colonialism' as one Auckland critic called it. It was more a matter of rationalization, adopting a system already tried and accepted for many years in other countries. As its flexibility became apparent much of the initial opposition disappeared. It was seen that there was considerable latitude for local breakouts – times when a regional station could give precedence to a broadcast originating from its own studio.

With this change the commercial stations also known as the community stations, accentuated their local role. They continued to attract a considerably larger audience than their non-commercial counterparts but lost much of their influence as the evening audience deserted radio for television. The commercial stations did not respond well to the challenge from television and were vulnerable to private broadcasters who were willing to introduce new styles of radio broadcasting.

This decade also brought innovation. 1965 brought the first regular 'talk-back' programme. Prudence Gregory, Supervisor of Women's Programmes, went to America, heard the concept in her hotel room in Denver, Colorado and brought it back to New Zealand. It began as an experiment in Masterton and took off from there.

In the ten years to 1972, the NZBC opened 14 new radio stations, but this caused some stress in financing from limited resources. To add to the NZBC's troubles, private commercial broadcasting was a new voice, concentrating its programming on the new popular music of that decade. Although it was permitted in theory, in practice all applications by private stations were unsuccessful. Both government and the Corporation were unwilling to allow private broadcasters to disturb the Corporation's monopoly. Public dissatisfaction with the Corporation's programmes became apparent in 1967 when a pirate radio station went on air broadcasting to Auckland

from outside New Zealand's 3-mile territorial limits. They had equipped a vessel, the Tiri, as a radio transmitting station and sailed out into the Hauraki Gulf. Beyond the limit, they began broadcasting illegally to the mainland, as it did not have a licence to broadcast as an independent commercial station. Their programmes were commercial, 'pop' and very popular. For the first time New Zealanders who lived in Auckland could listen to the full range of current popular music, the station not hesitating to emphasize the current range of 'hits' at the expense of the traditional 'balance' required by the NZBC stations. It was during these formative years that US approaches and presentation heavily influenced the New Zealand radio industry. The arrival of rock and roll radio in New Zealand in the mid-50s heralded a shift towards 'American' announcing styles and formats. Stations began borrowing station identification tags from US sources, while DJs developed a "much more informal persona on air than the previous British-derived 'announcer' model favoured by the NZBC. Personality radio had arrived" (Flint, 1994 : 6).

Bolstered by strong public support, it worked to draw attention to government policy, As the National Party was re-elected, Radio Hauraki forced a grudging government acceptance and permission was granted for the pirates to come ashore and make it legal in 1970. Private broadcasting finally gained political and legislative recognition. Under the terms of the Broadcasting Authority Act, private stations would once again be licensed, and applications were lodged from Auckland, Hamilton, Whakatane and Dunedin. Christchurch and Wellington followed later.

This decade was characterised by a new sense of independence from government and from BBC control. The public began to press for policy that met their needs, rather than the imposed needs of bureaucrats such as Shelley. The commercial stations grew from strength to strength as the population continued their desire to hear popular music programmes. Moreover, radio programmers did not ignore the call; they kept up with the modern trends being broadcast in the States and Britain. This was a time of a mixed broadcasting model with commercial and non-commercial existing side by side. As in the decades before, the future of broadcasting was being directed by Anglo-American fashion.

1970s –80s: Decade of Continuing Growth

The period 1976 to the next change of government in 1984 saw a rise in the number of private radio broadcasters, an increase in state broadcasting outlets and the long delayed establishment of FM radio broadcasting. The 1976 Broadcasting Act included key elements such as a return to single state corporation control, the BCNZ and the legislative recognition of private broadcasters. An amendment in 1981 authorised the Broadcasting Tribunal to issue FM broadcasting warrants. Even at this time influence from the BBC was still close. Radio New Zealand appointed Geoffrey Whitehead who came to New Zealand from a background of senior journalism with the BBC. He was appointed as one of two assistant directors general; the other, an American commercial radio expert, was George Sanders.

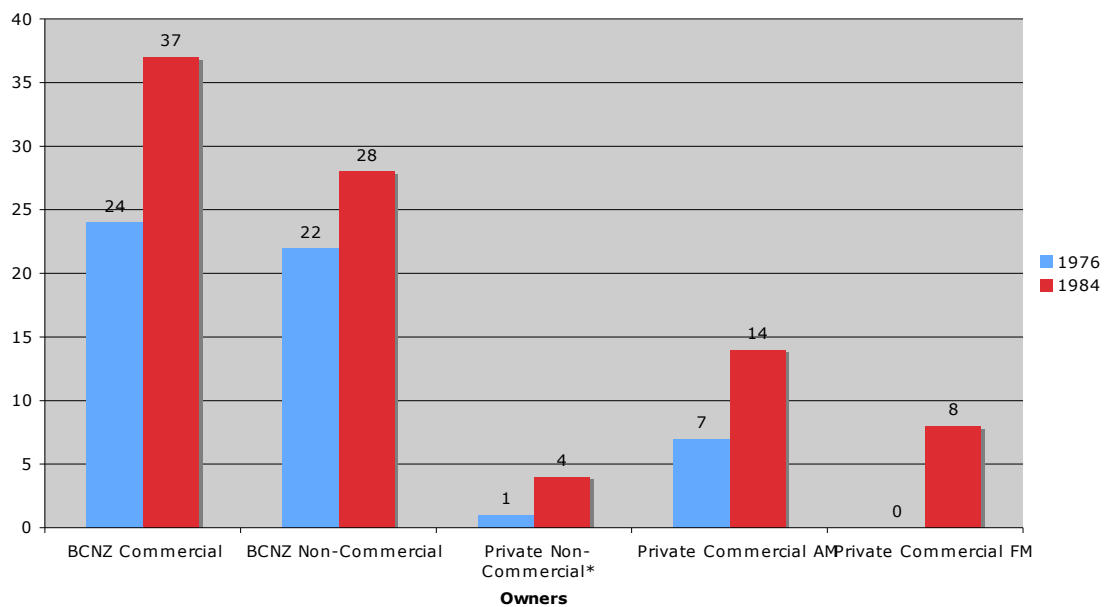
Radio New Zealand continued to develop what it labelled its ‘community’ services, in reality commercial radio, by extending services to many smaller New Zealand centres, such as Gore, Oamaru, Te Kuiti and Taumaranui. However, it was not without its difficulties. Radio New Zealand did embark upon some controversial and costly activities. Many of them centre on the application of computer technology to broadcasting management and practice. The now discredited Ad-line project begun in 1982, an attempt to modify successful US software packages to New Zealand commercial radio network conditions was termed a disaster. “Attempts at automation such as Cue-Rack and Systemation were not particularly successful” (Pauling, 1994 : 20).

It was during the 80s that the introduction of radio consultants first came to New Zealand. This process, whereby a station or network would subject itself to external review, quickly caught on and “over succeeding years a steady stream of overseas radio experts were brought to New Zealand to assist radio stations, both private and state, maximize their market opportunities. Some names became almost station by-words – Jason Jennings, Dave Gifford, Mike McVay and Jeff Pollack [Each of these consultants originated from the US] each propounded their own brand of particular commercial radio philosophy” (ibid: 27).

However, commercial radio's growth was not without some red tape from government departments. The newly established Tribunal appeared to be in no hurry to award warrants to private applicants. The story of Radio Pacific, the first commercial station to go to air after gaining a warrant from the Broadcasting Tribunal shows some of the difficulties and trials to become successful. The first version of the station was based on conditional clauses of a low music quota, commitment to Māori and Pacific Island audience, strong educational component and a dominant role for talk meant that the station was not a commercial success. It was an attempt to shackle a commercial model within a public service framework, which is an incredibly difficult position. It rebranded as a Country format to suffer a similar fate. A new manager introduced an all talk, no music format with regular programming changes based on an American talk-back station model, but failed in its attempt to win an audience share. It is interesting to note that American influence made its way into formatting an entire station, as many more stations were going to follow that line later with greater success.

By 1984, the state of radio play in comparison with 1976 was a vastly different ballpark. As seen in Figure Four, the growth in competition meant a ballooning of stations in both the commercial and non-commercial sectors, and both with government radio stations and the new private stations as well. The ten year period saw a nearly 70% increase in the available choice of radio to New Zealand listeners from 54 to 91 stations.

Figure Four: Radio Stations in New Zealand 1976 and 1984



*In 1984 all but one, 4XD, were Radio Rhema stations

Source: Pauling, 1994 : 32.

Despite this time of growth, not all was sweet for private radio. There was a take-over attempt of Radio Windy in Wellington by Radio Hauraki in Auckland. There was the entry of one of New Zealand's largest corporate enterprises, Brierley, into the private radio market, leading to concerns about ownership policies in terms of cross-ownership, monopoly and influence. Such concerns led the Broadcasting Tribunal to begin a substantial review of ownership issues in private radio in 1984. There was uncertainty as to what impact the competition from new and competing private radio interests would have on the existing market players.

The entry of large corporations into what was once a government vs. small radio operator led to concern over what direction this would have on the country's individuality. Since the mid-80s, there have been many attempts to encourage broadcasters to reflect more of their New Zealand identity. In 1985, the NZ Music Promotion Committee began lobbying for a compulsory music quota. In 1986 the report of the Royal Commission into Broadcasting and Related Telecommunications in New Zealand "recommended a quota of 10 per cent of music composed, arranged, performed or recorded and produced by New Zealand citizens or residents on radio"

(Shuker, 1994 : 65). Some stations introduced a voluntary ten percent local music quota for radio, but it was barely implemented by private stations, and was really intended to forestall legislation bringing in a mandatory quota. In an IBA survey conducted before the 1989 Quota bill, only sixteen of the 21 private stations reported their local content levels. “Two of these stations met the period’s voluntary quota of ten percent, but the remaining 14 played an average of 6.9% New Zealand music” (Shuker and Pickering, 1994 : 75).

With commercialisation in the 1980s and 1990s, “programming was increasingly done with the help of US publications, and play listing undertaken with reference to United States industry standards and institutions such as Billboard magazine” (Pickering and Shuker, 1994 : 79). This influence has included stations bringing in consultants from the US whose international expertise does not necessarily include an appreciation of New Zealand music. Wayne Newth, General manager of ‘The Heat’ Wellington notes “though American formats and consultants were commonly employed by Radio New Zealand, his operation was the first in the country to import a full programme service from Satellite Music Network in Dallas” (Wilson, 1994a : 171). The station balanced up the sound of the announcers as American with the station playing 13% New Zealand music.

Musically, the 80s brought to Kiwi Rock a burst of long-lacking self-confidence. More and more bands displayed a willingness to experiment, to stand on their own merits, with or without international comparison. In the early/mid 80s, “few alternative bands bothered with overseas sojourns, seemingly content with home-grown success. Generally, the groups who travelled overseas have been those whose wares are an imitation, or at best, a variation on a proven formula, those aiming at the international AM/FM market, whose music could sit alongside overseas stars – music which complements rather than contradicts. The baa of appeasement, not the bellow of rebellion” (Dix, 1988 : 302).

In 1985, the Labour Government set up a Royal Commission into Broadcasting, briefed with a comprehensive report on all aspects of broadcasting. The Treasury’s submission argued that there should be no economic barriers to the entry or exit of firms to or from the broadcasting industry in New Zealand. Treasury’s report in 1986

was not acted upon but the Commission's report did suggest that the spectrum be allocated by competitive tender rather than by allocation, and the non-commercial and commercial aspects of public broadcasting be separated. It also reflected a very real concern about newspaper ownership of broadcasting interests. It saw a real threat that, with aggregation of stations and no restrictions, one of the two main newspaper groups could also own most of the private radio and television services. 1988 was a key year and saw the groundwork laid for the Radiocommunications Act which effectively deregulated broadcasting in 1989. The act set up a market based system for allocating frequencies that meant that anyone who can meet the market price could enter the market for an initial period of twenty years (Appendix E).

The Radiocommunications Act meant that broadcast licences are allocated by tendering frequencies and there is no further regulation of ownership, though a large number of frequencies are reserved by the Crown and allocated by the Ministry of Commerce. The successful tenderer holds all licences allocated under this regime for a period of 20 years from the date of the management rights established by the Act, i.e. until 2 April 2011. Licence holders have rights over their frequency similar to that of property owners. They may sell their licence, in which case the new licence holder must be registered, or they may lease it, in which case no one needs to be told.

The impact on radio was immediate and immense. Gone were all the restrictions previously imposed on private radio. Gone too were the support systems previously enjoyed by Radio New Zealand as a state corporation. With the previous limit of 15% overseas ownership totally abolished and all restrictions on cross-ownership other than those affected by monopoly provisions in the Commerce Act removed, radio entered a new era, with new agendas and debates. The ninth major restructuring of broadcasting in New Zealand was complete.

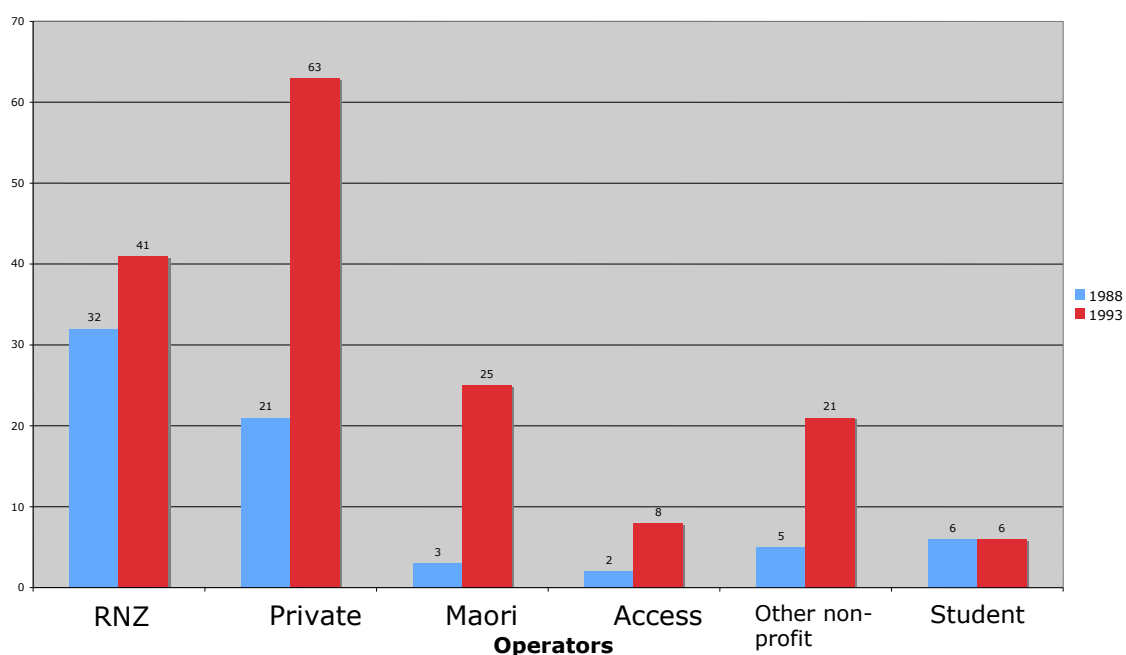
The 1980s was a decade of continuing growth in the radio sector. Citizens were treated to vast amounts of listening choice, with either commercial or non-commercial stations. Government policy has changed dramatically from control and hesitation over the allocation of spectrum space to a new era of neo-liberalism. This was more in line with what had happened in America back at the beginning of their radio history. The market was opened up and new competitors flooded in. This led to tentative

concern over issues such as New Zealand's distinctiveness and future directions for the New Zealand radio and music industry.

1990s: The Proliferation of Private Stations

The number of radio stations broadcasting in New Zealand increased dramatically after 1988 as demonstrated in table Five. Although the Radiocommunications Act was passed in 1989, it was not until late 1990 that any new licences were awarded under it. As of December 1993, there were 95 new stations, a 140% increase since 1988. Much of the growth came from the private stations that had increased in number 300%. It was the private stations that had the most to gain in chasing listeners, and provided the most influence over the battle for advertising dollars. Size and reach meant a better chance of making good profits.

Figure Five: Radio Stations in New Zealand 1988 and 1993



Source: Wilson, 1994b : 51.

This growth was led by the expansion of existing owners such as Radio Otago, Energy Enterprises and Radio Horowhenua who had at least one station in 1988 and gained more frequencies in the tender rounds to have more stations on air. Energy

Enterprises used the trading name of The Radio Works and operated initially in Tauranga and Taranaki. Radio Pacific's expansion was one of the first major changes in the way radio was run. It developed from its educational and multicultural roots in Auckland to the national talk and racing network run by the company in conjunction with the TAB. In late 1993, with the help of the TAB in the tendering process, Pacific was broadcasting on 25 frequencies. It was at that time the only private commercial national network.

The other major player around this time was Radio Otago, which had grown by developing in regional markets only. In the late 1980s Radio Otago began buying North Island stations.

New companies joined the market and began to operate more than one station such as the Independent Broadcasting Company (IBC), a merger of Brierley Investment and Metromedia, who ran music stations in large markets. The seven IBC- operated stations in Auckland collectively achieved a 38.3% audience share in July 1993. "There has been no question yet of the company's market dominance being raised before the Commission" (Wilson, 1994b : 57). The purpose of the Commerce Commission is to promote dynamic and responsive markets so that New Zealanders benefit from competitive prices, better quality and greater choice. The Commerce Act prohibits "conduct that restricts competition (anti-competitive or restrictive trade practices) and the purchase of a business's shares or assets if that purchase leads to a substantial lessening of competition in the market" (Commission, 2008).

The major rival to IBC among private broadcasters was the Frader Group who were the owners of More FM, the major new radio company to emerge in the 1990s. US consultants were engaged to identify and research a viable format for high urban spenders. "Like the IBC stations, More is sales rather than programming driven, targeting advertisers rather than listeners" (Wilson, 1994b : 58). Since the advent of More, IBC had developed similar formats, which have in fact "set off a wave of imitation which threatens one of the established functions of radio since the advent of Radio Hauraki in the 1960s: a channel for youth culture, the exposure of new music and support for New Zealand music" (ibid: 59).

During this time in the early 1990s, stations were bought and sold, amalgamated, re-formatted, created and crushed. The rise of the multi-station corporations became evident and the scramble for advertising dollars meant boom for some parties and bust for others. What was consistent was the rise in the number of private commercial stations and the fragmentation of the audience.

In 1996, “the Government sold the commercial operations of Radio New Zealand to ‘the New Zealand Radio Network Limited (TRN), a consortium including part local and part Irish company Wilson and Horton and British radio company Great Western Radio (GWR)’” (Commerce, 1996). TRN paid \$89m for the RNZ commercial stations. GWR is one of the largest radio operators in the UK, with investments in stations across Europe and South Africa.

By September 2000, that consortium is 33% owned by Irish owned Wilson & Horton, 33.3% owned by American company Clear Channel Communications, 19.4% owned by Australian Provincial Newspaper Holdings and 14% by NZ Capital Partners Ltd. Since then, TRN also bought Prospect Radio – the former Independent Broadcasting Company (IBC). Included in this sale was IBC’s news operation Independent Radio News (IRN).

In June 1997, the More FM network was purchased by TV3’s Canadian parent CanWest Global Communications for \$33m.

The other big mover in the commercial radio market at this time was Radio Pacific. In early 1997, Radio Pacific bought music station operator Energy Enterprises for \$7m. It then purchased seven North Island stations from Radio Otago in May 1997 for \$3.53m in return for selling four of its South Island stations to Otago and signalled a takeover of Palmerston North radio station XS Corporation in January 1998. The following year Radio Pacific announced that it was entering into talks with Radio Otago over a possible merger. The product of that merger was RadioWorks in 1999 and created a block of 109 radio stations (16 Otago and 93 Pacific); overshadowing TRN’s stations two to one. RadioWorks gave national advertisers for the first time an alternative of station formats targeted at specific audiences covering the entire country.

RadioWorks then joined TRN and More FM, as one of the big three in the industry. This lays the groundwork for what is known as the New Zealand commercial radio scene.

In 1988 New Zealand had 47 AM and 17 FM stations, 30 (47%) were privately owned. In 1999, New Zealand had around 170 stations, with National Radio and Concert FM the only ones publicly owned.

Deregulation brought about an increased commercialisation of New Zealand radio, and as more radio stations entered the market, there was an extremely cautious approach to choosing material for airplay. Bad programming choices would switch listeners off and feed them to the competition. Without listeners, you cannot attract advertising, and therefore profits. The international sound of American and British music was considered 'safe' and local music was 'risky'. Combined with foreign ownership looming as a concern for the direction and control of a distinct New Zealand industry, there were significant issues surrounding New Zealand's musical autonomy that could not be ignored. Graham Kelly presented a private member's bill in 1990 to introduce a quota for New Zealand music on radio that promoted considerable discussion, but the bill was not passed because at the time of deregulation, the State believed it should not interfere in the market. One of the most frequently cited reasons for New Zealand commercial radio playing little local music is that it does not have an 'international sound'. The commercial radio "critique of production values was a central aspect of opposition to the 1989 New Zealand music quota bill" (Pickering and Shuker, 1994 : 81). Record company support of New Zealand music was limited at this stage; there was no push for demand from the radio stations, and therefore limited demand to support new artists entering the music scene. Record company profits were coming from supplying overseas artists to satisfy the demand of radio programmers, and therefore the listening and buying public.

However, as more pressure came from the government to be more responsive to New Zealand's needs, as well as the threat of quota, only then did radio act to maintain its autonomy in what it chose to play. David Brice, a Radio Network programmer was specific about why his radio stations had begun to play more New Zealand music "I think that a very pragmatic response would be that we wanted to put more kiwi music

on the radio primarily to avoid the compulsion of the quota” (Joyce, 2002 : 75). The New Zealand Radio Broadcasters’ Association anticipated the code of practice by declaring itself officially in favour of ‘voluntary quotas’.

This is in stark contrast to initial reluctance to play New Zealand music. Commercial radio opposition had contended that the New Zealand public had “no great desire...to hear New Zealand produced music” (Lealand, 1988 : 73) and that what local music has been available “is qualitatively inferior to overseas product” (Shuker and Pickering, 1994 : 52).

In March 1992, the government announced the introduction of just such a ‘voluntary’ quota, in the form of a Code of Practice to be observed by members of the RBA, who comprise some 90% of New Zealand radio stations. The code was the result of extensive negotiations between the two parties, in which the broadcasters’ commitment to the code was rewarded with concessions on frequency allocations, addressing a major commercial concern of broadcasters. The Code sets a local content target of “20% weighted average across all genre[s] playing contemporary music, by the end of 2006” (Innes, 2004).

The threat of a quota was stimulated by government policy, in effect harking back to the days of Reithian values of providing what the country should get, what the government deems as important and what it should support rather than by supplying what consumers want. At this time, there was no evidence that commercial radio was right about the cultural cringe, which was manifested by the reluctance from the radio industry to support New Zealand music. A slow sense of national pride was forming overcoming an initial reluctance to support the New Zealand music scene. Some parts of the radio industry strongly supported New Zealand music, such as the student radio stations, but this support was not widespread. Commercial radio with the bulk of the listeners was slow to jump on the bandwagon. Over time, listeners’ desires were in fact shaped by commercial offerings and commercial considerations rather than by independent consumer choice.

The desire to sell to demographic models driven by profits was the main motivation of station programmers, and this conflicted with directives of the Labour Government.

Being compelled to provide a service it felt would turn listeners off thereby ran contrary to its history of freedom of what it played. In the interests of maintaining its freedom from government law, compliance was the only option through self-regulation. The industry's fears that New Zealand music would turn listeners off would in time be proven unfounded.

2000s: Consolidation of Foreign Ownership in Broadcasting

From July 2000, there have been some inroads into getting New Zealand music on commercial stations, but this is in stark contrast to the levels reported when records began. However, comparative statements about local music content on radio are extremely problematic because there was no official central monitoring of New Zealand music levels on radio until June 1997. The Music Manager of NZoA adds, "local music content has more than doubled in the last two years and it's something like five times more than it was five years ago when APRA estimated that it was barely 2%" (Smyth, 2004). During the late 90s "it seemed that not only youth or rock orientated stations were beginning to promote themselves as supporters of local music, but the major adult and pop stations were increasing their airplay levels of New Zealand music. These commercial stations had strongly opposed the introduction of a local music quota when the debate began in the late 1980s" (Joyce, 2002 : 44).

Since deregulation, there has been a shift in the focus of the radio industry away from locally owned stations to large nationally networked ones. The trend is most obvious in the United States, "since the Telecommunications Act of 1996 removed the national limit of 40 stations to allow companies to own an unlimited number of stations nationwide and broadened the limits on how many stations a company can own in one market" (ibid: 68).

Foreign trends have therefore always partly influenced local radio output. Local radio stations continue to be bought out and merged with large multinational companies, leaving independent local radio as a remnant of a bygone era. The impact of overseas models and expertise on programming intensified as New Zealand broadcasting became more commercial. By 2004, that influence has extended to significant foreign

ownership, with the concentration of most stations into just two networks. While still run as local broadcasters, international investments and the need to make a return to their foreign owners determines their operation.

Within the industry, the consolidation of the New Zealand radio market has supposedly increased audience choice through the variety of formats offered by the networks. This is especially relevant for advertisers and radio sales companies. National format branding allows for an easier amalgamation of American formats into one simple brand broadcast across the country. In the early part of this decade TRN has done this through its ZM, Newstalk ZB, Classic Hits and Radio Sport brands, while CanWest's efforts include More FM, The Edge, Kiwi FM (formally Channel Z), Radio Pacific, The Breeze, Solid Gold and The Rock. It became more cost effective to market national brands than to market each individual station. The national branding and target market development are tools to increase advertising revenue and profits, while moulding radio stations for very specific demographics with carefully planned formats. The companies frame the developments in the New Zealand radio industry in terms of the ease with which target markets may now be reached and advertisers' needs met. Building and growing market share, in order to keep advertisers and improve operating margins and cost efficiencies is something that radio focuses on. TRN's chief programmer, David Brice describes the network's role as "being in the business of generating listeners to generate advertising" (ibid: 70).

In a speech given at the New Zealand Broadcasting School's 20th Anniversary, ex-New Zealand radio programmer and now Group Programme Director for DMG Radio Australia, Dean Buchanan echoed concerns about the direction of New Zealand Radio in a commercial environment, "why does the radio industry still seem to have an obsession with following American radio? American radio knows it has an issue over commercialisation but they don't seem to have the mandate to change, maybe because of the potential impact on profits and Wall Street. The Americans are chasing a corporate strategy, not a listener and client strategy. I fear that in many ways, a lot of New Zealand radio is American radio-just better executed" (Buchanan, 2004).

This centralised broadcasting functions to increase profits and makes the broadcaster's job easier but even in this day of centralisation, it is not the practice of

all brands. Both companies mix local with network stations, even though some local brands are part of a broader national family, e.g. The Breeze and More FM.

The economies of scale have the possibility of generating huge profits through “an unprecedented corporate consolidation of sales, promotion, marketing, management, news, contests, formats and talent” (Joyce, 2002 : 69). Networks can enable the broadcasting of identical radio shows in multiple locations, either with local information slotted in for each location, or presented in a non-geographically specific way. In the United States, large networks have subsumed local stations, and individual owners and locally based radio have largely disappeared.

Those independent radio stations that have remained in New Zealand are finding it difficult in a highly competitive environment. At the time, independent station Mai FM managing director Graham Pryor was unhappy to see Auckland dominated by just TRN and RadioWorks. "The fact that two owners now dominate the radio industry and 90 per cent of the revenue, I don't think that's good and I don't think many would disagree ... particularly when they're also buying all the new frequencies. They just keep getting bigger" (as cited in Perrott, 2004). Pryor was soon to find out that his company would not be immune to the acquisitions process just four years later.

In the radio business world of mergers and acquisitions, there was still much activity. CanWest Global Communications Corporation is a Canadian company that owned the More FM radio network and TV3 and TV4. It also has substantial media holdings in other countries. In May 2000, a takeover bid by CanWest Global Communications acquired a 72% interest in RadioWorks New Zealand, the second-largest radio group. Combined with the existing group of stations, CanWest Radio (NZ) had at that time a 44% share of the market. In 2001, CanWest bought out the remainder of the previously New Zealand owned RadioWorks. New Zealand's largest commercial radio networks are now entirely owned by major international corporations.

In mid-2004, the company offered an opportunity for members of the public to buy into the global giant. CanWest MediaWorks offered for sale 68 million new shares to fund the acquisition by CanWest MediaWorks of the CanWest Global Group's existing New Zealand radio and television operations. CanWest MediaWorks remains

70% owned by CanWest Global Group and 30% by new investors. According to the share offer prospectus, “investors should benefit from having the CanWest Global Group as a major shareholder in CanWest MediaWorks to provide stewardship, experience in running television and radio networks, a source of news and programming content and scale to assist in programme acquisitions” (CanWest, 2004 : 41).

Further to CanWest’s cost saving and networking desires, the country's 15 LocalWorks stations were rebranded as More FM. Straight after the relaunch of four stations as The Breeze, CanWest confirmed that its local provincial stations will all adopt the More FM banner. The transition was completed at the end of January 2005. However, the change does see the disappearance of some of the longest serving 'heritage radio' names, including the likes of 2XS, KCC, Fifeshire, Foveaux, Coastline and Energy. RadioWorks Chief Operating Officer Sussan Turner suggests that,

This development gives listeners and advertisers the best of both worlds. The stations will remain local, committed to their various communities, with local announcers, local news and information. However, they also have the strength and profile of a very strong national brand behind them. Aside from the name change, listeners will notice minimal differences, except they will have greater opportunities to participate in even better contests and see their local station involved in national sponsorships such as the Super 12 (as cited in Kennedy, 2004).

The stations rebranded were: KCC (Northland), Coastline (Bay Of Plenty), Lakes FM (Rotorua), KIS FM (Taupo), Hot FM (Hawkes Bay), Energy (Taranaki), Star FM (Wanganui), Hitz FM (Wairarapa), 2XS (Manawatu), 95FM (Horowhenua), 2XX (Kapiti), Fifeshire FM (Nelson), Resort (Queenstown), Central (Central Otago) and Foveaux FM (Southland).

CanWest was still actively buying independent stations around the country. The relentless pursuit of profit did not see the company as satisfied with its already dominant position in the New Zealand market. It acquired Thames based radio station Coromandel FM from its founders Warren and Sandy Male. The purchase took effect

from 1 December 2004, and CanWest MediaWorks CEO, Brent Impey described it as “an important growth opportunity for RadioWorks” (Impey, 2004).

CanWest announced its latest purchase of Gisborne Media, and rebranded the long-running 89FM Gisborne as another More FM. Gisborne Media's second station, 96FM, will close to be replaced by The Rock. In a separate deal, CanWest has also bought out Gisborne-based Surf City Radio which had been operating as a RadioWorks franchisee broadcasting The Edge on 89.9FM and Solid Gold on 94.1FM). Both acquisitions were effective from March 1st 2005.

Two years later, CanWest's involvement in the New Zealand media market would cease. On the 8th May 2007, Ironbridge Capital, a leading Australian private equity group announced a full takeover offer for all of the shares and options in CanWest MediaWorks (NZ) Limited for \$386m. Foreign ownership of broadcasting in New Zealand continued unabated and there were still more surprises to come the following year.

On 29 February, 2008, MediaWorks secured the assets of Mai FM, jointly owned by Mai Media Limited and Te Runanga o Ngati Whatua. The transaction includes the right to operate 88.6 Mai FM in Auckland and the purchase of associated assets including the studio in Auckland, two frequencies in Northland, as well as two unused frequencies in the Orewa region. Under the deal with Mai FM, MediaWorks has bought out the 50/50 joint venture partners made up of management and the Ngati Whatua tribe, but the tribe keeps and leases the valuable 88.6 FM frequency. The concern is that the station was a valuable asset for the promotion of Māori language, and now being owned by an Australian company, the threat of profits over public service will compromise and further devalue an important medium of tikanga or general behaviour guidelines for daily life and interaction in Māori culture.

Summary

The first Labour Government in 1935 changed the predominant thinking that any positive interest in matters of content, or the social value of broadcasting in any form was seen as peripheral. As in many other areas, the influence of Britain on New Zealand's broadcasting development was substantial. “The United Kingdom had

adopted almost from the inception of broadcasting, as part of its system, control as the form most appropriate to the development of this new social service. New Zealand was greatly influenced by the apparent success of the system” (Marshall, 1966). In fact, the government took it to the next level with full control of the broadcasting system and modelling it on the apparent success of the British public service model. New Zealand also historically shared some aspects of the United States media pattern, original dependence on England and the English language. In radio, a brief *laissez-faire* stage was followed by a BBC-style public broadcasting authority.

While the influence of the British system was no doubt strong, the second and more dominant factor was that of Lord John Reith, who was obsessed with the possibilities of radio and with his notions of public service. The centralised control model of broadcasting for the national service was better known for its public service ethos rather than the corporate hold, the Reithian model is a testimony to that. It is no wonder then that New Zealand governments, first with the New Zealand Broadcasting Company Ltd, followed by the New Zealand Broadcasting Board and later with the New Zealand Broadcasting Service, should seek both the form of the BBC and the model of personal management as demonstrated by Reith. The key position of Director General of Broadcasting went to Professor James Shelley, a Christchurch academic with strong ties to the UK and perceived as having some of the Reithian characteristics so openly admired then by politicians.

British models and British personnel were important in establishing media in New Zealand. However, the ability to copy this model proved difficult. “With the limited resources of money and equipment, a much smaller potential listening audience and a country of exceptionally rugged terrain with its pockets of audience spread widely apart, New Zealand broadcasting could only poorly copy that which it admired so much” (Pauling, 1994 : 5). The government introduced a further development in the country’s broadcasting pattern, one that was destined to remain for many years unique in the annals of broadcasting policy – commercial broadcasting under government control. The Minister of Broadcasting had control over a single government monopoly in broadcasting with two elements: a national service supported by a receiver licence fee, and a commercial system earning income from advertising. The

country was subsequently opened to very strong United States media influence in the commercial field.

The listening public deserted the stations that formed the official Government broadcasting networks and tuned to the less secure, less officially accepted but overwhelmingly more popular B stations. While private stations were allowed to remain in operation, they were not able to earn revenue. With insecure financial bases, most were either absorbed into the national system or ceased operating.

To say that the American model has been influential is not to describe some accidental pattern. The spread of influence was the direct result of diplomatic and commercial dealings. They are part of the power and economic domination of the US that has been a feature of global history in the post-war period. The path of US influence over broadcasting is clearly shown in the list of countries which adopted the commercial broadcasting system in the 1920s and 1930s:

“Argentina, Brazil and Chile (1922), Costa Rica and the Philippines (1924), Cuba (1925), Colombia (1928), Mexico (1929), Venezuela (1930), Peru (1932) and Ecuador (1937). The worldwide involvement of US armed forces in the Second World war left its mark if anything more strongly. The Armed Forces Radio Service (AFRS) was set up in 1942 to bring American programming to troops stationed overseas” (Lewis and Booth, 1989 : 50).

Though the programmes only reached a small proportion of the population, they gave thousands of teenagers their first direct taste of American music and programme style. By 1945, the AFRS had 800 outlets round the world each relaying over 40 hours of American programmes a week. The commercial radio model, first used in the United States, is now exported to the US outpost or satellite countries. This ties into Herbert Schiller’s military-industrial complex thesis, where for Schiller, communication imperialism is not just haphazard but the outcome of a “conscious and organized effort taken by the U.S. military-communication conglomerates to maintain a commercial, political, and military superiority” (Schiller, 1979 : 37).

For the commercial Radio New Zealand stations, much of its programming transcended its political origins and for generations the stations functioned as entertainers, informers and companions. Also at issue was the relationship between the radio stations and their local communities. Elitist standards increasingly defined the YA stations. They developed as centrally controlled, coordinated national stations offering a quality entertainment explicitly defined as superior to that available locally. Their hallmark was their connection with its selected listeners back when they started, but over time, this role was transformed. The elitism was “gradually removed as commercial practices were emphasised in response to the re-emergence of private radio and to the inexorably declining licence fee income. That emphasis, coupled with the increasing conviction that the stations should be fully disassociated from the public broadcasting fee, supported the belief the state should not be involved at all” (Day, 2000 : 401).

A role with the local community became more of a feature of the private stations, and after their demise, the commercial stations. As record playing became the dominant format for all stations, “the music played was increasingly popular rather than local. Rather than responding to the local community, broadcasting practices redefined the nature of the community” (Day, 1994 : 2).

In New Zealand in the 1950s and 1960s, there was strong governmental control. In the 1970s and early 1980s, the focus shifted more to the listeners and the radio professionals. Radio was gaining in sophistication. It is at this point that the real impact of American broadcasting can be felt. Aware of the marketplace and the competition, not just from other radio stations but also from alternative media, in 1980 RNZ brought in its first overseas consultant, American Todd Wallace.

Programme consultants were employed to address the issue of attracting listeners. In the late 1980s and into the 1990s the emphasis shifted towards investors and advertisers, with the introduction of American sales consultants. There has also been a diversity of output (production of different brands) and increased networking. Diversity coupled with an expansion in the sheer number of broadcasters, typified radio broadcasting for the period shortly after deregulation. However, that trend evolved into a contraction and consolidation period, buy-outs, consolidation of

resources and restructuring typified the radio environment since then. While the numbers of frequencies has expanded, few new commercial stations have survived as independent operators since deregulation.

Commercial broadcasting may have risen but it is unusually structured, welcoming foreign ownership with open arms, to the extent of endangering local ownership. In radio, there are few stations to counter the trend towards overwhelming foreign ownership. “No other country is following suit and leaving what are elsewhere regarded as politically and culturally strategic national resources so undefended. Broadcasting, which began with few frequencies available and husbanded as scarce resources, has come to be seen principally as part of corporate commercial activity with no special place in the nation’s life and no need for particular protection or definition” (Day, 2000 : 421).

The new commercial developments since 1989 have been towards uniformity rather than diversity of output. Although the number of stations has multiplied, the number of programme sources has not increased significantly because of the concentration of ownership and networking. The ratings continue to be dominated by the two major players, Ironbridge and TRN and the same scenario appears in the smaller markets as well. There has also been “a large amount of imitation of successful formats. Economic pressures and technological developments [...] have combined to shape a commercial radio sector that is [...] innovative in sales and marketing areas but not in programming” (Wilson, 1994b : 64).

The probable effects of this fast-moving discontinuity is that it creates no time for reflection or reminiscence and it “deflects, postpones and cushions any relevance to actual living” (Higgins and Moss, 1982 : 83). Even the tones of voice used by broadcast personnel are relevant to their intention. As most radio stations “aim for formula broadcasting, for pattern rather than programme listing, certain stereotyped delivery styles are adopted almost universally. The brisk idioms of the newsreaders, the ‘punch’ of the D.J. and the bland, cheery chat of the host are all unspecific. They are ‘stage’ voices, not rooted in any lived usage, but created for the ‘life is a show’ theme they are disseminating” (ibid: 84).

So to recap, in the years covered by a history of New Zealand broadcasting, the country has moved from a more equal distribution of economic resources of the 1950s to a time where the concentration of wealth had increased the gap between rich and poor. It has matured from a consensus of celebrating one nation to a celebration of differences, from an isolated and distinctive New Zealand to membership of a global society in which interests and lifestyles are shared as much among different nations as within one country.

Broadcasting has been,

Both a cause and effect in this process of change and has experienced similar upheavals in its nature, conduct and control. Broadcasting is the arena in which much of our communal life is conducted. It is the provider of much of our knowledge of events outside our personal experience and of large amounts of our leisure activity. Many of our values, desires and aspirations are mediated through broadcasting. Our society is so reliant on it, for everything from advertising to news, that we could scarcely function without it (Day, 2000 : 6).

Broadcasting in this sense plays an important role in our lives. However commentators see the ideal vision of broadcasting as a public service far removed from the potential pitfalls associated with the introduction of the profit motive in a fully commercial model. How this manifests itself in a democracy opens up debate regarding what is actually provided to citizens.

To surrender the variousness of international political and social events for the uniformity of a well-oiled, much used media style is to surrender the vast middle ground of informed enlightenment that serious media must fill in a democracy. The critical functions of public media to provide forums for the mix of opinion and interest groups, to provide stages for the interaction of different types, are lost by default. If the main criterion for the good story is its potential for being cast into the small range of scripts, and if the relationship between knowns and unknowns in one society is based upon the distance between official opinion and deviant minority action or individual emotional response, then the sense of variety presented to members of that society is diminished.

Such limitations create a future of stereotyped versions of the world, a muffling of the democratic voice and a dedication to mediocrity (Higgins and Moss, 1982 : 180).

New Zealand commercial radio has had a history of foreign influence combined with the culture, but this hybridity needs to be examined more closely. Under growing globalisation, are there any avenues either legal or voluntary through which New Zealand can actively attempt to protect any of its unique cultural values from foreign exploitation, or is it too late?

Some of the major recent developments in radio have involved North American influences across a range of factors, including content, format, audience relations, ownership and network structures, and this study would therefore need to look at a range of matters beyond the obvious question of music content. Therefore the analysis needs to be broad to take into account these changes and examine whether there are enough channels of influence to suggest a cumulative effect of a tendency towards the domestication of American values. This raises some important questions that will be discussed in Chapter Eight, where industry players are interviewed over their perceptions of foreign influence in these key areas.

A discussion of the term 'culture' and what it is that some are trying to protect against the promoters of a global society needs some examination in depth. The shaping factors that are affecting our understanding of globalisation are articulated in Chapter Three. A summary of the potential cultural outcomes and a re-evaluated understanding of hybridity based on these findings will be presented in Chapter Nine.

Chapter Three: *Understanding Hybridity in the Context of Globalisation*

Theoretical Framework

In order to understand radio in a New Zealand context, we need to focus on its shaping factors. With the global spread of radio, to what extent has the American influence had on New Zealand? An obvious starting point would be to look at globalization, and then look at how cultural imperialism has influenced the kind of radio we experience today. While acknowledging the global reshaping of the local, we should also understand contemporary debates to see whether there is a better way to understand radio in contemporary society.

As a notion, globalization has several dimensions such as economic, cultural and geographical. Unpacking these would point to further debates on issues to do with capitalism and nationhood, as well as the overall consequences of the process of globalization to local or national cultures.

There is a general consensus that some elements of the contemporary world are best understood through the prism of globalization. Most social scientists, politicians, journalists, businesses, and indeed broad sectors of the general population share this view. Opinions differ as to whether globalization is a positive or a negative development, but there is general agreement that many of the modern advances and regressions are either a symptom or a consequence of globalization. The impact of this on the cultural arena has typically been seen as something negative. It has been associated with such negative outcomes such as the degradation of cultural identities and the growth of a homogenized, westernized consumer culture. This sees globalization as a natural extension of classic western cultural imperialism.

Definitions:

There is a wide range of theoretical positions that seek to explain the concept of globalisation. These can be summarized under four main headings: Global Society, Global Culture, World System and Global Capitalism. What becomes apparent from this is that there appears to be very little consensus as to what actually constitutes globalisation.

Devereux (2003) begins by defining the Global Society approach emphasising the extent to which we all as citizens of the planet inhabit one society that has common concerns and possibilities. The approach has been accused of seriously underplaying the continuing extent of global inequalities and of overstating the argument that we live in a 'global village'.

The Global Culture approach sees an increasing level of cultural homogenisation taking place at a global level. There is an increasing amount of sameness in the cultural practices evident in the early twenty-first century. However, this approach allows little room for either local resistance to or local appropriation and reinvention of globalised cultural products.

The World System approach is a model that divides the world into core, semi-peripheral and peripheral societies and economies that are exploited by the capitalist system.

Finally, the Global Capitalism approach argues that the globalisation of capitalism is at the heart of the globalisation process. Its key actors are transnational corporations that in many instances are more powerful in economic and political terms than many of the countries they exploit, in terms of labour, raw materials or markets. At the heart of the Global Capitalism perspective is the viewpoint that globalisation of this kind depends upon the promotion of the ideology of consumerism (Devereux, 2003 : 33).

Proponents of globalisation theory – especially those who follow either a Global Society or Global Culture approach, such as Anthony Giddens, one of the founders of the term, argue that the debate has moved to its second phase. In the first phase, it was

debated whether this term 'globalization' existed at all and if it did, whether this was any different to the end of the 19th century. It has progressed from there with the conclusion that "the current phase of globalization is fundamentally different from any other age in history, especially as a result of qualitative changes brought about by the speed of communication and the ease of access to information" (Nations, 2001 : 1). Giddens' (1990) definition of globalization is the "intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (Giddens, 1990 : 64). It is a term that indicates a "rising awareness of this (possible) global community where people are in touch with one another on a scale unknown to previous generations" (de Kock, 1997). People's lives are "increasingly lived in the shadow of global phenomena. We can see the 'spectre of globalisation' in our everyday experience and it is particularly evident in terms of our...mass media activities" (Devereux, 2003 : 31).

Globalization can be conceived as a process (or set of processes), which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions, expressed in transcontinental or interregional, flows and networks of activity, interaction and power (see Held and McGrew, 1999). Four types of change characterize it. First, it involves a *stretching* of social, political and economic activities across frontiers, regions and continents. Second, it is marked by the *intensification*, or the growing magnitude, of interconnectedness and flows of trade, investment, finance, migration, culture, etc. Third, it can be linked to a *speeding up* of global interactions and processes, as the development of worldwide systems of transport and communication increases the *velocity* of the diffusion of ideas, goods, information, capital and people. And, fourth, the growing *extensity*, *intensity* and *velocity* of global interactions can be associated with their deepening *impact* such that the effects of distant events can be highly significant elsewhere and specific local developments can come to have considerable global consequences (Held and McGrew, 1999). To this extent, the margins between local matters and global affairs become ever more liquid. Globalization is seen as a consequence and a cause of the widening, intensifying, speeding up, and growing impact of worldwide interconnectedness.

Like the use of concepts such as ‘Cold War’ and ‘imperialism’ in the past, the use of the concept of globalization tries to unify the dominant economic, social and political dynamics of our contemporary domain.

The date of origin of globalization has been as difficult to define as perhaps the label itself. Various pundits have suggested dates ranging from the dawn of civilization right through to the 1990s with the fall of the Berlin Wall, the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the revolution of communication and information technologies. Others would posit a date in the 16th Century expansion of capitalist Europe to the middle of the 19th Century to the post World War Two era. What may be in doubt is its birthday, but what are beyond question are its far-reaching consequences into today’s society.

Mittelman (2000) provides a path past these date arguments by differentiating globalization according to pace, scope and intensity. He calls the period before the 16th Century incipient globalization. The period till the 1970s is termed bridging globalization and the period since the 1970s as accelerated globalization.

Other academics question the very existence of globalization (Hirst and Thompson, 1999), some speak of the promise to the future (Fukuyama, 1989), some warn of its disruptive potential (Barber, 1996), and some see it as a two way process leading to hybridization (Gray, 1998). This will be investigated further with respect to radio at a later stage.

According to Tabb (1999), globalization is a process that reduces barriers between countries and encourages closer economic, political, and social interaction (as cited in Mittelman, 2000). Globalization is “a social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements receded and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding” (Waters, 1995 : 3).

Globalization generally refers to the rapidly developing process of complex interconnections between societies, cultures, institutions and individuals worldwide. It is a process which involves a “compression of time and space, shrinking distances through a dramatic reduction in the time taken – either physically or

representationally – to cross them, so making the world seem smaller and in a sense bringing human beings ‘closer’ to one another. But it is also a process that ‘stretches’ social relations, removing the relationships that govern our everyday lives from local contexts to global ones” (Tomlinson, 1991 : 154).

Rosenau (1995) identifies two main components, which are globalization (integration) and localization (social fragmentation). These are processes that both promote and culminate in change.

One could understand globalization and localization as the thesis and antithesis of a dialectical process which culminates in change. If the dynamics of globalization -- (which is characterized by expanding markets, the onset of pervasive environmental problems and the spread of new technologies) -- and localizing tendencies characterized by a need to maintain local or national control over the processes and pace of change, and a resurgence of ethnicity and ties to specific cultures -- are seen in a short time perspective to derive their impetus from distinct origins (Rosenau, 1995 : 50).

Rosenau remarks that recently, it has become obvious that the tendencies of localisation and globalisation can interact directly and each function as a causal source of the other. This implies that localization and globalization are undividable as components of the concept of globalization, and yet, they can be read and understood as distinct concepts. O'Regan agrees stating that “internationalization and localization need to be understood as co-extant tendencies, which can manifest themselves at the same time in the same market or place” (O'Regan, 1992 : 76).

Hamelink (1993) describes globalization as a process that outlines a transition in the world system that leads to a situation in which all transactions affect most citizens of the world. He indicates that, “globalization refers to ‘becoming global’: a process of social transformation” (Hamelink, 1993 : 38).

Critics such as McQuail state three trends of globalisation in the media that address changes both technologically and organizationally,

1) a growth in the concentration of media ownership around the globe, 2) the emergence of an 'information economy' with information now seen as a product and its transfer as industry, and 3) an increase in deregulation, privatisation and/or liberalization of the media. This allows host countries to compare themselves with Westerners, exacerbating existing economic, political and cultural frustrations (McQuail, 1987 as cited in Mohammadi, 1991 : 278).

Gray (1998) suggests that globalisation does not simply refer to the objectiveness of interconnectedness. It also refers to cultural and subjective matters, namely, the scope and depth of consciousness of the world as a single place. However, other critics such as Kohr (2002) take a different perspective suggesting that globalisation is what the Third World countries have for centuries been calling colonization.

Certainly, an all-encompassing definition of globalisation will be difficult to define, since there are so many fractures in what constitutes the core elements of the theory. But what can be agreed on, is that however difficult it is to nail down, what is without question is that there is a broad, relevant and tangible theory that does have some intellectual weight in contemporary society.

The many different definitions of the term from many different academic angles imply the meaning of the term globalization is far from clear. As with most theories, there are plenty of academics (Hesmondhalgh, 2002, Sparks 2005, Held 1999) lining up to dispute some aspects of the claim. Sparks (2005) disagrees with the broad use of the term 'globalisation' suggesting that no single theory of globalisation upon which all social scientists, let alone everybody else, are agreed. Held adds that, "no single coherent theory of globalisation exists" (Held 1999, as cited in Sparks, 2005 : 436). Although it may be difficult to define, the rapid political, economic and cultural changes confronting nation-states, governments and populations are without doubt. This is especially true for the radio industry.

Whereas the impact of globalization is being debated, there is a broad-based recognition that the State's part must be redefined to take account of the emerging political, economic, social and cultural challenges. Globalization does present opportunities for some, but also sizeable risks for others less fortunate on the global

food chain. This risk is manifested over concern that it would not guarantee a fair and equitable distribution of global resources. Globalization was not just about the market or straight finances. It was also affecting global political structures, social ideas and cultural ways of life. Essentially, globalization had been affecting the sovereignty of nation states. Some protagonists suggest that a global view is most pertinent in contemporary society, but we will evaluate the strengths of this assertion later.

Globalization should be seen as a lively trend with both positive and negative effects. In the economic arena with advances in areas such as technology, decreases in communication and transportation costs and further collaboration in international agreements have meant greater international cooperation in areas of trade, finance and investment.

In this sense, some optimists would suggest that on the economic front, globalization has contributed to new development opportunities, an increase in living standards and vastly higher productivity. The flipside of this comes from the political aspect of globalization. This has meant a shift of power from sovereign states to technologically advanced global elites and private multinational companies with little other than profit motivated interests. On the social front, it has produced gaps among countries and within countries. For many, it has led to greater vulnerability. It had promoted the flow of ideas and values, and created an acceptance of the creative cultural work of exporting countries. Positive as this may sound, as different cultures interact some have faced the risk of being watered down or even decimated at the expense of others.

Some would argue however that access to technology is a key factor to harnessing the positive elements of globalization. However, this in turn is country and region specific and is dependent on a country's financial assets, infrastructure and the level of education in that society. The free flow of information, transportation and communication and the dominance of capitalism over other ideologies have accelerated the globalization process. International communication has significantly contributed to the rise of globalism in the economic, political and cultural arenas (Tehrani, 1999). However, access to information communication technology (ICT) is unequally distributed between the developed and the developing nations of the world, and also between the centre and periphery of nation states. Consequently,

globalization is also about unequal development. Third world countries have also experienced underdevelopment in living standards in this era. Golding's (2000) concept of the digital divide is especially relevant here with bi-polar extremes of access and exclusion. For New Zealand, as a developed nation of the world, globalization has benefited the country economically, but the effect on the political and cultural arenas needs further scrutiny.

Globalisation, technological revolution and democratisation characterize the era in which we live. In all three of these areas, media and communications play a central role. The media are institutions of power and as the 4th estate they need to provide a link between governors and the governed. They need to provide the public with good information to allow citizens to make rational decisions. It is idealist but is a serious role they must play. An alternative version is that the media are part of the entertainment business. Their purpose is to rent viewers to advertisers and to make profit. Either way, people are dependent on media for the understanding of policy issues and the media is central to every stage of this process. The process of globalisation had some serious consequences on the ownership and control of New Zealand's media whose role is critical to the democratic process.

Since the late 80s, the role of the media has been somewhat transformed with some important shifts in ideology. The 80s/90s began an age defined by deregulation. In New Zealand, the market system was promoted as the solution to uneconomical and wasteful bureaucracy. It culminated in the deregulation of the Broadcasting industry in 1989. This became the blueprint for privatization. Public institutions were deemed to be inefficient and needed to be replaced with private institutions. Mantras of increased diversity, plurality and efficiency were all embraced as the positive and inevitable consequences of the process of deregulation. However, the effects of globalisation had unintended consequences on the Broadcasting industry. The promises of benefits by deregulation reformers to their audience were well-intentioned yet disingenuous.

Neo liberalism & Globalisation

The spread of neo-liberalism through institutions like the World Trade Organization, the spread of a new global capitalism with the disintegration of the USSR and the reunification of Germany, and the overseas ownership of global media systems, has brought about continued liberalization and deregulation. Neo-liberalism refers to the “set of national and international policies that call for business domination of all social affairs with minimal countervailing force” (McChesney, 2002 : 149). There was a strong insistence in New Zealand’s governmental circles in the 1980s and 90s that the market will provide an answer to the issues faced, and that private enterprise is the vehicle to ensure success in economic matters.

New Zealand bought into this neo-liberal argument and embraced exports and foreign investment, as well as foreign ownership of its media industries. Deregulation in the media sector after 1990 created opportunities for foreign investors to expand their trade and to take advantage of economies of scope and scale. The development in satellite technology meant that there was now a delivery system for news and entertainment, and with that it enabled foreign media giants to transcend New Zealand’s national boundary.

One important catalyst for global change was the saturation point attained by overseas media companies. Saturation point is attained in the original home and domestic markets whereby no further economically viable growth can be achieved. In economic terms, the marginal cost will now exceed the marginal revenue. Any future growth in media markets must therefore come from new markets, necessitating expansion. This has made diversification a viable economic solution to maintaining profitability and has also helped create trans-national corporations (TNC). But this is not without its critics, “Triumphant capitalism has unleashed a powerful drive toward inequality, not improvement in the social sphere” (Schiller, 2000 : 56). Globally, the removal of boundaries and barriers to trade and investment has led to the fundamental phenomenon of concentration.

As in other parts of the world, now that industry has been opened up to foreign ownership, the era of globalisation exposed New Zealand to an unrestricted flow of

programmes and other media content through satellite and digital delivery systems. New policies of deregulation also lifted restrictions on cross-media ownership and created an opportunity for foreign integration through mergers and acquisitions. The media market got caught up in the general wave of deregulation, privatisation and free-market ideology that swept through New Zealand from the mid 1980's into the 1990's first started by the fourth Labour Government, "the opening of the economy to the global marketplace has been an inexorable and inevitable process" (Jesson, 1999 : 28).

While the social chaos and upheavals may be an inevitable part of the globalization process, the benefits that can be accrued from economic integration are enormous. In an interdependent world where resources are in various geographic and political locations, the advantages of global trade are many.

The globalization process is indeed transforming societies across the globe. Social, economic and cultural differences are receding in the process, thus shifting the globalization to the top gear, for many countries. The advances in communications technologies, affordability, and their diffusion in the world have made time and space less relevant. Economic integration across the globe, international trade has given the people access to distinct and diverse consumer and cultural products. As Tehranian (1999) argues global communication has significantly contributed to the rise of globalism in the economic, political and cultural arenas.

However, it has been observed that the market enterprise system may not be the best blueprint for the future, with recent anti-globalisation protests and national liberation movements. In the globalization process, the economic imbalance is a major issue. The western cultural values such as mass consumption belief systems are also creating social and ideological problems in some societies. Such conflicts and confrontations of values and cultures will be inevitable in the globalization process. The more efforts at globalization, i.e. the spread of commodified consumer culture around the globe, the more likely that confrontation will emerge between various global cultures or civilizations. According to Huntington, "the interactions among peoples of different civilizations enhance the civilization consciousness of people

that, in turn invigorates differences and animosities stretching back deep into history” (Huntington, 1993 : 26).

According to Waters (1995) in the globalization process territoriality will disappear as an organizing principle for social and cultural life and the people will be unable to predict social practices and preferences on the basis of geographical location. Tehranian (1999) observes that global communication undermines traditional boundaries and the sovereignty of nations. The role of international institutions in the globalization process is also becoming significant, with major political and economic institutions laying down policies and sometimes dictating their unique wants and needs to policy makers of supposedly autonomous nation states.

When countries open up their markets to others, it is not only consumables or tangible goods that flow in. Through media products such as books, feature films, software and TV serials, ideas and opinions also flowed in, thus exerting pressure on cultures and values of countries. Capitalist consumerism through Coca-Cola and McDonalds and other products were also exported. While some countries were conscious of the impact of foreign media and cultural products, the manufacturers of such products maintained that they were just economic goods. Whatever the social and economic argument, the flow of media and cultural products is mainly favourable to industrial countries that control the main media corporations. It is evident that communication media are affecting the opinion of people. Different terms have been employed to describe the cultural globalization phenomena. Some called it Americanization, westernization, cultural imperialism and pointed the blaming finger at American and European media companies. Some authors like to associate the impact of the global media with the magic bullet or hypodermic needle theory. Sreberny-Mohammadi contends that the cultural imperialism thesis tends to suggest a hypodermic needle model of international effects, predominantly American values being exported into the Third World (Sreberny, 2000). This imbalance leads towards a Western cultural hegemony, universalization of lifestyles, fashion and broadly the capitalist worldview. Although this broad understanding of media may be a little blunt to define the effects so simplistically, there is some residual effect that needs further investigation and clarification.

Threat to Nation States

To understand the effects that globalization potentially has on the nation-state, one must first attempt to define what that term represents and where it came from. Anderson (1983) suggests that the creation of the nation-state arguably stemmed from the “convergence of capitalism and print technology on the fatal diversity of human language created the possibility of a new form of imagined community, which in its basic morphology set the stage for the modern nation” (Anderson, 1983 : 46). These new communities had at the time only a limited relationship to existing political boundaries. However, this is only a partial explanation of what is a contentious term.

Nationalism has to be understood by “aligning it, both with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which – as well as against which – it came into being. For present purposes, the two relevant cultural systems are the religious community and the dynastic realm” (ibid: 12).

The very possibility of imagining the nation only arose historically when, and where, three fundamental cultural conceptions lost their grip. The first was the idea that “particular script language offered privileged access to ontological truth, second was the belief that society was naturally organised around and under high centres, and third was a conception of temporality in which cosmology and history was indistinguishable” (ibid: 36).

After the decline of these certainties, the search was on for a new way of linking fraternity, power and time together. It was facilitated through print-capitalism. This venture made it a reality for expanding numbers of the population to think about themselves and others, in different and philosophical ways.

Paul (1996) defines the new construction of a nation as a state that “governs a territory with boundaries and has laws, taxes, officials, currencies, postal services, police and (usually) armies and wage war, negotiate treaties and regulate life within the territorial jurisdiction. Nations are groups of people with common language, culture and historical identity” (Paul, 1996).

The nation was constructed on ideas of commonality which was over time rendered incomplete as a theory of nationhood,

Local tradition, forms of knowledge and value systems, opposing overtly those of the colonial powers, and which were then called upon to contribute to national self-sufficiency. Developments on the global scale during the latter part of the twentieth century have made international borders more porous, calling into question this notion of a nation as coterminous with a single cultural identity, implicitly demanding a more sophisticated conceptualising of culture and imperialism (Harindranath, 2000 : 157).

That sets up some boundaries of what it is that defines a modern nation state, but globalization forces has meant a rethinking on the absolute strength of the nation-state. Critics now see a changing global landscape where the autonomy and independence of the nation-state is severely threatened. The stability of the past is now in question.

If the Peace of Westphalia in the mid-17th century set the precedent for the formation of nation states then the globalization process driven by technological, economic and political forces in the 20th century has written the epitaph of nation-state system. The rise of international and non-governmental organizations and global capitalist economies have made the role of national governments less significant not by choice but by the inevitable realities set in by the globalization forces. The movement of capital, goods and services across national boundaries, further accelerated by telecommunications and transportation services have to a large extent weakened state authority, “state control over space and time is increasingly bypassed by global flows of communication and information” (Castells, 1997 : 303).

The Westphalian system is nearly obsolete with the evolutionary process of globalization and internationalization. In the ultimate analysis, what is apparent is that with the crumbling of the nation state system, “the ‘sovereignty of nation states is being suffocated by the power of supranational authorities, and as a result nation states seem to have lost the functions, for which they were created of controlling and rationalizing economic, social and technological forces” (Zolo, 2004 : 30).

Sassen argues “globalization and the new technologies have contributed to the shrinking of state authority and the explosion of a whole series of new actors engaged in governance activities. Privatization and deregulation have shifted power away from public bureaucracies and onto the world of private corporations and markets” (Sassen, 1999). Hirst adds to this by suggesting that the nation state can no longer independently affect the levels of economic activity or employment within their territories. Accordingly, “the job of nation states [or perhaps national governments] is like that of municipalities within states heretofore: to provide the infrastructure and public goods that the business needs at the lowest possible cost” (Hirst and Thompson, 1999 : 176).

While critics such as Ohmae (2000) see nation states as maintaining an element of power as local authorities of the global system, others suggest nation states have become inescapably vulnerable to the discipline imposed by economic choices made elsewhere by people and institutions over which they have no practical control (McNeely, 2000). But not every country is vulnerable to such disciplines, and some of the developed countries that are members of the OECD and G-8 are unlikely to have unpopular choices imposed upon them, such as the Kyoto Protocol as they are economically strong, politically developed and cultured. But the weak are more prone to erosion of their sovereignty and autonomy. However it cannot be over-simplified to suggest simple delineation of the powerful and the weak. Even so-called powerful countries within the OECD still are at the mercy of economic decisions taken by more powerful countries. There are still instances of hierarchy even within the OECD. It is certainly not an even playing field for all first world countries.

As members of the international community, nation states are bound by international conventions, charters and principles formulated by such institutions as the UN and UNESCO. This contributes to the demise of an autonomous country in control of its own destiny. National environmental policies are strongly influenced by international institutions, such as the United Nations Environmental Programme. Accordingly, Hirst (1999) suggests that “states are less autonomous, they have less exclusive control over economic and social processes within their territories, and they are less able to maintain national distinctiveness and cultural homogeneity” (Hirst and Thompson, 1999 : 263).

In analyzing globalization as a concept it can be indicated that it assists in the formation of a new global social context. One of the main features of this new social context is its post-Westphalian nature as identified by Hettne (1995). This would imply that “the nation-state is under such an amount of international and sub-national pressure that it surrenders its autonomy and sovereignty to other supra- or sub-national actors. The post-Westphalian characteristic of the world system that is emphasized by the process of globalization leads to the formation of a new social environment” (Hettne, 1995 : 20).

One of the main contributors of social context is the media. What globalisation and deregulation have done to the country’s media systems is to change aspects of them from being national to being global. So to understand the dynamics of the New Zealand commercial music media, you have to understand the global media system of which New Zealand is a subsidiary or appendage.

A major advancement of modern media globalisation is characterized by convergence. Østergaard (1998) defines convergence where “Dominant actors are repositioning to control the whole media process from content inception to delivery to individual audience segments. In this respect, media convergence heralds media concentration” (Østergaard, 1998 : 95). It has come about because of the convergence of old and new media technologies as well as the convergence of old and new media organizations to form immensely powerful transnational media conglomerates. This defines a need to investigate how these new powerful media conglomerates create hegemony in a modern context.

Summary

Globalisation has resulted in the creation of a series of interconnected but unequal global villages, and as a concept it also makes a statement regarding the ever-changing balance of economic, social and political factors facing our contemporary world.

As nations and their people become involved with more complex levels of regional and international governance, they are now subject to authority coming from within and above the state. The growth of transboundary problems creates what O'Neill (1991) says are, 'overlapping communities of fate'; that is, a state of affairs in which the affairs of individual political communities are increasingly bound together. In particular, national governments can no longer be regarded as in full control of their country's destiny. "National economic, political and cultural relations are in decline and being displaced by global flows. Politically, supra- and sub-national institutions begin to threaten the hegemony of the institutions of the national state" (Lash, 2002 : 26).

The contemporary world is no longer "a world of closed communities with mutually impenetrable ways of thought, self-sufficient economies and ideally sovereign states" (O'Neill, 1991 : 282). This is not to say that political communities are becoming obsolete but, rather, to recognize that they are now part of a much bigger and more complicated family of global as well as regional influence.

The growth of international institutions, NGOs and global media content has affected the relative power of the state over territories and their people. As countries become dependent on each other for economic and political reasons, there would appear to be circumstantial evidence that they become assimilated in one form or other. Nation states cannot afford to remain isolated.

The debate remains unresolved. On one hand, those who continue to put forward the political economy perspective point to the increasing concentration of ownership and control of global media as evidence of a global 'synchronisation' of cultures (Hamelink, 1993). Today huge concentrations of New Zealand's economic and cultural resources are in the possession of a tiny number of private local and international controllers, "the erosion of the democratic process by the concentration of enormous economic power in relatively few private hands is at a very advanced stage" (Schiller, 2000 : 196). The corporate quest for profitability has led to the commodification of most of the activities that people engage in.

On the opposing side are those who produce evidence of ‘oppositional’ and critical readings of various media texts and genres, arguing “not only that it is wrong to assume an uncritical acceptance of the dominant ideologies contained in the text, but also that different interpretations by audiences from different social positions and cultures indicate a process of ‘indigenisation’ – absorption of foreign material into local cultures, thus rendering them relatively harmless” (Harindranath, 2000 : 153).

From this point onwards there is a need to think about the impact of the dynamics and components of the globalization concept on New Zealand, and the responses in the challenges involved. While the global has become more prominent in people’s local lives, other forms of identity – the ethnic, the local, the regional, the national, the sub-cultural – clearly remain potent. The renegotiation of cultural identities is discussed more clearly in the section on hybridisation, where a clearer understanding of how ‘indigenisation’ is incorporated into a more modern hybrid structure. From this point however, cultural imperialism should be introduced as an important cultural consequence of social relations in the context of globalisation.

Cultural Imperialism

If globalisation is so inevitable in our modern society, affecting social, political and cultural industries, then this expansion in freedom must have some impact on a receiving country’s social relations. A more concise way of understanding this interdependence is through the theory of cultural imperialism. Under this framework, McQuail (2000) defines it as a tendency of global media industry exporters (especially from the USA) to,

Dominate the media consumption in other smaller and poorer countries and in doing so impose their own cultural and other values on audiences elsewhere. Not only content is exported, but also technology, production values, professional ideologies and ownership. Explicitly or implicitly, it is assumed that cultural imperialism leads to dependence, loss of autonomy and a decline in national or local cultures (McQuail, 2000 : 493).

Some latitude exists as to whether the process is deliberate and about the degree to which it is involuntary at the receiving end. The concept is a fairly basic one that can be fleshed out in lots of different ways, but it has strong resonance. If radio in New Zealand is now subject to the increased influence and rules of more dominant players in foreign countries due to liberalisation since the 1980/90s, and the elements exported to New Zealand radio are exactly what McQuail defined, then through the broad theory of globalisation, this justifies the inclusion of cultural imperialism as a partial framework to guide this study. It is a highly contested terrain with equal amounts of scholarly research both agreeing and disagreeing with its basic assumptions of how relations of power operate between media rich and media poor countries. A dominant aspect regarding this theory has to do with an originating centre of finance and capital. The obvious centre of finance and capital in a contemporary sense is the United States. It sometimes goes under a different moniker called Americanisation, so to this extent, cultural imperialism as one of the consequences of globalisation would be applied in making sense of the New Zealand radio landscape and process.

The term first appeared in the 1960s and was most current during the 1970s and early 1980s, when it was invoked, along with a subsidiary term, media imperialism, in policy debates in bodies such as UNESCO, particularly in the call for a 'new world information and communications order' (NWICO).

Since the start, cultural imperialism has researched the ideological effects contained within cultural goods and the on-going annihilation of the culture of the Third world. Through theories of political economy, this one-way stream of cultural "exchange" between the two worlds is a good place to start an investigation.

Definition

A useful take-off point in the discussion of cultural and media imperialism is Lenin's notion of imperialism. This is the inevitable outcome of monopoly capitalism through a concentration of both production and capital. Cultural imperialism has relied on dependency theory for its theoretical basis. Marxist social scientists such as Andre

Gunder Frank, Immanuel Wallerstein and Samin Amin have borrowed from Lenin to propagate their dependency theory to describe the pattern of relations between the metropolis and the satellite.

The word 'imperialism' has itself been used with two quite different emphases: first as a description of a political and, broadly, cultural project of domination, and second (particularly in Marxist theory) as primarily economic domination – as the global extension of capitalism.

Schiller maintains that when domination occurs for economic reasons, the “cultural penetration that has occurred in recent decades embraces all the socializing institutions of the affected host area. And though this too occurs mostly for economic reasons, the impact inevitably is felt throughout the realm of individual and social consciousness in the penetrated province” (Schiller, 1976a : 8).

He believes that the concept of cultural imperialism today can be described as “the sum of the processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominating centre of the system” (ibid: 9). Other proponents of this theory agree on the basic measure of control of a recipient host. The essence of imperialism is “domination by one nation over another...direct or indirect...based on a mixture of military, political and economic controls” (Mohammadi, 1991 : 269). According to Mattelart, “cultural imperialism is a generic concept, it refers to a range of broadly similar phenomena” (Mattelart, 1979 : 57). One of the many ways to define such a broad term in this discussion is “the use of political and economic power to exalt and spread the values and habits of a foreign culture at the expense of a native culture” (Tomlinson, 1991 : 3).

The cultural take-over of the penetrated society produces a cultural domination that originates with commercial objectives. Once this process has begun, it is extended to all the institutional networks. Schiller believes that there exists some relationship between media ownership and control and power in society. This leads to the belief that the media content carry ideological significations whose effect is to reproduce

and consolidate the social order. The relevance of this to the New Zealand commercial music radio system and culture in general will be discussed in depth later.

So then, what does create or maintain a culture? Here Smith outlines three essential ingredients for the cultural mixture, “1) a sense of continuity between succeeding generations, 2) shared memories of specific events and persons that were turning points of collective history and 3) a sense of common destiny” (Smith, 1990 : 179). Through these components a construction of "identity" is created among a population that shares common experiences and one or more cultural characteristics such as language, customs or religion.

Mattelart takes this definition and expands on some of its limitations. The notion of “cultural imperialism, and its corollary, ‘cultural dependence’, are clearly no longer adequate. Historically, these two notions were an essential step in creating an awareness of cultural domination” (Mattelart, 1984 : 25). He suggests that cultural imperialism is a generic concept, referring to broadly similar phenomena.

Drawing on the work of Martin Baker, John Tomlinson, a leading scholar of cultural imperialism, argues that, “There are hardly any precise definitions of ‘cultural imperialism’. It seems to mean that the process of imperialist control is aided and abetted by supportive forms of culture” (Tomlinson, 1991 : 3). The concept has such complex ramifications at an abstract level, largely owing to the complexities and controversies surrounding its constituent terms. One of the few areas that is agreed upon is that the great majority of published discussions of cultural imperialism place the media at the centre of things. For the purposes of this study, I will adhere to the definition set down by scholars such as Schiller and Boyd-Barrett, where imperialism is better understood as cultural domination.

Media Imperialism

Researchers have attempted to overcome the theoretical limitations of the studies of cultural imperialism. Lee (1979) and Boyd-Barrett (1982) prefer the term media-

imperialism to substitute for the term cultural imperialism, while at the same time they agree to the structural conditions for one-way flow of information and culture.

Media imperialism refers to the exportation of television programmes and other entertainment content to foreign countries, foreign ownership and control of media outlets, the transfer of metropolitan broadcasting norms at the expense of the “public interest” and an invasion of capitalist world views infringing on the ways of life of an indigenous culture in a host country. A previous Prime Minister of Guyana once said, “A nation whose mass media are dominated from the outside is not a nation” (as cited in Shulman, 1994 : 109). One of the biggest concerns for the television industry is that imported materials infringe on indigenous ways of life. There is pressure for local performers to conform to ‘world standards’ that may be different to the native cultural needs. Foreign media may hinder current indigenous and intellectual activities. They take away opportunities that could otherwise be given to native artists, writers and performers. Can these negative accusations placed on television be equally applicable to radio? However, this is hard to analyse as how do you know this is the responsibility of the media itself? Why could it not be due to family or church influences?

Boyd-Barrett (1977) still thinks that there is value in the notion of media imperialism as an analytical tool because it is easier to examine empirically. His original definition of media imperialism was “the process whereby the ownership, structure, distribution or content of the media in any one country are singly or together subject to substantial pressure from the media interest of any other country or countries without proportionate reciprocation of influence by the country so affected” (Boyd-Barrett, 1977 : 117). Despite this view, radical scholars often see analysis of media imperialism as limited in itself without linking it to cultural imperialism.

Americanisation

Americanisation as a modified definition of media imperialism could be focused on the four key domains of economics, politics, culture and technology. “Increased economic interdependence and worldwide corporate enterprise, decreased political

sovereignty for nation states, common patterns of material and cultural consumption, with converging radio technologies have between them been assigned a causal role in achieving interconnectivity and interaction in all four domains” (Ferguson, 1992 : 70).

The notion of Americanisation itself has changed over the course of the twentieth century since, “national distinctions and boundaries have become less monolithic and more permeable” (Barnhurst and Nerone, 2001 : 262). At first it was thought of as a technological progress, in which U.S. inventiveness was exported and, it was assumed, brought democracy in its wake. Following the Second World War, the process became much more direct. The United States began to impose its ways by intervening with military force, applying economic pressure, and exporting a flood of cultural products. Americanisation became “consonant with the growth of global corporate culture” (ibid: 276).

Other points of contention include that with the increasing one-way flow of technology and content, the concern is that native television (and radio) will model the metropolitan styles and norms combined with a borrowing of Western (American) assumptions of consumerism. Hollywood claims the dominant position in worldwide English speaking telefilm distribution and the cultural consequences of these programs in other countries may be quite apart from the motives of American producers/distributors. Television as popular culture delivers immediate pleasure with very little effort required on behalf of the viewer. A common concern of cultural invasion involves the changing of symbolic meanings in society, such as tastes, values, preferences and views about society, human relations and life. Television and movies reflect the value structure of Western society, and in turn changes the value structure of the developing countries that fosters a ‘false consciousness’ (Lee, 1980 : 105).

Cultural Synchronization

There have always been a great variety of cultural systems in the world, but today we are seeing the rapid disappearance of the rich variety of techniques, symbols and social patterns developed under conditions of relative autonomy. According to

Hamelink (1983), the impressive variety of the world's cultural systems is waning due to a process of 'cultural synchronization'. If cultural autonomy is defined as a society's capacity to decide on the allocation of its own resources for adequate adaptation to its environment, then cultural synchronization is a massive threat to that autonomy.

This process suggests that some cultural developments in the metropolis are transmitted in such a manner as to be equally agreeable to the receiving country, and it aims to introduce externally developed social patterns into nation states on the basis, terms and interests of the exporter rather than the recipient. The volume of cultural products becomes essentially a one-way street and creates in effect a synchronic mode. The exporter creates a model that the receiving parties synchronize, "The whole process of local social inventiveness and cultural creativity is thrown into confusion or is definitely destroyed. Unique dimensions in the spectrum of human values, which have evolved over centuries, rapidly disappear" (Hamelink, 1983 : 6).

Modern communications technology is offered to the world with the suggestion that the "expression of cultural diversity is now definitely guaranteed. In reality, all the evidence indicates that centrally controlled technology has become the instrument through which diversity is being destroyed and replaced by a single global culture" (ibid: 4). Global cultural synchronization locates decisions regarding the allocation of resources extraterritorially. Accordingly, Hamelink believes that the indiscriminate adoption of foreign technology can obviously produce profound cultural effects.

Nye suggests that telecommunications are "imposing a new cultural hegemony through the 'soft power' of global news, entertainment and advertising" (Nye 1990, as cited in Tehranian, 1999 : 61). This 'soft power' refers to symbolic forces such as ideological, cultural or moral appeals. The media affect this through an agenda setting function; it focuses more on what to think about rather than what to think. "The mesomedia of communication (print, cinema and broadcasting) are primarily under the control of national governments or commercial and pressure groups and therefore function mostly as agents of national integration and social mobilization" (Tehranian, 1999 : 68). This leads back to arguments about the sovereignty of nation-states. If the nation-state is under pressure from the cultural influences of dominant exporters, then

therefore this pressure must have some residual effect on recipient nations, if the conduits of culture, the communication industries truly have some role as an agent of social mobilization and national integration.

As well as homogenization, there is a parallel process of fragmentation, in which audiences are apparently being split into ever more tightly defined niches. “[It] involves the dispersal of the same amount of audience attention over more and more media sources. Ultimately, nearly all choices could be individualized, spelling the end of the audience as a significant social collectivity” (McQuail, 2000 : 408). These two trends raise an important question: are the media reinforcing cultural differences, or eroding them? The question is usually addressed in relation to notions of cultural imperialism – and specifically the global spread of American culture at the expense of indigenous ones.

This viewpoint is not universally shared. A more complete description of synchronisation must include its critics. Throughout history, cultures have always influenced one another. The result of such confrontations was an enriched – not destroyed – culture. This is clearly relevant to radio, as the medium is very much the global purveyor of American music and American formatting conventions. As has been pointed out, “many forms of culture in the world today are, to varying extents, hybrid cultures in which different values, beliefs and practices have become deeply intertwined” (Thompson, 1995 as cited in Hendy, 2000 : 194).

So this ‘Global Cultural Homogeneity’ implies that the consumption of the same popular material and media products creates a metaculture whose collective identity is based on shared patterns of consumption built on choice, emulation or manipulation. However, “this myth ignores the counter-pull of localism and the rich tradition of variance, and wrongly assumes that cultural identities are contained within political borders or are conferred on a transhistorical world society basis by an ethic of consumption (or exploitation)” (Ferguson, 1992 : 245). Empirically, “there is a more complex syncopation of voices and a more complicated media environment in which western media domination has given way to multiple actors and flows of media products” (Sreberny, 2000 : 96).

Problems

The greatest criticism leveled against the studies of cultural imperialism is that they explain how the volumes of cultural goods are exchanged through the mechanisms of the market, but not why the cultural change in the peripheries. In the actual consumption, what lacks a substantive explanation is the fact that there are instances of rejection and resistance. For the purposes of cultural imperialism, these are omitted because the consumers are conceived as cultural dopes.

Resistant interpretation is the sticking block of many criticisms (McAnany, 1994; Ang, 1985). The simplistic one-way flow ignores the complexities of cultural practices and political struggles in recipient countries. Any backlash against cultural imperialism sees the content of the traditional and national culture as arguably authentic and fixed that should be preserved in its original form.

Despite this theoretical criticism, the representative researchers in the field of cultural imperialism, Schiller (1976; 1991), Hamelink (1983), Mattelart (1979), Mattelart et al, (1984), and others maintain that their research has provided consistent results in the fields of traditional newspaper and broadcast industries, not to mention commercial audio-visual and information industries as well.

The constituent term, ‘culture’ is also complicated. Among the problems thrown up by this complexity is the tendency to focus simply on the distribution of cultural goods. Evidence can easily be found in popular music. But what this case neglects is another crucial aspect of the concept of culture, that is, the complexity of meanings that people attach to cultural goods. So often the case for cultural influence is made “simply on the basis of tracking the sheer flow of cultural goods. This certainly demonstrates some sort of domination – but is it really cultural? Is it perhaps better described as evidence of imperialism in the political economy of cultural exchange? This might have cultural implications but it does not demonstrate cultural influence” (Tomlinson, 2000 : 130). This complication is renegotiated and resolved in the section on hybridisation, where a new understanding of cultural implications and cultural influences is discussed in more depth.

National Identity

Such explanations provided by Gellner (1983) shows that national identity is not fixed in stone, but a constantly changing 'system of representations'. To begin with, Gellner explains that the cultural imperialism argument's claim that a nation's culture can fall so easily at the whim of a dominating culture is located within a very simple theory on how a nation's culture forms. It is difficult to apportion cause and effect in such a way as to explain A equals B. Of course, it does not mean that a dominating culture will have no effect, but it does mean that by itself it cannot be blamed as the main issue surrounding changes in national identity. Gellner and Anderson (1983) suggest that the formation and destruction of the cultural identity is not only a special synchronization but must also be considered with the formation of the history at the same time as well.

Following from this, Tomlinson (2000: 136) argues that "when the proposition that a culture destroys another's identity and its continuity in the context of the cultural imperialism perspective is seen through a model of an imagined community, then an imagined community is interpreted as threatening another imagined community". Tomlinson continues that cultural imperialism, rather than threatening each society's cultural continuity, threatens our general imagination with respect to the past. The spatial and temporal model of "our present and their present" assumed by the cultural imperialism theory is said to overlook the historically repeated interaction with the other.

To summarize, the debate on the identity of nations can allow us to bypass the study of cultural imperialism as just a way to preserve national identity from the pressures of Western consumer culture. What also must be remembered is that nation states do have the ability to constrain the pressure from supranational and global capital organizations if the political desire is there. This may be an option, but it is rarely exercised in the centre of the periphery as stakeholders have more political desire to be part of a free trade economy. Globalization has meant that commodification and capitalistic profit making is seen as the answer to sustained development at the expense of autonomy and protection of cultures.

Negations of Cultural Imperialism

The U.S. Department of Commerce has suggested that the future media market may be decreasing. This does have some important implications for the advocates of imperialism. According to Lee (1980), the expansionary era of the 1960's is past. This, combined with the "mounting waves of nationalism and cultural protectionism have prevented media exports from making much headway as they used to [and] other emerging production subcenters in the Third World have presented some competition for Americans" (Lee, 1980 : 75). This new period of self-sufficiency of programme production and supply in the Third World is due in part to government action, encouragement or demand. The imbalance of one-way traffic to the peripheries is only problematic if you look at it in a certain way. The cash value of exports is only one way to measure the volume going to the Third World and that is by no means indicative of an unarguable measure of imperialism.

With the rise of nationalism in some underdeveloped nations, American business has in places sharply reduced or is phasing out their overseas investments. They found out in Latin America how thin the profit prospect was. The experience of foreign ownership was a "dream-turned-nightmare" (Read, 1976 as cited in Lee, 1980 : 88). With too little advertising revenue available to run stations 24 hours and a poor social demographic watching, the small investors could only survive with a heavy dose of cheap Hollywood films. Better success was found in countries that had a wealthier social demographic and that were familiar with 'Americana' through a gradual introduction of music before the advent of television. Lee (1980) suggests that the success of television was due to traditional cultures already being on the decline as a result of the on-going dynamic nature of the social change process, with radio being at the forefront. It is difficult to distinguish the origin of indigenous popular culture from the culture imported from overseas, or in fact to distinguish what is a hybrid of them both. A problem with traditional culture is that it may have "a limited repertoire built on a small number of classical themes, hardly adequate to cope with the voracious demands of television" (Lee, 1980 : 103). This difficulty is better understood through the prism of hybridisation that will be discussed later.

One of the major discourses of imperialism concerns the dumping of cheap programmes on the Third World and the market dominance of the Western news agencies. However this simply assumes that imported cultural goods have a self-evident cultural effect. This creates problems about the overwhelming importance of the media and ignores the active audience theory. People may watch a lot of television, read a lot of newspapers and listen to radio, but they do many other activities as well. The exaggeration of the broad social significance of the media “overemphasizes their effect and creates a narrow view of a culture” (Tomlinson, 1991 : 23). Another important criticism of cultural imperialism is that it equates consumerism and consumer behaviour with the complexity of culture. This ignores the complex nature of how cultures are formed. Global Cultural Homogeneity presumes a global cultural economy that completely ignores local, regional or national influences. It implies that “consumption of the same cultural products (from TV and fast food to cars and architecture) assumes or even creates a ‘metaculture’ based solely on consumption” (Ferguson, 1992, as cited in Sims, 2003).

Summary

The cultural imperialism perspective has many merits, not the least of which is how it has critically examined the dominant global market position of media conglomerates. However, it has paid “insufficient attention to what happens to globalised media audiences in their day to day lives. The hermeneutic dimension of globally circulated texts has been ignored” (Devereux, 2003 : 42).

The cultural imperialism theory therefore must be debated in a different fashion to take into account the resistance against foreign consumer culture. Centrally, it should discover the possibility of resistance against the consumption mass culture, and discover why some elements refuse to be integrated into the individual cultures.

Cultural flows are transforming the politics of national identity and the politics of identity more generally (Held and McGrew, 1999). Since 1945, the intensity, speed and sheer volume of cultural communication being shared around the globe has been without comparison. The global spread of radio, television, the Internet, satellite and

digital technologies has made instantaneous communication possible, and this has meant national attempts to strengthen borders from unwanted information have become problematic. This also meant that national populations have been exposed to diverse cultures from around the globe.

The majority of these cultural products come from the USA and other Anglo-American nations. Despite this, the evidence needed to support the thesis of 'cultural imperialism' is problematic. Distinct cultures on a national and local level are still functioning, national institutions have not been completely taken over by overseas interests for the most part, and foreign cultural products are constantly being reinterpreted in new and unexpected ways by populations.

Instead of the dominance of the West over periphery countries, perhaps a better model to understand the dynamic interplay between indigenous cultures and foreign cultural values would be a model that allows for the complex borrowing of useful parts and non-adoption of less meaningful factors. Much like our English language, it is a mixture of influences, a melting pot of cultures that combine to form a dynamic and ever changing landscape in our cultural domain. What mechanisms deciding on how this interplay becomes part of the cultural milieu is a complex mix of social, economic and political factors, all working interdependently to construct a new way of understanding our cultural setting. A contemporary way to understand the forces at play in cultures is through the concept of hybridisation.

Hybridisation

The literature on relations between the global and the local presents a myriad of cases. The lessons from these may be condensed into two competing approaches: one gives more weight to globalization, which it regards as fostering cultural uniformity (or homogeneity); the other gives more weight to localization, which it regards as preserving cultural plurality, or cultural 'differences' (or heterogeneity). The former generally predicts the Americanization of the various cultures; the latter predicts the resilience of local cultures and a variety of fusions between the global and the local.

Both approaches have earned several badges: the former is known also as cultural imperialism and McDonaldization, Americanisation as well as saturation (see Tomlinson, 1991; Ritzer, 1995; Hannertz, 2000). The latter is known also as creolization, hybridization and indigenization, as well as maturation (see Hannertz, 2000; Bhabha, 1994). For the sake of simplicity “we shall call the former the ‘one-way’ approach, i.e. seeing the effect as emanating from the global to the local; and the latter, as the ‘two-way’ approach, i.e. seeing the effect as an interchange between the global and the local. The question of which is the more valid can and should be answered by investigation through empirical evidence” (Ram, 2004 : 20).

To recap, the variously motivated versions of the one-way approach to global–local relations hold that the proliferation and penetration of the global into the local(s) generate cultural homogenization and the erosion of the local, distinctive ‘difference’. Contrary to this one-way approach is an alternative view that considers globalization as “only a single vector in two-way traffic, the other vector being localization. The latter suspends, refines, or diffuses the intakes from the former, so that traditional and local cultures do not dissolve; they rather ingest global flows and reshape them in the digestion” (ibid: 21).

Instead of globalization being the key suspect in the destruction of distinct cultural identities, Tomlinson (2003) suggests that, “globalization, far from destroying it, has been perhaps the most significant force in creating and proliferating cultural identity” (Tomlinson, 2003 : 270).

National identity comes about through cultural construction and maintenance. This is due in part to the influence of the law, the education system and the media. The “deterritorializing force of globalisation thus meets a structured opposition in the form of what Michael Billig (1995) has called ‘banal nationalism’ – the everyday minute reinforcement; the continuous routinized ‘flagging’ of national belonging, particularly through media discourse – sponsored by developed nation-states” (Billig 1995, as cited in Tomlinson, 2003 : 271). Nation-states are of course somewhat compromised by globalisation in their ability to maintain a unique culture, but what Tomlinson suggests is that they attest to an amplification of the significance of identity positions in general produced by globalisation.

One broad approach to this process is in terms of the ‘deterritorializing’ character of the globalisation process – its property of “diminishing the significance of social geographical location to the mundane flow of cultural experience (Garcia-Canclini 1995; Tomlinson 1999). This idea means that globalisation does not destroy a local culture by making it blandly homogenous, instead that cultural experience is in various ways ‘lifted out’ of its traditional ‘anchoring’ in particular localities” (Tomlinson, 2003 : 273). The idea of deterritorialization, then, grasps the way in which events outside of our immediate localities – in Anthony Giddens’s definition of globalisation, ‘action(s) at a distance’ – are increasingly consequential for our experience. Modern culture is less determined by location because location is increasingly penetrated by ‘distance’.

All nation-states are now involved with the governance of their people, but their identities have become numerous and complex. This does not mean that the population is any less involved with the identity of the nation; instead it reveals that identity is becoming fluid within the bounds of globalisation. Political subjects can now “experience and express both attachments to the nation, multi-ethnic allegiances and cosmopolitan sensibilities” (Tomlinson, 2003 : 276). The most discussed aspect of this sort of shift – particularly within cultural studies is the emergence of ‘hybrid’ cultural identities.

Our identity is now being shaped by globalization and this has an impact on the world and our lives. For Castells (1997), the primary opposition to the power of globalization lies in ‘the widespread surge of powerful expressions of collective identity that challenge globalization...on behalf of cultural singularity and people’s control over their lives and environment’ (1997 : 2). Identity is not as fragile as some believe, instead it is seen here as the rising power of local culture that offers resistance to global capitalism.

Definition

Globalization has been explained in different ways. Some have suggested its form has come from the expansion of the capitalistic system and not as the process of the

growth of cultural imperialism, and others have tried to offer suggestions of the inevitable homogenization of the global culture, a precursor to the creation of the hybrid culture. So to understand what hybrid culture actually is, a definition of what hybrid actually is would be a good starting point. One definition of hybrid is an animal that results from the mating of parents from two distinct species or subspecies or something made up of a mixture of different elements (Encarta, 1999b). In Globalisation theory, this concept relates to an on-going blending of cultures, a mixing and reorganizing of elements to create something new.

The positive feature of hybridity is that it invariably understands that identity is a mixture of differences and that it cannot be deemed a failure simply through the presence of contradictions and gaps. In its most radical form, the concept also stresses that,

Identity is not the combination, accumulation, fusion or synthesis of various components, but an energy field of different forces. Hybridity is not confined to a cataloguing of difference. Its 'unity' is not found in the sum of its parts, but emerges from the process of opening what Homi Bhabba has called a third space within which other elements encounter and transform each other (Bhabba, 1994 as cited in Papastergiadis, 1997 : 258).

Around the developed world, there are many examples of cultures being understood as a mixing of 'authentic' cultures. Hybridity and authenticity are not diametrically opposed but are natural extensions of each other. The process of hybridity helps create innovative forms of authentic culture, and it must be understood as an inherent part of the coming together of social and cultural dynamics.

Authenticity

On the subject of authenticity, in a hybrid culture authenticity and boundaries are negotiated in an on-going way, rather than being fixed by tradition. Authenticity in New Zealand is actually being made up as the country progresses through time. This is exceedingly handy to the situation where practitioners are all over the world, so the

boundaries of the culture extend far beyond their shores. It is a mistake to consider New Zealand as a few islands north of Antarctica. The boundary is amorphous with a broad swathe out to Australia and Polynesia or at least the South Pacific, with reach to the US and Europe, and a very dominant link to the United Kingdom. Locating identity on a personal level within this extended boundary is a negotiation, but it is far easier to locate a sense of self within the amorphousness, than trying to find it within the North and South Island. This imagined community links in to the hegemony of the nation-state, which is in turn, influenced by political actors based in dominant countries of the West.

There are obvious difficulties of dealing at once with the concept of a nation-state or of New Zealand culture. There are issues of individual practices as part of the ongoing social paradigms of New Zealand, such as the increasing variety of cultures that are now a part of New Zealand, and the remaining factor of how so many citizens are spending long periods of time or are emigrating overseas. The discussion becomes an encounter, rather than a reflection of the local, or of the particular nation-state. Citizens encounter each other, and each other's habits, obsessions, tastes and politics.

Critique

The process of hybridisation has focussed on the production, transformation and performance of identities. These processes of hybridisation have “urged the use of lenses informed by hybridisation and creolization as frameworks for exploring identities” (Dougan, 2004 : 33). Despite warranting further investigation as a useful tool in the examination of identity, it has been criticized as “cultural bastardisation that was inauthentic and thus uninteresting for anthropological study” (Stewart, 1999 : 41).

Musically, although hybridisation attempts to transport an ‘authentic’ Kiwi sound from the backward state to the centres of musical production, the result becomes the target of concern precisely because of the adoption of Anglo/American ways. The multi-ethnic New Zealand society may unite to mobilize against dominant foreign cultural values. The formation of such agencies as New Zealand on Air has in some

part tried to encourage the local to find a space in a global marketplace, although what is locally produced may be far from an arguably authentic local product.

The diversity of cultural products may increase within particular local and national cultures at the cost of difference between national cultures. Cross-cultural contact can destroy a certain ethos. Ethos refers quite broadly to that special feel or flavour of a culture, a worldview, shared ideas, tradition, a cultural matrix of network of relations. Globalisation encourages the proliferation of new diversity but also the “destruction of some ethoses. Cowen (2002) suggests that cultural decline is possible, and that in order for some cultural forms and practices to survive they may need to develop in relative isolation if they are not to be degraded and/or disappear” (as cited in Zuberi, 2005 : 110).

Discourses

The discourse on hybridisation is grounded in a number of bases. Firstly, “cultural mixing and miscegenation have characterized human history since the fourteenth century onwards” (Goldberg, 2002, as cited in Dougan, 2004 : 34). The history of human mixture goes much further into human history with extensive intermingling between cultures once thought of as static. Asserting that identities are hybrid then becomes a matter of coming to terms with a defining attribute of the impure human condition.

Secondly, Clifford (1994) suggests, “given the complex, impure and unstable nature of identities, the frameworks, methodologies and theories inspired by essentialist notions of stability, purity and boundedness are likely to be misleading” (Clifford, 1994 : 303).

Hybridisation then, runs in contrast to themes of essentialism, the major character in the exploration of identities by stabilizing inherently unstable identities and simplifying the inherently tangled nature of lived experience. The key function is to provide a permanent, clear and thick boundary for societal differentiation. Essentialist conceptions of identities are at their very core based on the positing of certain

elements that define identities as different from others. These essential markers are conceived of as pure and authentic. The discourse on hybridisation has shifted from this emphasis on purity and to the conception of identities as “irreducibly impure, mixtures of multiple elements” (Dougan, 2004 : 34).

Discourses on hybridisation represent a speaking back at essentialist conceptions of identity and difference. There is a shift from the view of cultures as static and stable to a more modern conception that portrays cultures as open-ended processes that are always in flux. This stands in contrast to “the fantasy of frozen culture, of arrested cultural development” (Gilroy, 2000 as cited in Dougan, 2004 : 34). Culture becomes a constant process, defined not by any end that it has achieved or is going to achieve, but by the process itself. Goldberg (2002) suggests “conceptions of identity then shift from a view of identity as that which is, to a view that sees identity as that which is becoming” (Goldberg, 2002, as cited in Dougan, 2004 : 34).

A third shift in discourses on hybridisation has been that from an essentialist emphasis on self/other differentiations to a focus on what Gilroy has described as our “crushingly obvious, almost banal human sameness” (Gilroy, 2001 as cited in Dougan, 2004 : 34). This shift has been cast as one from a simple understanding of pluralism to a new kind of universalism.

Appadurai (1996) asserts that it is impossible to think of the processes of cultural globalization in terms of mechanical flow from center to periphery. Their complexity and disjunctures allow for a chaotic contest between the global and the local that is never resolved. To his mind,

The central feature of global culture today is the politics of the mutual effort of sameness and difference to cannibalize one another and thus to proclaim their successful hijacking of the twin Enlightenment ideas of the triumphantly universal and the resiliently particular ... both sides of the coin of global cultural processes today are products of the infinitely varied mutual contest of sameness and difference on a stage characterized by radical disjunctures between different sorts of global flows and the uncertain landscape created in and through these disjunctures (Appadurai, 1990 : 308).

Cultural development takes its cues less from “logic’s idiom of identity, difference, syllogism, cause and substance and more from rhetoric’s language of metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and oxymoron” (Lash, 2002 : 31).

Hannertz (2000) estimates that in the course of time, the process of absorption of the global by the local, with the local domesticating the global – what he calls ‘maturation’ – would “override what looks at first glance like ‘saturation’ of the local culture by the global” (Hannertz, 2000, as cited in Ram, 2004 : 22).

Hall (1991) suggests that while adhering to the two-way view and insisting upon reciprocity and locality, he does not lose sight of the overwhelming power of the “global post-modern which is trying to live with, and at the same moment, overcome, sublimate, get hold of, and incorporate difference” (Hall, 1991 : 33), and he is fully cognizant of the (still) inferior potency of local resistance, even though he sticks to the belief that the “old dialectics [of domination and resistance] is not at an end. Globalisation does not finish it off” (ibid: 39).

The two-way approach to the global–local encounter is usually portrayed as critical and supported by radical social scientists, because it ‘empowers’ the sustainability of local cultures and fosters local identities. According to Huntington in his *Clash of Civilizations* thesis (Huntington, 1993) the post-Cold War world is characterized by a lack of ideological conflicts, on the one hand, but a rise of cultural conflicts, on the other. The fault lines between groups are identity boundaries over which struggles are waged. Huntington assumes the existence of relatively fixed historical ‘civilizations’, thereby rejecting the post-modern conception of fluid identities. Nevertheless, he shares its position as to the significance of cultural identity as the most important structural characteristic of any given society. Furthermore, despite the apparent contrast with the two-way approach, he endorses one of its basic assumptions – the fundamental distinction between, on the one hand, the economic and technological influences of globalisation and, on the other, the western historical values that define its distinctive cultural identity. Different societies can, therefore, adopt certain components of the global effect and reject others.

Music Markers

The critical mass of acknowledged mixed musical cultural products heightens the credibility of an ideal according to which individuals decide how tightly or loosely they wish to affiliate to the hybrid forms. It is crucial that for anti-foreign sentiments to exist regarding the pollution of foreign values into an indigenous culture, distinctive markers (Dougan, 2004) must exist which facilitates the distinction between the self and the other. Hybridisation often “unsettles the security and familiarity provided by thick markers. These are the boundaries that are stable, permanent and inviolable. It is an open-ended process that with its mixture can unsettle the secure, blur the clear and render unfamiliar and chaotic the familiar and stable boundaries that regulate social interactions” (Levi 1989, as cited in Dougan, 2004 : 35). By blurring these markers through its instability and mixture, hybridisation presumably makes the identification of the other difficult, if not impossible. This increasing difficulty of identifying the other should then produce greater attention to musical sameness.

The blurring of markers by increasing hybridisation can provoke more action to re-establish markers. Alternatively, the blurring of one marker always leaves open the possibility of migration to other markers.

An alternative view of hybridisation results not in the unsettling and destruction of essentialist categorizations, but in the “essentialist projects in which processes of hybridisation are first congealed into categories of hybrids and then located within existing essentialist grids of identification” (Dougan, 2004 : 35).

According to Pickering and Shuker (1993),

Popular culture in any localized sense is today a hybridisation of symbolic forms and practices... [It] is vital that the conditions for such interaction are maintained in any particular region or country of the world. There is no point arguing for these conditions on the basis of static-indigenous conceptions of locally produced popular music. Locally produced music has rarely had the fixity of association with specific contexts, which have been key features identified with that paradigm in the past...any contemporary sense of the local-

popular cannot...be confined to a specific locality. It may for instance be annexed by certain geographically dispersed communities of interest as by any more traditionally defined communities of place (as cited in Hendy, 2000 : 224).

Hybridity and hybridisation remain worthwhile concepts only insofar as we continue to be tied to borders and boundaries. The meaning of hybridity, like culture, is unstable and open-ended. Mixing, integration and cross-border encounters of various kinds are historically specific and may thus have their own particular patterns. This assumes hybridisation as “unremarkable and ordinary, yet crucial to our understandings of the world. Neither inherently progressive nor regressive, hybridity can be mobilized for a broad range of political, economic and cultural agendas. Like culture, it is an expedient concept but has conceptual value” (Zuberi, 2005 : 109).

Iwabuchi hyphenates ‘trans/nationalism’ to draw attention to the fact that the “national is reconfigured rather than repudiated by global flows. The cross-cultural traffic of commodified images, sounds and practices and the resultant translocal cultures can function in alliance with nationalisms” (Iwabuchi 2002, as cited in Zuberi, 2005 : 112).

Intensification of local identity

The concepts of globalisation and hybridisation are fluid and can work in harmony with local cultures. Local cultures, far from being eliminated as imperialism theorists’ dire predictions would suggest, may actually find a new niche in the new cultural milieu. Silverstone (1999) reminds us that globalisation is a dynamic process stressing that “cultures form and reform around the different stimuli that global communications enable. In everyday life, the topic may be global, but it becomes a resource for the expression of local particular interests and identities” (Silverstone, 1999, as cited in Devereux, 2003 : 42).

Devereux (2003) also argues that there is some evidence to suggest that, in the face of media globalisation and the threat of cultural homogenisation, other forms of local identities actually intensify. Every type of human society is characterized by the

necessity to adapt to its environment. For this adaptation human beings develop a series of direct and indirect relations with their environment. The indirect relations constitute the cultural system of a society. The members of the society who face directly the problems of survival and adaptation can best decide on the adequacy of the cultural system. They are in the best position to “strike a balance between a society’s environment and its material and immaterial resources. Critical for a society’s chances of survival are the internal capacity and external freedom to develop its cultural system autonomously. Cultural autonomy is fundamental to the independent and full development of every society” (Hamelink, 1983 : 1). This pure discourse may be critical for Hamelink, but it ignores the socio-political factors of influence and interference by more powerful western countries.

Not dominated by one culture

According to Tomlinson (1999), cultural globalisation does not seem to usher in a single global culture in the sense of the unification and pacification of humankind dreamed of by utopian thinkers. The structural unity of certain common global influences, processes, opportunities and risks such as the interconnectedness of the global capitalist production system and of the environment does not of itself imply the emergence of a common ‘global culture’ in the utopian sense. Beck suggests that to assume that mutual threats would bind the world together involves “jumping too casually from the global nature of dangers to the commonality of political will and action” (Beck, 1992, as cited in Tomlinson, 1999 : 166).

There are all sorts of factors inhibiting such a commonality: not at least of which is the unevenness of the globalisation process itself. Benefits and risks are unevenly distributed and differentially experienced, both geographically and across social divisions of class, gender and age.

The first objection to the idea of Westernisation, or Americanisation is that it is too broad a generalisation. Some cultural goods have a broader appeal than others; some values and attitudes are easily adopted while others are actively resisted. All this varies between different societies and between different groupings and divisions

within societies. It glosses over a multitude of complexities, exceptional cases and contradictions.

A second objection concerns the way in which Westernisation suggests a rather crude model of the one-way flow of cultural influence. This criticism has rightly been one of the most consistently made of the whole cultural imperialism idea. Culture, it is argued, “simply does not transfer in this linear unidirectional way. Movement between cultural/geographical areas always involves translation, mutation and adaptation as the receiving culture brings its own cultural resources to bear, in dialectical fashion” (Tomlinson, 1999 : 169).

Finally, the Westernisation thesis severely underestimates the cultural resilience and dynamism of non-Western cultures, their capacity to “‘indigenise’ Western cultural imports, imbue them with different cultural meanings, and appropriate them actively rather than be passively swamped” (ibid: 169). That being said, it must be remembered that global cultural development is still dominated by Western cultural institutions. Countries are more likely to be hybridising with the West than any other nation-state.

Clifford (1991) suggests that culture is less like a tent in a village or a controlled laboratory or a site of initiation and inhabitation, and more like a hotel lobby, urban café, ship or bus and in doing so moves away from the idea of culture as fixed “as a rooted body that grows, lives, dies and so on and see instead spaces of ‘constructed and disputed historicities, sites of displacement, interference and interaction” (Clifford, 1991 : 101).

Suddenly, a simple singular notion of place, nation and identity is no longer sufficient and can be supplemented with the idea of hybridity, creolisation or mixing. “Across a whole range of cultural forms [or cultural landscapes] there is a powerfully syncretic dynamic which critically appropriates elements from the master-codes of the dominant culture and creolizes them, disarticulating given signs and rearticulating their symbolic meaning otherwise” (Mercer, 1994, as cited in Campbell et al., 2005 : 139).

Hence, the Americanising presence is not necessarily an imposition on passive recipients, but can rather be used or appropriated in a variety of creative, hybrid forms or experiences that may indeed subvert, transform or translate any original. These cultural landscapes are best seen as complex, hybrid zones as defined by Pratt,

Where disparate cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination – like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths, and through these on-going relations emerges a co-presence of subjects previously separated by geographic and historical disjunctures [UK/USA]...whose trajectories now intersect with the possibility of productive dialogical, hybridised encounters (Pratt, 1995, as cited in Campbell et al., 2005 : 139).

The movement towards a global media culture with a greatly increased capacity to transmit sounds at low cost across frontiers and around the world overcomes the limits of time and space. With the rise of global media businesses comes the increased transcultural communication potential of music.

This complex nature is demonstrated in the musical form of hip-hop. While engaging with American-led global trends in hip-hop, communities have adapted African American hip-hop for their own purposes. As such, although individual hip hop scenes form part of a transnational hip-hop community, each scene has its own identity, addresses nationally specific issues and employs its own culturally and linguistically specific markers.

Using American ideas and music is a way of plugging into a globalised youth culture. This could substantiate fears that the import or imitation of United States-originated popular culture threatens to override local forms of expression, and that an over reliance on United States derived forms may encourage importing communities to undervalue their own cultures. This threat of extinguishing local identities is one that purists tie directly to the importation of foreign, in this instance American, cultural products. What it does not take into account is the active role of producers and consumers in their identification with foreign culture. This on-going process of

creating your own cultural identity by merging and morphing with overseas influences points to a mixture and blend of hybridity.

McLuhan's adage is that characteristic of all media, the content of any medium is always another medium, "The content of writing is speech, just as the written word is the content of print, and print is the content of the telegraph" (McLuhan, 1964 : 8). The constant in the evolution of media is hybridisation, where the media tend to contaminate and imitate each other.

Sreberny (2000) suggests that "cultural boundaries are not etched in stone but have slippery divisions dependent on the self-adopted labels of groups...many kinds of cultural texts circulate internationally and people adopt them playfully and readily integrate them in creative ways into their own lives, and that cultural bricolage is the prevailing experience as we enter the twenty-first century" (Sreberny, 2000 : 114).

She continues to add that, "in the twin processes of globalization versus localization, media play a central role and reveal the tensions between the macro and the micro levels of socio-economic structures, cultures, and development" (ibid: 115). The fusion of cultures and value systems and ethnic intermingling has created a hybrid system that is universal in every aspect.

In routine, day to day output, the issues of national identity and culture posed problems which, on one hand, arose from divisions within the supposed unity of British life and culture and, on the other, from the impact of foreign cultures and their perceived threat to traditional national values. 'The Americanisation of British culture was widely debated outside the BBC, with particular reference to variety programmes and dance music' (ibid: 289).

The BBC may have made inroads into protecting what it saw as its own vibrant and worthy culture, but its 'anti-Americanism' was not shared by other radio stations broadcasting in and into the United Kingdom who saw the commercial advantages in following the lead of their trans-Atlantic cousins. It was also not shared by the British public who grew an appetite for American cultural products.

Glocal

The global–local encounter has spawned a complex polemic between ‘homogenizers’ and ‘heterogenizers’. It could be argued that while both homogenization and heterogenization are dimensions of globalization, Ram (2004) suggests they take place at different societal levels: homogenization occurs at the structural-institutional level and heterogenization at the expressive-symbolic. The structural-symbolic model facilitates a realistic assessment of global–local relations. In this view, “while global technological, organizational and commercial flows need not destroy local habits and customs, but, indeed, may preserve or even revive them, the global does tend to subsume and appropriate the local, or to consume it, so to say, sometimes to the extent that the seemingly local, symbolically, becomes a specimen of the global, structurally” (Ram, 2004 : 11).

It may be concluded that the interrelations of local media and foreign multinational corporations are not simply a contrast between local decline and global rise. Rather, they are a complex mix, though certainly under the banner of the global. Indeed, the global contributes somewhat to the revival of the local. In the process, however, the global also transforms the nature and meaning of the local. The local, in turn, causes a slight modification in the global, while leaving its basic institutional patterns and organizational practices intact. The ‘modern media’ is a component of both “a mass-standardized consumer market, on the one hand, and a post-modern consumer market niche, on the other. This sort of relationship in which the global does not eliminate the local symbolically but rather restructures or appropriates it structurally, is typical of the global–local interrelations epitomized by [the media] today” (ibid: 15).

The definition of the local raises another issue. “There is a tendency in the scholarly literature to see localities in a Heideggerian way: as something unspoilt and pure, where experience is non-mediated, based on personal communication, and democratic” (Rantanen, 2005 : 120). However, localities can also be seen as ever changing environments that are open to external influences. In developed modernity, “there is no natural community of neighbours, family or nation; there are only myths of naturalness” (Beck, 2000, as cited in Rantanen, 2005 : 120). Media globalisation resulting from the activities of media conglomerates using new technologies has

radically transformed the media landscape, but it is not one one-way process. While media audiences now exist in an unalterably changed media environment, they continue to possess considerable agency. They possess the power to appropriate, localize and hybridise globally distributed media messages. Localities have become 'glocalized', a mix of the global and the local. How this manifests itself in regard to the New Zealand example will be investigated further to see whether this in fact bears itself out.

Nationhood

Media is about connecting strangers to one another, whether or not they have expressed their willingness. In this sense, when the 'neighbourhood' is the world, refusing to hear or see the neighbours is not an option. Individuals are invited to form attachments to nation-states, but these nation-states are constantly changing their boundaries and thus redefining themselves.

Before the introduction of electronics, media and communications could be restricted within one country, although there were always leaks. These leaks started working against nationalism, which relied on "the holy trinity of territory, people and culture. Nationalism has never been able to execute fully its key idea of the union between the three, but instead had always violated the rights of the people who are in the minority in any given country. However, in trying to invite people to share the idea of nationhood, it uses homogeneity as an incentive" (Rantanen, 2005 : 157).

It is important to note that media and communications have both contributed to nation building and globalisation and continue to do so. But because national spaces have become much more open, it is difficult to keep any space purely national. In the realm of popular culture, it is no longer possible to distinguish between the 'local' and the 'external'. "Attempting to defend traditional cultural forms against "cheap commercialism" while simultaneously encouraging "market forces" as the only logical arbiter of human affairs is a losing game" (Fantasia, 1995 : 233). This is where the concept of hybridity establishes a foothold as a method to understand and explain the dynamic forces at play between the global and the local.

The entire concept of hybridity is not without its detractors. There are many critics who reveal its shortcomings as a theoretical construction that attempts to explain the complexities of global/ local relations. A strategic rhetoric of hybridity frames hybridity as “natural, commonplace, and desirable in intercultural relations, and therefore non-contentious. It is one aspect of globalisation that represents the whole as egalitarian exchange and positive change. In this respect hybridity is a metonym for globalisation” (Kraidy, 2005 : vii).

Kraidy goes on to suggest that hybridity is of dubious usefulness if employed as a broad conceptual umbrella without concrete historical, geographical, and conceptual grounding (ibid: x).

The issue of the concept being non-contentious is potentially its biggest sticking point to date. The boundaries between ‘domestic’ and ‘foreign’ cultural influences are not always clearly demarcated.

Hybrid media texts reflect the existence of a variety of historical, economic and cultural forces whose enmeshments with one another are as manifest at the local, national, and regional levels as they are visible globally. A singular focus on the media is insufficient to comprehend these complex relations. Rather, we need to situate the media in their societal environment and disentangle various links, processes and effects between communication practices and social, political and economic forces (ibid: 6).

What can almost certainly be agreed upon is that many cultures are involved in one another, “none is single and pure, all are hybrid, heterogenous, extraordinarily differentiated and unmonolithic” (Said, 1994 : xxv). However, the assertion that we are all hybrids avoids the issue of addressing highly political issues such as dependency and imperialism. It is this reluctance to place hybridity into a broader context that leaves it open for criticism. The ‘anti hybridity backlash’ (Nederveen-Pieterse, 2001 : 221) sees hybridity at best as “academic nonsense, at worst as a pernicious affirmation of hegemonic power” (Kraidy, 2005 : 66).

What must be researched is how hybridity manifests itself in the context of New Zealand commercial music radio, and whether the concept of hybridity is based on solid theories of creolization, or whether it just “mystifies globalization’s material effects” (ibid: 148).

Summary

The theories of globalization engage with wide-ranging schools of thought regarding the distribution that follows from production, information and capital flows and the very existence of the human race. It attempts to explain the transfer of national capitalism for a transnational one. It also tries to rationalize the lessening of impact of the nation state.

Globalisation has negatively impacted the world’s diverse cultures, it has affected stable localities, relocated parts of the population, brought the homogenisation of cultures lessening the difference between unique elements of a culture that had at some point helped to define a nation’s difference. This process has brought about a decrease in diversity, although it affected some parts more than others. The mainstream cultures from the West and especially from the States exported a standard version of their culture around the planet; it is the weaker identities in the Third world that have been threatened the most. The assumption from this is that the economic vulnerability of these threatened cultures is assumed to be followed by a cultural one.

For certain, globalization is right at the centre of debate around the social changes and economic issues confronting non-western countries. Globalization is part of the change from state to private accumulation. Major Trans-national Corporations have insisted that finance and industry must be reorganized if the periphery wants to be part of this New World Order. Despite this, national economic formations have not fallen and the threat of homogenization has not meant a transfer into a specific neo-liberal state model.

In a world in which our mundane ‘local’ experiences are increasingly governed by events and processes at a distance, it may become difficult to maintain a distinctive

sense of culture as ‘the way we do things’ in the West; to understand these practices as having any particular connection with our specific histories and traditions. Globalised culture becomes de-centred and placeless to which people relate effortlessly, but without much sense of personal involvement or of local cultural control.

Globalised culture is simply the enforced global extension of Western Culture. This can be understood in four ways. First,

The process is seen as homogenising; bringing standardised, commodified culture in its wake and threatening to obliterate the world’s rich cultural diversity. Second, it infects with the cultural ills of the West, with its obsession with consumption practices and the fragmentation of cultural identity. Third, both of these tendencies are seen as particular threats to what are regarded as the fragile and vulnerable ‘traditional’ cultures of periphery nations, and finally, the process is viewed as part and parcel of wider forms of domination, such as those involved in the ever-widening grip of transnational capitalism and those involved in the maintenance of post-colonial relations of (economic and cultural) dependency. This belongs to the familiar critique of Western ‘cultural imperialism’ (Sims, 2003).

However, the cultural imperialism argument provides an answer that is not totally complete. To use the argument in defence of the stand that ‘we are protecting the native cultures’ implies that the culture is not strong enough to survive on its own, and there are plenty of examples in history that negate that, “Despite many years of Soviet domination (on all levels of society, not just culturally), native cultures and old identities have survived as the geopolitical changes now taking place certainly prove” (ibid). The actual process of the formation of a nation’s culture is far more complex than the answers the cultural imperialism argument provides and it offers an almost omnipotent view of the power of the media that is difficult to prove.

So the question still remains unanswered, does globalization lead to universal cultural uniformity, or does it leave room for particularism and cultural diversity? An alternative way at looking at the dynamic between the global and the local comes

through the prism of hybridization. Few, if any, cultures have developed as completely isolated phenomena; part of adaptive cultural growth is selective borrowing and exchange. “There is ample scope of catering to ‘hybrid’ tastes and for cashing in on the interplay between global and local cultures” (Thomas, 1999 : 287).

A positive view of globalisation would hold that the process brings with it the possibility of creating a truly global society. A more critical perspective would argue that globalisation is just Western capitalist imperialism under another guise. However, both perspectives would be in agreement about the crucial role played in the globalisation process by the mass media.

The evidence of this new interplay of local/global is seen in the New Zealand radio industry. The practice of international communication continues to engage with “utopian political and economic projects, but the available technologies have further transformed geographies – as witnessed in globalisation effects. New geographies are peopled with diasporic communities, having hybrid identities and consuming cultural wares, of transnational origin, that are marketed by multinational corporations” (Chitty, 2005 : 556).

In summary, to return to the question of homogenisation vs. heterogenization in global–local relationships, Ram (2004) suggests the following resolution:

- (1) Both perspectives are valid;
- (2) yet they apply to discrete societal levels; and
- (3) the one-way approach is restricted to one level of social reality, the structural-institutional level, i.e. patterns and practices which are inscribed into institutions and organizations; the two-way approach is restricted to the symbolic-expressive level of social reality, i.e. the level of explicit symbolization. Finally,
- (4) we suggest a global–local structural-symbolic model, in which the one-way structural homogenisation process and the two-way symbolic heterogenization process are combined (Ram, 2004 : 23).

Despite this, what must be remembered is that there is real inequality in a culture’s production and distribution. The issue is that borrowing does not come from a range of countries, but only from a few. However, the actual negotiation with foreign cultures means that a normal process of selective adoption and adaptation will take

place in the on-going fluid creation of a country's culture. The important question of how hybridisation manifests itself in New Zealand media will guide this study.

Broadcasting has an important role to play in the formation of national identity. A critical governmental department tasked with promoting identity in the face of massive overseas cultural content is New Zealand On Air. Their stated goal of getting more local music on the airwaves has created debates surrounding definitions of what exactly is New Zealand music, and how it fits in with the ideology of local culture. There has been much criticism regarding how the commercial imperative has affected the creation of local music, and whether what is produced for consumption on local radio adds to a diverse music landscape. Chapter Four addresses some of these concerns and looks at the debates surrounding the creation, funding and promotion of locally made music for commercial airplay.

Chapter Four: *An Insight into the Broadcasting Identity Nexus in New Zealand*

Literature Review

Media scholars, including Denis McQuail posit that relatively little attention has been given to music as a mass medium in theory and research, perhaps because the implications for society have never been clear (2000 : 26). While the social significance of music has received only sporadic attention, its relationship to social events has always been recognized and occasionally celebrated or feared. New Zealand commercial radio needs to be researched to take a pulse of how well it is providing a product that fits the needs of the populace. Are commercial considerations falling in line with cultural considerations, or is New Zealand at a crossroads where profits are at odds with diversity?

Broadcasting and National Identity

Virtually all media of public communication have a radical potential, in the sense of being potentially subversive of reigning systems of social control. They can provide access for new voices and perspectives on the existing order. Even so, the institutional development of successful media has usually resulted in the elimination of the early radical potential, partly as a side effect of commercialization, partly because authorities fear disturbance of society. Radio has been subject to control of its content, on grounds of its potential moral impact on the young and impressionable. The restrictions applied are due to the assumption that radio is very popular, has a potentially strong emotional impact on many people, and needs to be supervised in 'the public interest'. While the content of music has never been easy to regulate, its distribution has predominantly been in the hands of established institutions, and its perceived deviant tendencies subject to some sanctions. Supervision includes positive support for 'desirable' cultural communication objectives as well as for restrictions on the undesirable.

One of the major problems with radio, as well as television, is the Marxist view that people are exposed systematically to a selective view of society on almost every aspect of life, a view that tends to shape their beliefs and values accordingly. There are also issues around the mainstreaming of radical groups' music, often cultural practices begin on the margins e.g. punk, rap, garage, and are then commercialised, so radio's role is complex and not independent from commodification. There is an increasing dependency of individuals on the media for their sense of identity and purpose, compared to a generation ago. The increasing ownership and involvement of foreign interests in broadcasting as well as the audience's increasing dependency on media can only exacerbate this trend. The internationalisation of mass communication poses serious questions regarding indigenous cultures.

The current economic view of networking commercial stations is changing the New Zealand radio environment from one based on predominantly local stations to one of national broadcasters. In effect, this trend means shifting the New Zealand radio listener's community of fellow listeners from a local to a national community. The impact of local content in this context can only reinforce the sense of a national community (see Appendix B).

In a speech to celebrate the New Zealand Broadcasting School's 20th anniversary in March, 2004, MP Ruth Dyson on behalf of the Broadcasting Minister stated that "broadcasting and national identity are entwined and that there is a need for a public space in broadcasting, where people can meet. Like a park in the middle of a city" (as cited in Moffett, 2004 : 12). Government policy on broadcasting is "not about moving in and taking over but is predominantly concerned with content and ways to strengthen local production and expertise" (Moffett, 2004 : 12).

Broadcasting is an important factor in community building – and in building and defining our nation. In a speech to open a new radio station in Canterbury in 2000, the Minister of Broadcasting, Hon Marian Hobbs reiterated the importance of media for the creation of our national identity. She said,

Radio and television can, of course, be vital media for our own narratives and images. They have an extraordinarily pervasive presence in our lives,

conditioning for better or worse the way we see our country, and the opinions and values we hold. They have an unparalleled capacity to provide a shared experience, and to make minority voices heard. In a global society it is important to recognize what makes us different from other peoples. Therefore, we need to see and hear New Zealand stories and issues, New Zealand programmes for children, New Zealand faces and accents, New Zealand sport, New Zealand landscape and New Zealand music. Local content is an integral part of our cultural identity (Hobbs, 2000).

So there are compelling reasons why Government would decide that for cultural and social – and not just commercial – reasons, it needs to involve itself as effectively as possible in broadcasting. Local content clearly plays an important role as a tool for imagining, and a means of defining, the national within expanding media horizons.

The New Zealand public deserves access to high quality content, and to a diversity of information, ideas, forms of cultural expression, sports, drama, and the full range of representation of which broadcasting is capable. Broadcasting policy recognizes that international and local content are complementary in achieving a greater diversity of programming. With the introduction of NZoA funding, the creation of a voluntary quota system for New Zealand music and the encouragement of low-power broadcasting stations, the Government has gone some way in addressing these concerns.

New Zealand on Air

Economic policies of the late 1980s and 1990s have intensified New Zealand's exposure to globalisation and this has prompted concerns about protecting national cultural identity. Broadcasting is a site of particular tensions between the global and the local, as an internationally defined industry operating in relationship with local communities.

The deregulation of the radio industry is one aspect of New Zealand's transition into the increasingly globalised world economy. Now with control over the largest section of the radio market lying in corporate boardrooms in Ireland, Australia and the United

States, the extensive concentration of ownership of radio stations into the hands of just a few multinational corporations illustrates the global nature of the broadcasting industry. Global interests effectively control the music industry in New Zealand and this creates a highly international space within which local music must compete.

The protection of the nation state in the age of globalisation embodies some profound contradictions. In New Zealand, by deregulating the broadcasting industry so extensively, and removing all barriers to foreign ownership, the government relinquished the possibility of direct control over the content of New Zealand commercial broadcasting. A particular development that accompanied the deregulation of the industry was the reestablishment of indirect governmental control. Due to concerns over a possible imbalance of foreign interests, the government set up New Zealand on Air (NZoA). Even as ownership of the industry became more consolidated offshore, broadcasters still regarded playing local music as a positive value, and levels of local music on New Zealand radio have increased. Although it is difficult to pinpoint a starting date where this so-called new found confidence in local music began, the government still believed that it was partially responsible for maintaining a dedication to New Zealand culture in the face of promises by big business.

The belief that there are experiences common, or at least recognisable, to New Zealanders informs phrases used by NZoA and the New Zealand Labour Party. Fundamentally these statements and concepts about our faces, voices, selves and stories demonstrate a role for New Zealand content in providing the tools used to imagine the national community, communicated through the media and in particular through radio. It is radio's ability to facilitate a sense of shared (imagined) community that makes the broadcasting of local content on commercial radio significant. Ensuring airtime for the local in the globally influenced spaces of New Zealand radio bridges the global and the local, and facilitates connections between local audiences and communities.

Measures of support for local content in broadcasting are often framed in terms of their benefits for national identities. With the declared intention of developing and promoting cultural identity, quotas have been adopted through a voluntary code of

practice approach. It forms a kind of middle way between voicing support and actually legislating for local content. It avoids legislation but establishes a commitment to increased local production in broadcasting. Critics suggest that, “the struggle for cultural autonomy and attempts at preserving local culture have not simply been an issue in nations that were previously by convention categorized as the third world” (Negus, 1996 : 210). National quota policies are now as much of a concern to those countries, such as New Zealand, that aspires to maintain some element of cultural autonomy. Negus further identifies three primary reasons for opposing the blunt tool of quota legislation. These are issues of “quantity versus quality, enforcement and nationalism” (ibid: 212). Furthermore, a complication that could have a significant effect on governments’ ability to protect local content are binding international trade agreements, such as New Zealand’s joining with the World Trade Organization.

The work of NZoA and the Code of Practice for New Zealand content in broadcasting represent the State’s efforts to maintain a degree of autonomy in the global culture industry.

New Zealand Music

New Zealand’s foray into setting voluntary quotas for local content represents a struggle for cultural autonomy, an attempt to reduce the influence of globalisation on national cultures and an attempt to reduce the flow of international cultural material into the country. The strategies to improve the airtime for local music on New Zealand radio could be interpreted as a drive for localism that is opposed to globalisation. However, it is better conceptualised as a localisation that is open to global influences and contributes to the construction of a national identity that is highly fluid and often contested. Popular music itself is part of a dialogue about what being a New Zealander means, allowing “an active audience to create its own associations with local identities, and adding a deeper dimension to the role of radio in facilitating community connections” (Joyce, 2002 : 137). Chapter Three discussed these concepts such as globalisation, localisation, cultural imperialism and hybridity in depth.

Commercial concerns can to a greater or lesser extent ignore or circumvent regulations designed to ensure local origination, commercial companies form regional or national links which economise on sales and programming while they continue to lobby for changes in the structure to give them more commercial freedom. By avoiding legislation, the Radio Broadcasters Association (RBA) has retained the possibility that the code's restrictions may be relaxed under a future government less firmly committed to local content, or more firmly committed to an entirely deregulated broadcasting industry. The Code approach seems to offer broadcasters considerable freedom to revise and review restrictions, and renegotiate the process as the industry environment changes.

Although voluntary, if content targets are not met the code carries with it the threat of legislation. The RBA reserves the right to renegotiate this if they can show the levels are unrealistic in relation to the investment of the recording industry, and this has potentially left them considerable space to manoeuvre. Further, if the RBA had simply refused to commit to a code, the government may have faced great difficulty in introducing legislation that could potentially have been challenged on the basis of World Trade Organization rulings. "Music quotas were against World Trade Organization (WTO) rules and the quota, as a result of Government pressure, could be open to challenge through the WTO, she [Katherine Rich] said. A spokesperson for Ms Hobbs told NZPA last August that the minister was aware of claims a New Zealand music quota could breach WTO rules, but the Government believed it could avoid this" (Herald, 2002). This is a direct and tangible influence of globalisation on individual nation-states. Here, globalisation is more than a vague concept; it instead assisted the policy formation (or lack of) from the government. Quota in itself is a very heavy stick for compliance, but in this instance, the WTO was used as a negotiating tool to avoid obedience. To date, the government has chosen not to test their stance against the WTO, instead have worked to find a solution through mutual compromise.

To make New Zealand music successful through acceptance and promotion of the internationally informed space of New Zealand radio, one of the strategies of NZoA was the creation of their Phase Four approach. Aspects of the strategy explicitly involve commercial radio programmers in the shaping of New Zealand music; songs

that are not quite 'right', or in other words, lacked an international sound can be reworked for acceptance by radio through the 'remix' scheme. New Zealand music is now experiencing considerably higher levels of radio play than when deregulation began, despite the concentration of radio station ownership in the hands of large transnational corporations.

So, what constitutes an international sound? Most commonly, it is associated with the quality of production in a song and the need to be up with, if not slightly ahead of, the contemporary trends in musical style. The setters of these contemporary trends are situated in America or Britain. A combination of technical equipment and an experienced producer who knows how to mediate between the band and the equipment to achieve the right 'cutting edge' sound helps to create this international sound. Access to international expertise and production technology means New Zealand music can better compete with the international repertoire set by the overseas centres of musical production. The sophisticated production techniques demanded by the international sound represent a more 'Anglo/American' style of production.

But even with a voluntary quota, New Zealand music is still competing against cultural products from the United States and Britain, and programmers are looking for an 'international sound' that makes New Zealand music 'fit' with the music of these dominant cultures.

In New Zealand, commercially successful bands may be criticised for sounding too 'American', for example, the Feelers. In an interview with the Programme Director for the Rock in 2000, Brad King explained "the whole thing with the Feelers when that [album] came out was the American sound. It wasn't the traditional kiwi thing, and they got bagged for it, by lots of people. I think because production is a whole lot better these days, it's really beefed up. I think you could play some of these big bands that we're playing in Australia or the States and the punters over there wouldn't know the difference between an American band and the latest Zed track for example" (as cited in Joyce, 2002 : 108).

King claims that the Feelers were thought to have an 'American' and 'un-New Zealand' sound, and that the 'beefed up' production style is more commonly

associated with American rock bands than New Zealand acts, who continued to be associated with the 'low fidelity' sound of Dunedin. King believes this bigger 'American' sound to be a positive thing in terms of gaining airplay and recognition in the US or Australia, and certainly more representative of the international sound. He is careful to assert that there is still a local feel to the music; the differentiating or Americanising factor is the 'quality'. This opens up debate surrounding what sound a local band should pursue. "There may be a chicken and the egg argument at work here, with New Zealand bands historically recognising that they will not gain airplay unless they sound like their overseas counterparts, and imitation stifling the development of a more distinctively local sound" (Shuker, 1994 : 68). While straightforward imitation may prevent a distinctive local sound emerging, the patterns of hybridisation in much New Zealand music retain the possibility of a local sound emerging.

International quality does not just rest on the production levels; it also requires meeting the current styles and shifts in popular music. The 'centres' of the global music industry also invariably set these changing genres. The need to keep up with shifts in overseas styles is one that has been with the New Zealand music industry for some time.

This creates a bit of a conundrum. While music programmers indicate people are wary of New Zealand acts sounding too much like copies of overseas ones, pointing out that to become successful means having a unique variation on the current theme, music acts are also under pressure to conform to international standards and drop any culturally specific content that will not translate over to international markets. The balance has to be between the internationally accepted style and production standard, and a unique sound that arouses interest and has an interesting angle for marketing by the record company. The balance however must fit into the format of an American defined genre, irrespective of any argument about the merits of its authenticity.

The implication of international benchmarks is that in order to become successful internationally, or on the internationally defined spaces of New Zealand radio, New Zealand music must "conform to styles, technologies and values set by the powerful centres of music production" (Joyce, 2002 : 102). The cutting edge is "still set by the

centres of the music industry, most commonly referenced in regard to the US” (ibid: 101). This could lead to the evolution of commercially successful music in New Zealand that displays the ‘international sound’ demanded by commercial radio.

These ‘international’ factors dominate radio, from its ownership, programming and formatting theories to its emphasis on international repertoire. The pattern of ownership within the broadcasting companies in New Zealand describes a “structure of dominance in terms of the ownership of the means of production for radio” (Negus, 1996 : 167). The impact of this dominance is less straightforward to measure, although the concept of ‘international sound’ could represent a form of imperialism, a way in which the “cultural dominance of the capitalist western powers is maintained through the organization of working practices and repertoires” (ibid: 173).

Emphasis on this confirms the degree of cultural imperialism still at work in the industry. Through the international sound or ‘repertoire’, the centre of cultural production sets the standards for success and those industries on the periphery such as New Zealand must conform to these standards in order to compete. To achieve international success and profits, the dominance of the international sound leaves the New Zealand music industry with little choice but to favour this kind of style over the ‘traditional’ New Zealand approach.

The issue that stems from this is that achieving this outcome risks undermining the distinctive qualities in locally produced music. Concerns about homogeneity and a lack of ‘authenticity’ in New Zealand music arise from this situation, and raise the question of what constitutes ‘authentic New Zealand’ music? This has led to criticism that the funding decisions taken by the NZoA Phase Four programme are leading to a “disastrous homogenisation of local music and that your criteria/decisions actively undermine ‘authentically’ New Zealand music - music that doesn't so closely ape MOR American or English sounds - and unfairly disadvantage the more ‘artistically’ valid bands” (Smithies, 2001). This turns the hybridisation argument more in line with the tenets of homogenisation with little or no regard for cultural autonomy.

However, defining ‘local’ New Zealand music is problematic. Since the arrival of the Europeans, “music in New Zealand has been a product of hybridity, much like the

nation itself” (Tomlinson, 1991 : 84). This makes the idea of an authenticity in the local misleading, “disguising the extent to which cultures grow and develop out of interaction and engagement with each other” (Tomlinson, 1999 : 169). National identity is considered to be a “fluid process, a constantly shifting and evolving concept” (Said, 1994 : 84).

Other critics suggest that New Zealand music is a product of globalisation and hybridity, conforming to trends in the international music industry, and containing few specific indicators of New Zealand identity.

Shuker contends that New Zealand pop music “contains few markers of New Zealand identity, with local groups simply producing their own versions of overseas styles. He questions the ‘New Zealandness’ of this music, and along with Geoff Lealand, regards New Zealand music as simply derivative” (as cited in Joyce, 2002 : 116). Lealand goes on to discuss the relationship between New Zealand popular culture and American popular culture, “simply put, all New Zealand music (from classical to country and western) is derivative. It borrows from abroad; expanding on imported influences, denying them, and then re-embracing them. Styles, themes and sounds are all borrowed; consequently New Zealand-produced music is governed by universal, or international sounds and rhythms” (Lealand, 1988 : 75). Borrowed styles, themes and sounds are necessary if New Zealand music is to be successful within the ‘international repertoire’ that governs the global recording and broadcasting industries.

The dominance on commercial radio of ‘international repertoire’ as the standard against which local music is measured generates questions about whether commercially successful New Zealand music can be truly ‘local’ music. It would appear that getting airplay on New Zealand radio requires having a sound that is consistent with international trends. However, New Zealand popular music can be read as a process of negotiating the global and the local considering “popular culture in any localised sense is today a hybridisation of symbolic forms and practices” (Pickering and Shuker, 1994 : 95). The symbolic forms and practices of popular music largely consist of the global trends and influences embodied in the international

repertoire, but there is scope for local influences and the emergence of hybrid forms that span both the global and the local.

Culture

Culture encompasses all the ways of life including arts, beliefs and institutions of a population that are passed down from generation to generation, and can be defined as,

1. Art, music, literature and related intellectual activities.
2. Enlightenment and sophistication acquired through education and exposure to the arts.
3. The beliefs, customs, practices and social behaviour of a particular nation or people
4. A group of people whose shared beliefs and practices identify the particular place, class or time to which they belong
5. Particular set of attitudes that characterize a group of people (Encarta, 1999a).

Different types of media can have different types of impact on the decay, endurance or flourishing of cultural identity and experience. Culture can in fact be split into two parts. Firstly, general, local, ethnic and more personal media help to support enduring identities and cultural autonomy. The general concept of a collective identity persists in time and is resistant to change. They are enduring, have deep roots and are resistant to the relatively superficial impact of, for example, listening to foreign (especially Anglo-American) media. They depend on shared histories, religion and language.

Secondly, there are sub-cultural identities, which are not necessarily exclusive and whose growth may even be stimulated and helped by international media. The media are more likely to have an influence, for good or evil, on cultural identities of a more voluntary, transient and multiple (overlapping) kind. These characteristics are based on taste, lifestyle and other transient features, and may be collectively held (McQuail, 2000 : 178).

The mass media are largely responsible for what we call either mass culture or popular culture, and they have 'colonized' other cultural forms in the process. The

most widely disseminated and enjoyed symbolic culture of our time is what flows in abundance by way of music. Popular culture in this sense is a hybrid product of numerous and never-ending efforts for expression in contemporary idiom aimed at reaching people and capturing a market. It makes no sense to go on supposing that the flood of American products can in some way be dammed in, turned back or purified, or to view the predominant culture of our time as a “deformed offspring of commerce from a once pure stock” (ibid: 102). The primary virtue of popular culture is precisely that it is popular, both literally ‘of the people’ and dependent on ‘people power’. Popularity is a “measure of a cultural form’s ability to serve the desires of its customers. For a cultural commodity to become popular it must be able to meet the various interests of the people amongst whom it is popular as well as the interests of its producers” (Fiske, 1987 : 310). The RBA’s position follows from this stance in that culture should be defined by the audience rather than by any government interference.

The general direction of international concern is music displacing or subordinating the original culture of receiving countries and/or causing it to imitate the international model. There is a strong belief system holding that cultures are both valuable collective properties of nations and places and very vulnerable to alien influences. A counter to this argument is that cultures are multiple and fragmented in a multicultural and globalised world.

However, media culture does have its limitations. Popular culture is produced by large corporations with an overriding view to their own profits, rather than to enriching the cultural lives of the people. Audiences are viewed as consumer markets to be manipulated and managed. What is missing is quite simply democracy - a redistribution of power between audiences and producers. All too often ‘community’ in its public relations version is, as Raymond Williams noted, “a mere front for irresponsible networks which have their real centres elsewhere” (as cited in Crisell, 1994 : 189).

The media have brought messages of what is new and fashionable in terms of goods, ideas, techniques and values from city to country and from the social top to the base. They have also portrayed alternative value systems, potentially weakening the hold of

traditional values. What we can agree on is the ambiguity of the role assigned to the media. Despite the uncertainty, there can be little doubt that the media, whether moulders or mirrors of society, are the main messengers about society.

Radio Ideology

There are three dominant models of radio, commercial, public and community. These three models are more than an analytical system of differences: politically and economically, they are engaged in mutual struggle. The logic of the commercial system is to swallow up new markets and extend its frontiers to compete with, even undermine the public service domain. The logic of public service is to defend national territories, industries and identities against such invasion. One of the major forces of community radio is to defend human rights against the intrusions of both state and capital.

Looking at commercial radio, from the time when manufacturers were looking to the widespread use of the equipment by people as a home entertainment medium, radio as a cultural and political form has been impregnated with the spirit of commerce. From that time on “it sold in its programmes both products and a way of life associated with them. As a medium, it was shaped by and dependent on the capitalist society that generated it. Thus there exists an intimate relationship between the commercials and the other elements in radio programmes” (Higgins and Moss, 1982 : 80). As Gitlin remarks “the product is not simply a commodity or the sum of all commodities, but it is in the first place consumption itself: the creation and reproduction of a privatised, moderated, consuming ‘man’. The product is also ideology, culture, ideas, information” (Gitlin, 1972 : 338). It is certainly true that ‘market’ questions are fundamental to commercial radio programming and smart ‘packaging’ assists sales; therefore the remainder of the programme has to be entertaining to hold the audience who hopefully will buy the products advertised, “both the commodities and the ideology, the culture, the ideas, and the information. What better way to entertain and retain an audience than by presenting them with a fast-paced, variety style, ‘audioscopic’ spectacle?” (Higgins and Moss, 1982 : 81).

The mass media generally, and radio more specifically, are primarily entertainment media, and that “ideology is cushioned and alternative or antagonistic meanings (from callers or interviewees) are defused by such things as the pervasiveness of a light, cheery programme style, the almost constant use of popular music, song and advertising jingles, the host’s relentlessly bright patter, the selection, wherever possible, of trivial content, or conversely, the trivial handling of material that should be treated seriously” (ibid: 71). Mass media do not simply reflect or comment upon social reality, but are themselves part of it and contribute to its direction by means of the way they shape people’s perceptions of the world.

Commercial radio has a planned flow, a deliberate sequence of signs and images whose purpose is to transmit certain cultural messages. These confirm the dominant ideology, retain the status quo while providing the semblance of free speech and most overwhelmingly, keep in motion the ideology of consumption by providing a constant flow of consumable reports and products. The best mode to present this in format radio is through segmentation - the division of the output into self-contained ‘bites’ each lasting no more than a few minutes. Segmentation is ideal for broadcasters and advertisers because it homogenizes the output, making the commercial breaks and informational elements seem all of a piece with the music. Segmentation is also ideal for the listener because it allows them amid the many other demands of their life to drop in and out of radio content without feeling that they have missed anything of major importance. Even in all-news formats, segmentation works well since it usually consists of a repeated sequence of bulletins, interviews and short features that allows the listener to ‘step aboard’ at any time. “Even the popular songs, the news broadcasts, interviews and the compere’s bland, artificially cheerful inanities may coalesce to produce a flow of compatible consumable messages. Over the whole programme these are welded into a unified cultural statement in keeping with the dominant ideology” (ibid: 37).

Douglas (1999, as cited in Hendy, 2000: 119) discusses the power of aurality that forges a strong emotional attachment with music and content. As described in the work of neuroscientists, the auditory system of the brain feeds the limbic system,

The part of the brain from which we derive emotions and memory. The limbic system generates a host of emotions and mental states, and once activated in a pleasurable way, it may want to sustain that level of arousal. Music in many ways is the perfect vehicle for this and music that is in one way or another familiar is particularly resonant

The more we listen to certain kinds of music, the more we learn to like it. Evidence suggests that “predictability produces more pleasure” (2000 : 120).

Orality generates a powerful participatory mystique. Because the act of listening simultaneously to spoken words forms hearers into a group, orality fosters a strong collective sensibility. People listening to a common voice or to the same music, act and react at the same time. They become an aggregate entity – an audience – and whether or not they all agree with or like what they hear, they are unified around that common experience (2000 : 120).

In New Zealand, the government intervenes in the market to encourage operators to provide particular sorts of programming, such as voluntary quotas for New Zealand music. It is also possible to identify other profit motives for the introduction of public service programming objectives in commercial systems, such as “the wish to improve corporate image, or increased client goodwill, or for tax loss purposes” (Lewis and Booth, 1989 : 5). Overall, though, it is in the nature of the commercial model to treat listeners as consumers whose main role is to hear the advertisements carried and to act on them, that is, spend money on the goods and services advertised.

The free market model is radio financed by advertising and sponsorship whose ultimate purpose is to make a profit. Networks may even in the short term be operated by “profit-seeking conglomerates at a loss, whether out of temporary expediency, or as part of a strategic plan which uses the outlet as a stepping-stone to the acquisition of other media interests, or plays off tax incentives in different sectors or countries” (ibid: 5). For future viability, radio for commercial purposes must acquire and transmit programming which costs as little as possible, and maximise its profits by giving advertisers and sponsors access to as large a number of potential consumers as possible; in a specialised market, the aim is to reach as large a number as possible of a

particular sort of consumer. The need to maximise audiences and to achieve economies of scale drives commercial operators towards syndication of programme material and the formation of networks. As far as programming is concerned, if there is a market for plays or documentaries, investigative journalism or urban contemporary music, commercial radio will supply it. The general run of radio programming for mass audiences, however, is based on music – the repetition of a limited number of popular hits, supplemented with studio chat by presenters and guests, often responding to listeners phoning in, but it is the market which ultimately will determine the type, volume and timing of the supply of programming.

One of the central arguments has been the way in which the radio medium attempts to present social and cultural experiences only in entertaining and dramatic ways. A secondary, but no less potent theme has been the “tendency to deny the existence of controversy and conflict, if its source lies outside contemporary power structures; and to affirm the existence of social and cultural problems as defined by the general media imperatives and the cultural and social consensus” (Higgins and Moss, 1982 : 195).

Because of the size of media productions, the attitudes of mind towards the audience (usually regarded as a single unit possessing recognizable and generalized views of the world and society), particular media try to ‘flatten consciousnesses’ rather than striving to sharpen perception. Our ways of seeing or communicating our reality to one another are culturally induced and therefore people easily accept as given and immutable the community’s structures, values and attitudes and overall sense of itself. Radio distorts or confuses reality rather than attempting to explore deep levels or even surface manifestations. The first kind of general distortion regularly developed by forms of radio is that which attempts to convert authentic human experience into the sideshow spectacle. The danger is that this constructed pseudo-world may easily become more appealing for people than the truth or reality of their own personal experience of the world.

A tacit ideology of consumerism controls the production line of radio. Radio in nearly all its forms presents a never-ending spectacle to audiences assumed to be lacking in subtlety, private depths and intensities and who are incapable of being serious. Despite the range of its broadcasting power in a strict technical sense, the medium’s

timidity in disallowing the presentation of various experiences and different kinds of voices is an impediment to an open and democratic society; whereas it is obvious that the media could be a means of intensifying cultural consciousness and of organizing new modes of sensitivity.

Media seem to regard their democratic obligations in terms of the avoidance of bias in politics, the refusal of social subversion and the rejection of cultural bad taste. These broad terms are open to interpretation but they generalize issues around which clear commitments to the status quo are made. The point is that the media make the judgements of balance, responsibility and taste before production. The audience is subject, therefore, to media's versions of reality.

Without some energy being directed towards a greater participation in the creation of our culture, media, and radio in particular, will soon come to resemble something very like Mumford's picture of the modern city,

The most revealing symbol of the city's failure, of its very non-existence as a social personality, is the absence of dialogue – not necessarily a silence, but equally the loud sound of a chorus uttering the same words in cowed if complacent conformity. The silence of a dead city has more dignity than the vocalism of a community that knows neither detachment nor dialectic opposition, neither ironic comment nor stimulating disparity, neither an intelligent conflict nor an active moral resolution. Such a drama is bound to have a fatal last act (Mumford, 1966 as cited in Higgins and Moss, 1982 : 227).

New Zealand Radio Issues

A deregulated environment and the resultant emphasis on commercial revenues over the past years have dramatically changed the external face of radio in New Zealand. By the early 1990s, the radio spectrum had become a tradeable commodity in line with the free-market philosophy of the day. Anyone with the ambition and resources could buy a commercial radio licence. Fragmentation, niche marketing, networking, automation, branding and other external market forces have all contributed to an evolution “away from governmental control and a move towards a defined consumer

orientation. Some would argue that this process has also impacted on public service broadcasters such as National Radio and the Concert FM” (Shanahan, 1984 : 194).

With the new private stations, it became accepted wisdom that radio is a business. “The brash young stations quickly settled down and competed with the government stations (e.g. ZB, ZM) for consultants, both sales and programming, formats and station liners that would position the station to maximise its audience. In competitive markets, commercial stations tended to cluster around each other. [...] Ratings became the driving force” (Pauling and Wilson, 1994 : 199).

Numerous start-up stations were dotted around the country and attempts were made at a variety of format styles. The branding and packaging of stations closely mirrored trends in the United States, with the introduction of specialised products, such as Gold, Rock, Talkback and others. It can be argued that what has changed since deregulation has been an evolutionary shift in perceptual emphasis on to the advertiser and away from the listener. Radio serves three clients, listeners, advertisers and investors, and “their needs, wants and expectations are not mutually exclusive, but mutually inclusive” (Shanahan, 1984 : 195). The perceived commercialism comes about because of the number of commercial operators in radio markets. With 200 radio stations throughout the country, New Zealand has more radio stations per capita than anywhere else in the world. What’s more, the “200 stations collectively chase the same advertising revenue — \$169 million — as do the nine radio stations controlling the Sydney market” (Brown, 1999).

The Commercial Imperative

Radio has been blamed for abandoning the public service norms of informing, educating and entertaining, and pushing towards a market driven ethos of profit and audience share. However, deregulation did not automatically mean massive profits. The sudden boom in radio stations, and a consequent decrease in advertising spending, as agencies found cheaper and easier options in television, meant that commercial radio’s ratio of national to local advertising “dropped from the 1982 high of 36% national to a mere 16% by 1993. While the promised diversity of ownership and the increase in the number of radio outlets appeared a positive consequence of

deregulation, the impact on commercial radio, measured by this loss of revenue, had not been forecast and was damaging” (Shanahan and Duignan, 2005 : 20). To survive this downturn, commercial radio had to adjust rapidly or go bankrupt.

Commercial production was centralised and sales teams were amalgamated so that sales representatives could now sell for a number of stations rather just one as they did previously. The “formation of the Independent Broadcasting Company (IBC) later to become Prospect in 1992 after Brierley Investments took control [...] was really the first indication of the consolidating effects of deregulation in which New Zealand commercial radio began to focus on radio business rather than giving consideration to wider, more Reithian concerns” (ibid: 22).

Critics of private ownership of radio voiced concern about the impact of a business model. Beverly Wakem, then Head of RNZ Public and Commercial stated in 1992, “What we are going to have now is the whole of the commercial sector simply given over to people driving for bottom line results, addressing even narrower market niches, where a buck can be turned, where an audience can be delivered to the highest dollar-producing advertising segment, and to hell with the listener and the listener’s needs” (Comrie and McGregor, 1992 : 44, as cited in Shanahan and Duignan, 2005 : 31). The emphasis in the 1990s went from “one of a listener focus to one where the client was the centre of attention” (Celmins 2003, as cited in Shanahan and Duignan, 2005 : 32).

Diversity

Critics have argued that deregulation and consolidation restrict diversity. Deregulation or consolidation has a detrimental effect on a plurality of choice for citizens, “there is ample evidence world-wide that unrestrained market competition in broadcasting in fact tends to work strongly against the choices of citizens, especially minorities and temporary or floating majorities” (Cocker, 1992 : 55).

Commercial broadcasting’s inherent need to secure a return on investment would result “in ultra-normalisation of format content” (Pauling and Wilson, 1994 : 200). Free market competition would not necessarily deliver such public interest goals as

pluralism, diversity in content and accessibility, but suggested that unrestricted competition would promote “cultural uniformity and exclude minority social interests” (Isolfides, 1999 : 153). The foundation of each argument is that removal of any constraints on commercial broadcasters would result in a limited number of owners targeting, with similar sounding radio formats, only those audience segments with commercial sustainability. While the free-market model might result in an increase in the quantity of radio outlets, some argue that this did not necessarily equate to an increase in diversity of programming.

Chambers suggests that “there is a relationship between the loss of competition [number of owners] within a radio market and the loss of audience choice” (Chambers, 2003 : 43). Examination of New Zealand commercial music stations suggests this trend towards homogeneity of format-specific elements has indeed taken place. Most have similar format structures across breakfast shows, news outside of breakfast is at the top of the hour, sourced from a network location, and the combined training of breakfast personalities at ‘boot camp’ is further testament to the homogeneity of breakfast services. While each may approach audiences differently, the structure of the breakfast show programming is extremely normalised across stations and markets.

This commercial ideology may have satisfied radio programmers, but it sparked heated debate amongst critics of this chase for shareholder profits. Dissatisfied with the current move by CanWest to rebrand local stations under the More FM trademark, media commentator Jon Gadsby attacks the reasoning behind the commercial imperative,

Radio today, leaving aside RNZ, the ZB Talks and Sports and Radio Pacific, is sounding increasingly amorphous, increasingly the same and increasingly serving nothing other than advertisers. This is hard commercial reality, I know, but the community stations of the past were unashamedly commercial entities, too, without subsuming their distinctive and local reasons for being. To hell with character, audience, community and the very notion of service – all of these are vastly outweighed by the notion of greater convenience for Auckland-based advertising agencies who neither know nor care what Radio

Fifeshire, Radio Lakeland and a host of other community icons might be, or once have been (Gadsby, 2005).

The historical evidence of consolidation on decreasing diversity of content is well documented. DiCola and Thomson (2002) found that the consolidation in the United States has resulted in a reduction in the number of gatekeepers, thereby restricting the availability of content. At least in the US there are about “10 major ownership groups geographically spread across the country, while in New Zealand there are only two primary gatekeepers located exclusively in Auckland. It is only natural that content on network stations is more likely to be influenced by the main population and revenue centre rather than any other market further down the financial and audience pecking order” (as cited in Shanahan and Duignan, 2005 : 29).

Buchanan (2005), an ex-programmer in the New Zealand commercial radio market sees some trouble in the current methodology of following overseas trends. In the United States,

A country that the industry world has followed for so long, radio is in some trouble. Listenership in the younger, feeder demos is in significant decline. Both at-home and at-work is trending downwards, programming is more and more centralised, and research budgets are being cut. Radio in the US could be on the way to becoming a redundant commodity. Unfortunately in our view, the US industry seems to have its eye only on the bottom line. It is this overwhelming Wall Street influence that, in our opinion, is the greatest threat to the New Zealand industry. A continuation down this centralised, homogenised path risks the talented sales people having nothing meaningful to sell and the next generation of performers being disillusioned (as cited in Celmins and Buchanan, 2005 : 232).

With market freedoms, large players are emerging who are spreading their influence over a wide range of formats and geographic centres. What it will not do, fears Paul Kennedy, editor of the local industry bible *Median Strip*, is open the way for new entrants. “It may mean that the existing companies just get bigger and more pervasive, but whether it provides the room for new independents to come in remains to be

seen,” (as cited in Brown, 1999). The cost of entering the market is prohibitive to new players which leaves the terrain open to be controlled by companies with the deepest pockets.

Particularly in the metro markets — any new frequencies there will go for hundreds of thousands of dollars. It’s hard to see any new station setting up in Auckland and recouping that. I think the larger companies will get larger in those lucrative markets and you’ll maybe see a few independents setting up around the smaller towns. New players won’t have the much needed infrastructure. It takes years to build the sort of collective consciousness that a popular radio station can create — and Kiwis like familiarity (Brown, 1999).

Along with passion, innovation in radio appears to have died in the commercial crush despite its brave beginnings in the Hauraki Gulf. In an industry long heavy on formula and light on ideas, there has been even less tolerance for risk lately. Kennedy cites a couple of independents, notably Gisborne Media Centre “which has a reputation for trying new stuff — mainly technology-wise. But there aren’t many companies trying new things the way they used to, mainly because it’s so difficult to make a dollar and there’s so much competition that none of them really want to risk it. There is no one really standing out as an innovator — except perhaps the B-Net (student radio) stations. They do things no one else would even contemplate trying. Sometimes it works, sometimes it doesn’t” (as cited in *ibid*). The difficulty in making money may also be explained by a downturn in advertising revenues in an economy in recession.

The traditional pattern of commercial interests who “think to render media universally acceptable, invariably settle for ‘entertainment’ as a strategy of neutrality. The commercial entertainment strategy automatically ensures maximum speed and force of impact for any medium, on psychic and social life equally” (McLuhan, 1964 : 81). Our mass media offer a great variety of entertainments, but they are for the most part “aimed at the same intellectual level and call for the same emotional responses, the level and the responses being relatively low. The challenge to the mind comes infrequently, and we are being conditioned to make frequent emotional responses of low intensity – the quick nervous reaction to melodrama and the quick laugh at

everything else. If material cannot be adapted to give the thrill or the laugh, it is thrown out” (Seldes, 1953 : 107).

People would more often prefer to be entertained than stimulated or informed. However, broadcasting obligations are not satisfied if popularity is the only test of what is broadcast. In an average lifetime we have seen the “actual creation, the colossal burgeoning, and the decay of a mass medium of consumption that on one hand did perhaps more than anything else bring Americans into immediate contact with their world, and on the other hand gave full range to their taste of banality” (Dodds, 1959 : 89). It is not enough to cater to the nation’s whims; broadcasting must also serve the nation’s needs.

Citizens have become increasingly aware of radio’s power, as a social force, for good or evil, of its profound far-reaching influence on the nation’s culture and civilization. When it first emerged as a mass medium, educators and social theorists predicted that radio would inaugurate an era of adult education, “but early hopes for a true ‘university of the air’ were never fulfilled. The broadcasting schedule came to be devoted principally to entertainment programmes, and these proved to be the most popular form of fare with a mass audience. As radio became big, and even bigger, business, the profits to be made by amusing the largest possible audience multiplied and soared” (Morris, 1949 : 284).

Faced with a conflict between their alleged cultural responsibilities and their obvious commercial interests, the decision of broadcasters was almost inevitable. Some media scholars position radio as essentially a money-minded business, and when the prospect of a dollar conflicts with the public interest, the dollar is odds-on favourite to win. When broadcasting first began, “it seemed to offer a promise of democratic enlightenment [...] but what has been accomplished, good as it is, is miserably inadequate to the needs and falls miserably short of the opportunity” (ibid: 284). This is evidenced as true today as it was when the writer put pen to paper some sixty years ago.

Music issues

The focus on entertainment comes primarily from music. Although much money is spent on the acquisition and retention of radio personalities, especially in the New Zealand commercial market, the primary reason people listen to radio is for the music. Plenty of resources are expended to try to find what music core demographics prefer. Focus groups, the twice annual survey and local phone surveys are employed to reinforce or to moderate what music is chosen for airplay. The drives for audiences are channelled through the careful selection of music, and this has been part of radio's staple research programmes for many years.

The virtual absence, or at any rate imprecision, of meaning in music makes it at once highly suited to the radio medium and somewhat unilluminating as to its nature. It is highly suited because in being largely free of signification, it allows us to listen without making strenuous efforts to imagine what is being referred to, but to assimilate it, if we wish, to our own thoughts and moods.

In New Zealand during the day, most music stations are music intensive and those outside the main centres are more likely to be receiving a network feed, probably from Auckland. Music programming is sourced primarily from a limited number of gatekeepers residing in Auckland. Commercials are often generic and play across several stations owned by the same group, diminishing the individual station identity. There is a great deal of music overlap by format genre and,

Commercial outlets are targeting 'at work' consumption to maximise audience share and advertiser appeal. The increase in networking reduces the level of localism to mainly commercial content, rather unfocussed and [brief] weather information, and occasional live content, either crossovers from a client's location or live breakouts at the occasional local event of significance. Searching around the New Zealand radio dial during the day it is difficult to find a commercial music station not following this same programming format (Shanahan and Duignan, 2005 : 39).

DiCola and Thomson argue that the lack of the number of local stations has resulted in the loss of community identity, as networked programmes cannot adequately reflect the tastes, attitudes and values that exist across a spread of geographically and culturally diverse communities (as cited in *ibid*: 30). They also identify music as one area where consolidation has reduced the possibility of geographically local music identities emerging, as these local artists do not tend to get airplay as easily on network brands. “Musicians are now having to produce more mainstream sounds if they want to achieve radio airplay. Furthermore, with the centralisation of music output by New Zealand on Air, the homogenisation of New Zealand music is almost complete” (*ibid*: 30).

It is a familiar paradox of radio, and the music industry in general: an assumption, backed up by research, that people tend to gravitate towards music that is familiar, which simply limits and restricts the ability of the industry to introduce anything new, “pop music focussing on familiar, melodic hits is the most appealing of all” (Hendy, 2000 : 33).

Critical Reflection

Reith’s vision of radio being a medium dedicated to the higher-level callings of being able to inform, educate and entertain the masses seems to have been distorted over time. What was once considered a way to raise consciousness of the masses, a tool for lively democratic debate and a chance for plurality of voices, now seems to have fallen short of its potential. Critics of the crass commercialisation of modern radio have been lining up to give their views on where it possibly went wrong. The criticisms of the past are as relevant today as they were decades ago. The same issues are re-emerging and there has been little improvement to demonstrate that lessons have been learned from the days where critics started to see a paradigm shift in the *raison d’être* of radio’s place in a modern society.

There appears to be a common knowledge in radio programming that the audience are incapable of sustained attention. In the modern age one of the main concerns appears to be how to capture attention where the population is apparently over-run with many media messages. Attention spans have decreased and therefore a reluctance to offer

programming that actually engages the brain cells. The BBC's Audience Research Department once tested a group of people on how much they could understand of a talk intended for the 'average' Light Programme listener: the average listener in the group "could correctly answer only 28% of the questions which were asked about the talk after it was broadcast" (Silvey, 1974 as cited in Crisell, 1994 : 59).

In radio's basic form of a presenter and what are usually recordings, it appears to be something of an impoverishment of the medium, a mere fraction of what sound broadcasting is capable of. "The plays, comedies, outside broadcasts, quiz shows, features, documentaries and so on ... have been largely ceded to television. It apparently consists of long stretches of the same thing in which the only variations are the changes of presenter – a kind of acoustic prairie where there are no natural features to mark the boundaries, merely arbitrary fences of those who are working it" (Crisell, 1994 : 65).

A historical view of the media displays a quasi-Marxist class system where most intellectuals do not seem to understand, or are unwilling to admit, and this represents the beginnings of a critical tradition and reaction.

That the mass media are meant for the masses, not for intellectuals. The deficiencies of [media] are many; its product is often banal, vulgar, dreary, irritating, phoney, low in taste and lower in intellectual content. A very large audience simply does not possess the values, interests, aspirations or intellectual equipment that distinguish intellectuals from the mass. The sad fact is that a lamentable proportion of [media] programmes are not designed to appeal to people possessing IQ's over, say 110 (Rosten, 1962 : 136).

The broadcasting business has been ahead of the public as well as behind.

"Better programmes often fail to get support. One reason for this is that the better programmes are often conceived as something very different to good programmes [...] not as a constant improvement in the quality of programmes already proved acceptable. Another reason is that the volume and velocity of the

average programme surfeits the appetite and makes it progressively less likely that a keener taste will develop” (Seldes, 1953 : 109).

It is at this point that the broadcasters share responsibility with other manipulators of the public. They dodge it by the ancient excuse of giving the public what they want, conceiving the public as a mass with tastes already formed.

It takes time, intelligence and conviction to face the simple mathematical fact that “1 is not the only common denominator of 4 and 8 and 16 and 64” (ibid: 108). The broadcasters have ratings which prove to their satisfaction that a sufficient number of separate individuals listen to their station every week, but that is no proof of public demand for their stations’ music and it certainly not proof that other kinds of programmes would not build up equally satisfactory audiences. Commercial broadcasting alone cannot satisfy all the legitimate wants of the public, whereas they would try to convince otherwise.

Many academics do not accept the idea that the present over-all programming is aimed accurately at the public taste. The ratings tell us only that some people have turned on and of that number, so many are tuned to one channel and so many to another. They do not tell us what the public might listen to if they were offered half a dozen additional choices. A rating, at best, is an indication of how many people listened to what the station gave the audience. Unfortunately, it does not reveal “the depth of the penetration, or the intensity of the reaction, and it never reveals what the acceptance would have been if what you gave them had been better – if all the forces of art and creativity and daring and imagination had been unleashed. I believe in the people’s good sense and good taste, and I am not convinced that the people’s taste is as low as you assume” (Minow, 1961 : 210).

As this mediocrity, which in the short term is economically profitable, fills the air, it creates appetites; it styles the nation’s tastes just as advertising influences what we eat, drive and drink. The stock answer of broadcasting apologists is “we give people what they want, but what has actually happened is that those viewers who have been brainwashed select their own brand of popcorn, while those of more discerning tastes simply give up listening” (Friendly, 1967 : 248). Gresham’s law – that the bad drives

out the good – applies not only to the programme, but to the listener as well. The audience attuned to the great issues of our time has been at least partly supplanted by a more superficial one in search of escape.

Critics suggest that people are not given what they want. How can people know what they want unless they have alternatives presented, and presented constantly? “People better get what they want or they will end up wanting what they get” (Murrow, 1967 : 268). There is constant concern that the least informed in the audience be able to understand. There should be equal concern that the best informed be interested.

The radio networks that are few in number have a virtual monopoly of a whole medium of communication, and this is not something a democratic people should ignore. People should not switch off their radios because the airwaves do not belong to the networks, they belong to the people. It is the right of the listeners, not the right of the broadcasters that is paramount.

The Chairman of America’s FCC foresaw the decline of broadcasting before the neoliberalism of the 80s and 90s. He suggested that for broadcasting to serve the public interest, it must have “a soul and a conscience, a burning desire to excel, as well as to sell; the urge to build the character, citizenship and intellectual stature of people, as well as to expand the gross national product...by no means do I imply that broadcasters disregard the public interest...but a much better job can be done, and should be done” (Collins, n.d as cited in Minow, 1961 : 208).

Criticism of radio by no means ignores the remarkable social contributions that broadcasters make, but it originates in a concept of radio’s almost limitless potential for constructive social good. However, there is a disparity between radio’s opportunities and its actual performance, “the most popular programmes on the air today are of poor quality by the standards of the people who produce them. Responsibility for this situation was chargeable to the audience, which not only failed to demand better fare, but refused to listen when superior programmes were offered. Radio was vulgar, fast, simple and fundamental. It was made in the image of the American people” (Morris, 1949 : 285).

If you dig down to the bedrock on which the industry is founded, “these solid facts become apparent: (1) an audience is what the sponsor buys (2) an audience is what the broadcasters deliver (3) an audience is a measurable fraction of *the* audience (4) all the fractional audiences put together fall short of being ‘the public’” (Seldes, 1953 : 104). The fact that an audience is a commodity to be bought and sold is usually concealed, because technically sponsors buy ‘time on the air’. However, what is actually bought is the time and attention given by the audience.

In more recent times, sameness in New Zealand commercial radio was developing, but deregulation also had a different impact. Where Māori, community access and other non-profit stations have been added, it could be argued that there is more choice, more diversity of views, speakers and languages and probably more community involvement than before. However, this is not primarily a result of the government letting the market determine ownership. “The greater democratic involvement in radio has come more from the government’s reservation of frequencies than from market allocation of them” (Pauling and Wilson, 1994 : 200).

It is in radio that the tension between the government and global corporations has been most evident in the past two decades, balancing the profit imperative of the broadcasters with the State’s desire to maintain cultural autonomy. The election of the 1990 National Government changed the expectations on Radio New Zealand’s commercial stations to focus on financial matters, with little concern for the social implications of local music programming. As Brian Easton shows, the anti-interventionism evolved into “an ethic of commercialisation and corporatisation” (Easton, 1997 : 22).

Sometimes there is a clash between the public interest and the corporate interest. A telephone call or a letter from an advertiser is treated more seriously than a communication from an irate but not commercially potent viewer. Deregulation shifted a broadcasting industry mostly controlled by the government to one controlled almost entirely by commercial interests. New Zealand radio is now very much part of the global media industry.

Now with a broader understanding of how the interplay between government, corporations, the public and issues surrounding identity have been discussed in the public arena over the years, it leads to Chapter Five where we establish some key questions regarding how exactly does Anglo-American cultural institutions influence the New Zealand commercial radio industry. Using both qualitative and quantitative survey tools, there will be an attempt to answer some key questions, and allow the industry to reflect on its own behaviours and actions in this globalised environment.

Chapter Five: *Methodology*

Research Questions

Leading on from the theoretical issues discussed above, the general research questions in this study would be:

What is the proportion of North American music to local music on New Zealand commercial music radio during a full broadcast weekday?

Is New Zealand radio inspired by a North American or British model in programming, announcing and technology? Is the evidence before us indicating domination or hybridity? If it is the latter, who is driving this hybridity?

How do gate keeping and other professional routines affect content and production?

Is there a difference in these factors between metro and regional radio stations?

Introduction

To gain an understanding of how foreign radio practitioners influence commercial music radio in New Zealand, and from this to understand content and production through the prism of hybridisation, research will be undertaken looking at New Zealand music content as a proportion of overall content. Research will focus on the United States, since in many places of the world, the forms of foreignness primarily available for importation are still mainly, if no longer exclusively, Anglo-American.

While the main method of research is content analysis of songs played on three radio stations, qualitative interviews with industry practitioners were also used to determine internal and organisational procedures.

For content analysis, the sampling procedure incorporated the selection of radio stations, determining sampling frames and dates, and the selection of units of categories. Using the strength of content analysis to determine units of analysis by counting instances of country of origin with regard to the songs being aired on a radio station, means that this method is suitable for this study.

To gather an appreciation of how New Zealand music is selected, interviews will be conducted with the main players from the industry who decide on content. Using qualitative techniques, this will assist in unravelling the overseas influences on music production and distribution. In the areas of programming, announcing and technology, the influence of American formats will be examined. There also needs to be some investigation into the difference between the major network brands and those independent stations fighting for survival in smaller regions. This should determine whether the relative autonomy for decision-making of the independent stations shows any noticeable difference to those of the major network players with regard to New Zealand music content.

Content Analysis defined

The reason content analysis has been chosen is because it is defined as a systematic, replicable technique for compressing many [songs] into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding. Holsti (1969) offers a broad definition of content analysis as, “any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages” (Holsti, 1969 : 14). Under Holsti’s definition, content analysis is not constrained simply to analysis of texts, but may be useful to other areas such as the coding frequency of specific events.

Content analysis allows the ability to examine sizeable volumes of data in a systematic fashion with comparative ease. From this, inferences can be made that can then be cross-referenced using different ways of data collection. Krippendorff notes

that “much content analysis research is motivated by the search for techniques to infer from symbolic data what would be either too costly, no longer possible, or too obtrusive by the use of other techniques” (Krippendorff, 1980 : 51). Content analysis is useful for examining patterns in seemingly random events. That makes it a perfectly suitable technique for looking for meaning within a large quantity of songs on a radio station’s play list.

Conducting a Content Analysis

According to Krippendorff (1980), six questions must be addressed in every content analysis:

- 1) Which data are analyzed?
- 2) How are they defined?
- 3) What is the population from which they are drawn?
- 4) What is the context relative to which the data are analyzed?
- 5) What are the boundaries of the analysis?
- 6) What is the target of the inferences?

In analyzing the Americanization of New Zealand commercial music radio, the research will use content analysis to determine the character and trend in radio music. Content analysis can never be objective, but it can be consistent. Following are the steps in the process of content analysis:

1. Define the population
2. Select samples from population
3. Select unit of analysis
4. Construct categories of content to be analyzed
5. Establish quantification system
6. Conduct a pilot study
7. Code the content based on the chosen criteria
8. Analyze the collected data
9. Draw conclusions and discuss the findings (Stemler, 2001).

Advantages of Content Analysis

It is a powerful data reduction technique. It is unobtrusive and useful in dealing with considerable volumes of pure information. For the purposes of this study, the major benefit comes from the fact that it is a reliable technique for compressing many songs into just a few categories based on explicit rules of coding. What makes it meaningful is its reliance on coding and categorizing of the data. The basic category is a group of songs with a similar geographic or artist source. The categories must be mutually exclusive and exhaustive if the data is to yield results. Mutually exclusive categories exist when “no unit falls between two data points, and each unit is represented by only one data point. The requirement of exhaustive categories is met when the data language represents all recording units without exception” (ibid). The coding of artist nationalities makes it an adequate tool to ensure exhaustiveness for establishing mutually exclusive boundaries.

Table One: Advantages and Disadvantages of Content Analysis

Advantages	Difficulties
It is unobtrusive	Finding a representative sample
It is relatively inexpensive	Determining measurable units
It can deal with current events, topics of present day interest	Obtaining reliability in coding
It uses material that is relatively easy to obtain and work with	Defining terms operationally
It yields data that can be quantified	Doesn't tell us how to interpret the wider social significance
	Takes data out of context

Source: Stemler, 2001.

Despite some of the drawbacks of this method, it is still useful as a tool so long as the sample, definition of terms and coding are done in a careful, systematic and reliable fashion. This will counter the two flaws that destroy the utility of a content analysis; non-mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories and flawed definitions of categories. As stated before, the weakness of one method will be countered by the strengths of another. The interpretation of the wider social significance will come from the interview section. If used properly it is an invaluable tool in triangulation,

where the validity of results is strengthened by using more than one method to study the same occurrence. Frequently it has been mentioned as the main advantage of the mixed method approach by lending authority to the findings by incorporating several sources of theories, methods or data.

In-depth interviews

In this organisational study, not only music will be looked at. Another critical part of a radio station's culture comes from the announcers, programmers and talent trainers. Information they pass on, and the style in which they deliver it comes from a myriad of sources, but is the dominant source of information local or foreign?

Justification for using Interview

In-depth interviews could provide data on where they source their material for competitions, information and voice breaks. A common source of information these days is the Internet, so do announcers get information from local Internet sources, personal observations and regional newspapers, or are they regurgitating ideas and stories using American resources? A common starting place for topics of conversation and interest are web news services, such as CNN and radio subscription sites hosting famous birthdays, ideas for topics, jokes and interview contacts. Predominantly, U.S. radio companies supply the bulk of this service. Interviewing the national talent trainers from the two major networks could flesh out where they get their direction. From what sources are they encouraging their talent to copy ideas and announcing styles? Are they being encouraged to model their format and style on the latest trends from America, or from somewhere else? Are overseas consultants responsible for this pattern of modelling? The advantages of doing an interview will allow the announcers and trainers to expand on all their sources and describe to which one they put the most emphasis.

Using interviews, the technology in use will also be examined. A key issue in cultural imperialism is the dependency on foreign technology. If New Zealand does follow this line then most of the technology to transmit programmes will be from a foreign origin. A local office of U.S. company, RCS Sound Systems provide tools to radio

such as 'Airwaves', 'Linker', 'Selector' and 'Master Control' and 'NexGen', and these are common providers of programming, presentation and advertisement merging. Analysis of this foreign technology will give some guidelines on the extent to which radio stations rely on it. This will shed some light on whether New Zealand radio stations are dependent on foreign technology to allow them to broadcast or whether local systems have been better adapted to suit local needs and conditions. A simple analysis of the technology employed will give some insight as to the adoption of North American technology in radio stations and how dependent New Zealand radio is on this technology. If American technology is not employed, what country provides a better solution to the technology required to run a radio station? Since technology is the hardware of broadcasting, how does the hardware influence the software (content) broadcast? Do the formatting conventions employed by programmers align themselves with the standard formatting of the computer programmes?

The in-depth interviews with national trainers, programme directors and announcers will be a combination of non-structured and standardized techniques. Questions will begin with a formal interview schedule that resemble a self-completed questionnaire, then followed up with an active open-ended dialogue while I still control the terms of the discussion. Some direct questions will be able to provide a basis for comparing responses since questions are exactly the same, while some questions will be broader in scope to allow the respondent to expand on their answers and to give a fuller view of their influences and control over various systems. This combination of techniques is used to trade the weakness of one technique with the strength of another.

Interviews provide distinctive data as compared to observations: they capture the perspectives of people involved with the study. An interview, rather than an email survey, is critical when interpersonal communication is paramount and also when interesting comments can lead to further qualification opportunities.

Defining Interviews

An in-depth interview is a channel of communication between an interviewer and an interviewee. The goal is to elicit rich, detailed material that can be used in analysis (see Lofland and Lofland, 1995). Far-reaching inquiring and open-ended questions typify in-depth interviews. I will be seeking to encourage free and open responses. In-depth interviews capture the interviewee's words as they speak which is a very advantageous approach in qualitative data collection. This means that I can present the meaningfulness of the experience from the respondent's point of view.

Table Two: Advantages and disadvantages of in-depth interviews

Advantages	Disadvantages
Usually yield richest data, details, new insights	Expensive and time-consuming
Permit face-to-face contact with respondents	Need well-qualified, highly trained interviewers
Provide opportunity to explore topics in depth	Interviewee may distort information through recall error, selective perceptions, desire to please interviewer
Afford ability to experience the affective as well as cognitive aspects of responses	Flexibility can result in inconsistencies across interviews
Allow interviewer to explain or help clarify questions, increasing the likelihood of useful responses	Volume of information too large; may be difficult to transcribe and reduce data
Allow interviewer to be flexible in administering interview to particular individuals or circumstances	

Source: NSF, 1993.

Again, the weaknesses of this method will be countered by the strengths of the other method I am utilizing. By limiting the number of people interviewed, and by recording each of them, I hope to counter the difficulties of cost, distortion and

volume of responses. By interviewing only the key players, it will be easier to collate data and present it in a concise and undistorted way.

Sampling

At last count, there are around 800 radio frequencies in use throughout New Zealand. Many of them are simulcast nationwide from central broadcasting locations in Auckland, so the true number of actual independent stand-alone stations is far less. To narrow the field down to the commercial music stations, including TRN, Ironbridge (HT Media), Rhema, LPFM, independent and b.net, but not including the Concert, National or iwi stations, the number would be closer to 65.

The Radio Broadcasters Association is the body which represents The Radio Network, Ironbridge and independently owned stations. They represent nearly 97% of all the radio-advertising revenues, a sum of around \$200 million. Since CanWest (now Ironbridge/ HT Media) and The Radio Network “have 83 per cent of the national commercial radio audience and make 92% of commercial radio revenue” (Vaughan, 2007 : B10), it is important to sample from their brands. The stations selected will come from this RBA pool (see Appendix A). It is also useful to sample one of their network products that can be received around the country, as it will have the maximum influence by numbers of listeners. The choice of an independent comes as a comparison to the major players to see whether they are more adaptable to local needs and more experimental in New Zealand music content. It must be made explicit that this research project, and in fact, most research projects are subject to some form of bias. I must declare my own bias from the outset and state that some of the research subjects used have been expressly selected due to my ease of access to them. These are people who I have met through my 18 years of radio who have risen to powerful and influential positions today, and it is my familiarity with them that I will utilize to ensure a detailed discussion of American influence in their organization.

By using two different demographically targeted stations, one from each major network, some comparisons can be made on whether a younger targeted audience is fed more American music, than an older, female household shopper demographic. A third independent local station will provide a counter to the pressures of being a

network station, potentially being more adaptable to the unique needs of their local community. How this relative freedom will affect local programming decisions and the diversity of foreign content will be investigated.

Therefore, from TRN, ZM was chosen as it is New Zealand's young adult music station playing the best of Today's Hit Music. In 19 markets throughout the country, "ZM reaches over 360,000 listeners every week. Their listeners are busy lifestylers in the mid to high socio economic groups. From young professionals to young couples with families, this group is socially active and big on entertainment. Typically 18-39 with high disposable incomes, the ZM audience are early adopters, brand conscious and up with the times" (TRN, 2007). All the music played comes from a central database in Auckland under the supervision of Group Programme Director, Christian Boston.

From HT Media, More FM has an adult music format that targets the 25-44 year old female – a true household shopper. More FM's total audience is 345,000 per week and broadcasts in 22 centres throughout New Zealand. The selection of music all comes from Auckland through their Group Programme Director, Rodger Clamp, although the announcers are a mix of local and network.

Sounds FM in Blenheim is one of only a handful of local independent stations. They target 18 to 35 year olds, all people with a slight female skew. It broadcasts to a region comprising of some 43 000 people, targeting a broad listenership of all people aged 15-45. Their Programme Director is Christian Shearer.

Study Sample

To gather data for this research, a sample of radio stations from around the country from both HT Media, The Radio Network and the independents will be asked to submit their music play lists. To get a full picture of local and overseas content on a commercial music station, a full 24-hour clock must be sampled. This will indicate whether the station is correctly reporting its local content figures. The best way to achieve this and get a spread over a working week is to use 12 hour sampling over four days, which also remains balanced between day and night. Mon 6a-6p, Tue 6p-

6a, Wed 6a-6p and Thu 6p-6a will show any local content loading discrepancy between daytime and nighttime figures. A working week has been chosen to exclude the possibility of specialty shows and one-off programming in the weekends. A nearly 600 song sample over these four days will be adequate to see if the content being played matches the stations' declared voluntary quota goal, and whether local content is being forced into low listening times. Content analysis will determine the percentage of American, Kiwi and other music. From this sample, I can also ascertain whether there is a difference between networks, and between metro and regional. The first research question is whether the levels of New Zealand music content promoted by radio stations are aligned with the actual levels and how this equates with the target goals of the governmental funding agency, NZoA. This will directly answer the first research question.

The methodology for defining local content comes from the Radio Broadcasters Association website. The RBA have defined in their view what exactly is New Zealand music. On a basic level, they have applied the same definition as used by NZ on Air, although they have modified it on two points - the word 'made' and the phrase 'New Zealander'. A full explanation of their definition is listed in Appendix B.

Time Period

The selection of the working week 13th to the 17th February 2006 was chosen because it was a normal broadcasting week. It was not in the twice-yearly six-week survey as this could have been open to claims of skewed results and it was also not done during New Zealand Music Month in May, as this could have potentially spiked the New Zealand content figures. The weekends were not included because of the possibility of specialist programming of Top 40s and overseas countdowns etc.

A total of 1730 songs have been analysed, 571 from More FM, 563 from ZM and 596 from Sounds FM over a total of five days and nights, Monday 6am to 6pm, Tuesday 6pm to Wednesday 6am, Wednesday 6am to 6pm and Thursday 6pm to Friday 6am. Songs have been coded as originating from an artist or group from one country, or listed as a hybrid of two distinct countries. No song had a mixture of individual artists from more than two countries. The source of the origin of the band or artist came

from the on-line encyclopaedia, Wikipedia. In a sampled cross check of the data from Wikipedia with some of the band's own web-sites, there was no difference in the country of origin, and so therefore only in this narrow category, Wikipedia has shown that its data was correct. In determining the country of origin of the artist, the country of birth was not the prime determinant. Many artists were born in one country but quickly moved to other countries at early stages of their musical development. And certainly in this current age, artists continue to move frequently from country to country looking for opportunities to promote their music and expand their influence.

This is indicative of what Held & McGrew (1999) suggest as an *intensification* of interconnectedness and flows of migration and culture, as well as the increase in the *velocity* of the diffusion of ideas, goods, information, capital and people. This is a manifestation of globalization as a consequence and a cause of the widening, intensifying, speeding up, and growing impact of worldwide interconnectedness.

Definitions of Categories

Hence, the country of origin attributed to the artist or group needs to be clearly defined. For most artists, it is as simple as where they were born and currently reside. In only a few instances, this is too simplistic, as artists were born in one country, but have since moved to another country during their musically formative years. For 99% of cases this is completely irrelevant, but in a few instances, a line call is required. For the purposes of this research, any artist that moved to a new country and lived in it for some time during the age of 12-15 is considered to be the country of origin. The justification for this is that intermediate and primary age is too young, and University age is too old. Again, the numbers of artists that require this line call is statistically insignificant, e.g. Barbados born Rihanna.

To define an artist as a New Zealander, the checklist provided by the Radio Broadcasters Association is used [Appendix B]. Again, for most cases whether the artist is a New Zealander or not is obvious, but it is used in the few instances where a line call must be given, e.g. Crowded House, yes, Daniel Bedingfield, no.

From here, there will be a discussion about new ways to understand the concept of

hybridization, and these discussions will be general and broad. There is a good reason for this. The biggest problem with hybridization, and from this, the politics of cultural protectionism is that it is premised on a notion that there are,

Pure, authentic, cultural spaces, unsullied by cultural imperialism, which must be defended...this fantasy depends on the inaccurate presumption that cultural mixing is a new and recent phenomenon – whereas in fact, all cultures have routinely absorbed and indigenized elements from other sources, throughout history, so that it is, rather, a question of ‘hybridity all the way down’ – and, indeed, all the way round (Clifford 1997 : ch. 1 as cited in Morley, 2006 : 37).

From this, there are obvious difficulties in measuring hybridity. To try to attempt to categorize individual elements as local and others as foreign, and from this create some quantifiable measure of hybridity precludes a definition of authenticity, which is simply far too difficult to administer. Many elements of radio are already a complex mixture of local and foreign influences, so it would be impossible to statistically categorize hybridity based on units of genuine authenticity or origin. Hybridity needs to be investigated within its general levels of mixing, focusing on whether it leans towards more local or more global. Trying to define hybridisation based on some proof of authenticity is simply too problematic.

Can New Zealand commercial music radio be described by the cultural imperialism theory of the West to the Rest, or is it more closely linked to hybridisation, of taking the best of overseas and merging it together into a fusion of the global/local? Using a mixed method approach will provide the best means of answering the research questions.

Justification for the methodology

The assumption guiding this methodology is that a combination of quantitative and qualitative elements will be best suited to this investigation. This is because the experience of radio does not happen in a laboratory, but instead in a complicated social environment. Also, when investigating human behaviour and attitudes, it is most fruitful to use a variety of data collection methods (Patton, 1990). By using

different methods, the thesis can form a strong argument with the best parts of a method, while minimizing the weak aspects of just one approach. Both the validity and reliability of the study will be amplified by the use of a multi-method approach.

The range of possible benefits that carefully designed mixed method study can yield has been conceptualized by a number of evaluators (see Greene et al., 1989) and according to Cronbach (1982) “There is no single best plan for an evaluation, not even for an inquiry into a particular program at a particular time, with a particular budget” (as cited in NSF, 1993). Therefore the mixed-method approach is seen to be the most effective at producing functional results.

This research will involve content analysis, surveys and in-depth interviews to look at the influence of Americanisation in New Zealand commercial music radio. An intellectual approach to communication research is built on the premise that the social world reproduced in daily life can only be understood properly when we take into account the wider social and cultural formations that surround the social world and contribute in shaping it. This intellectual tradition of critical realism advocates for the understanding of the interaction between our action and the social structure that are said to be dynamic and affecting each other. For research to capture these relationships adequately we must employ techniques from all disciplines, which mean borrowing from both quantitative and qualitative research methods and using them in combination.

Using a mixed-method approach will be the best way to uncover levels of influence in the media. Through these methods of data collection, a reasonably full description of the state of commercial music radio will be arrived at, which will be useful to stakeholders with an interest in radio and culture, such as people in positions of power in the industry and policy-makers whose job it is to legislate or promote cultural identity or protectionism in an age of globalisation.

The discussion over the benefits of qualitative versus quantitative is ongoing in contemporary debate, but when it comes to the choice of methods for conducting research, a sensible two-pronged attack strategy shows the most benefit. Some critics have argued for integrating the two approaches building on their complementary

strengths (see Shadish, 1993). Others have stressed the advantages of linking qualitative and quantitative methods when performing research showing how the validity and usefulness of findings will benefit (see Miles and Huberman, 1994 : 40-43).

Justification of the choice of respondents interviewed

The decision to interview Programme Directors is due to them being the point of gate keeping between the music and the audience. They are the significant players that define what music gets played and what gets omitted. It is their decision that has a bearing on the cultural output of the stations. To understand the influences on their decision making will allow a better understanding of how hybridization is manifested and what levels of this hybridization are crucial to local artists gaining airplay.

The National Talent Trainers are particularly important, as they are the ones that provide explicit guidance on how the announcers should formulate and construct their voice-breaks. It is through their training, or 'boot camps' that ideas are potentially fed from overseas sources and consultants. Where exactly they are from is of interest.

Only through interviews can some insight be gained as to the dominant values of those influencing content and production. Through open response questions in an interview schedule, it allows respondents to articulate their own answers in their own terms, with no danger of undermining rapport by imposing inappropriately restricted response frameworks. The method removes the possibility that certain types of responses are being prompted by the response options on offer. Asking these types of questions could result in a huge number of responses. This would give a very good indication of the variety of ideas and feelings people have, it would enable them to think and talk for longer. This will be a vehicle for the elaboration of their feelings and views, but it is very difficult to quantify these results. I will need to report them in their diversity and make general statements. When the qualitative detail is fully recorded, these answers can provide richer, more sensitive insights into the views and activities of respondents. This will assist in answering the second and third research questions.

Summary

Together, these methods will look at the tension arising from the following oppositions at the heart of media making, and from the answers provided from the research questions, better understand contemporary radio's role in society and judge which side of the tug-of-war is dominating:

- Constraint versus autonomy in music selection
- Routine production versus creativity in programming and announcing
- Commerce versus art in professional routines
- Profit versus social purpose in metro vs. regional

These combinations of research methods through triangulation will answer the four main research questions stated at the beginning of this chapter. Using the mix of qualitative and quantitative analysis, the weaknesses of any one method will be countered by the strengths of another. This combination intends to unravel how hybridisation manifests itself in New Zealand media.

From this methodological application, I hope to uncover what levels of Anglo-American influence there are in contemporary commercial music radio in New Zealand. This will develop into a discussion about new ways of looking at hybridisation, and what the effect is on local culture industries and ways in which to engage with national policy makers on this new way of understanding the local/global discourse in today's media saturated society.

Content analysis and in-depth interviews will assist in investigating levels of hybridisation in technology, music as well as music selection and announcing. Also other influences will become apparent, detailing how involved British, Australian or some other nation is in the current New Zealand commercial music radio industry.

Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations inform each step of the research process. Ethics in research relate both to the informants (the subjects, the people I interview, the people I am

researching or asking to help with research, etc.) and myself.

Institutional Protection of the Informants

Institutional safeguards exist at Canterbury University to protect the basic rights of those individuals participating in my research. Research plans that propose the use of living human subjects or data on humans must be reviewed and approved by the Ethics Committee before the research begins to determine if they are assuring adequate protection of human participants. The Department will require I ask the informants to sign consent forms or to assure the anonymity of informants or to take other measures.

Personal Responsibility

My primary responsibility is to do no harm, even if it means I cannot do the research as originally planned. As a researcher, I have personal ethical responsibilities in terms of my decisions and actions regarding research. Am I asking people embarrassing questions? Is it politically dangerous for someone to talk to me? Will someone lose her or his job by talking to me? Am I ensuring the anonymity and/or confidentiality of my respondents? I also need to keep in mind that a question that I might not think is sensitive, may be to someone else. As a researcher, I also want to do well. The thesis is not an attempt to be far removed and aloof from the industry, postulating on high about what is wrong with it, instead it is motivated by deeper concerns about the potential homogenizing effect on local cultures, and I wish to draw attention to some potential legitimate concerns that on a political level can be addressed. Authors Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob assert, “Our version of objectivity concedes the impossibility of any research being neutral and accepts the fact that knowledge seeking involves a lively contentious struggle among diverse groups of truth-seekers” (Appleby et al., 1994 : 254).

This is how I can be ethically responsible when working with others:

1. Representing myself honestly.
2. Ask permission to conduct interviews. Ask permission to record the conversations. Respect a "no" if I get one. Offer copies of everything to the people I interact with.

Make sure that my subjects understand what I am researching and why I am interviewing them. Have them sign informed consent forms if the Department requires me to do so.

3. Do not make promises I cannot keep.
4. Be prompt and respectful.
5. Be grateful for whatever time, information, or assistance other people are able to give. Fit into my informant's schedule. People who help are doing me a favour, not the other way around.

The key is to critically reflect on the role as a researcher and to state my perspectives (my biases), approaches, limitations, and assumptions upfront. If I fail to do so, I implicitly assume the universality of my position.

All researchers have “biases”. We come with them and cannot escape them. Gender, language, age, class, race, etc. affect how we analyze and interact with the world. We need to be clear about our biases and appreciate that while they locate and to some extent limit us, they are also a perfectly normal part of scholarly endeavors. We want them to shape us, but not keep us from recognizing the possibilities beyond their limitations. We must also acknowledge that who we are may keep us from doing some kinds of research.

Incorporating the research techniques stated above, I now turn to the data portion of the research. Incorporating music logs from the three selected stations, quantitative analysis can be performed to compare music brands in their support for New Zealand music as well as their reliance on overseas artists to make up the remainder of their music logs. Using this data will answer some key questions including whether a stand-alone local station has more programming freedom than their metropolitan counterparts, and whether chasing different demographic targets may lead station's to adapt their foreign content accordingly.

Chapter Six: *Counting Music on New Zealand Radio*

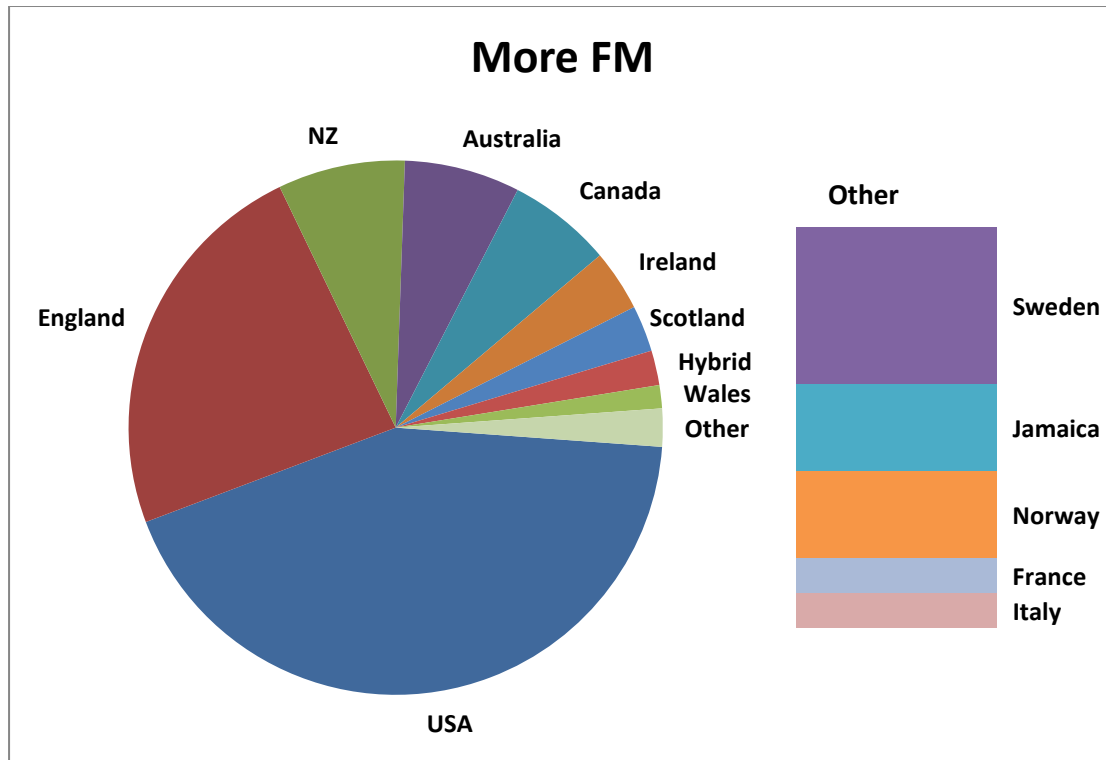
The following data represents the empirical evidence gathered from the three surveyed stations. It represents an attempt to quantify Anglo-American influence on the New Zealand radio market. As detailed in the previous chapter, a song played on the radio was coded on the country of origin of the artist or group. Collating this data gives some indication to the dominance of style, phonetics and character emanating from centres of musical production. This will provide the background to discussions of dominance and the potential homogenising effect on local music production.

Table Three: Country Origin of Artist by Station

Origin of Artist		More	ZM	Sounds	Total
USA	Count	246	288	249	783
	% within station	43.1%	51.2%	41.8%	45.3%
Sweden	Count	5	3	2	10
	% within station	.9%	.5%	.3%	.6%
Barbados	Count		10	5	15
	% within station		1.8%	.8%	.9%
Finland	Count		5		5
	% within station		.9%		.3%
Germany	Count		3	1	4
	% within station		.5%	.2%	.2%
Jamaica	Count	3		2	5
	% within station	.5%		.3%	.3%
Norway	Count	3			3
	% within station	.5%			.2%
Italy	Count	1		1	2
	% within station	.2%		.2%	.1%
Colombia	Count			5	5
	% within station			.8%	.3%
Russia	Count			1	1
	% within station			.2%	.1%
Denmark	Count			1	1
	% within station			.2%	.1%
England	Count	135	63	113	311
	% within station	23.6%	11.2%	19.0%	18.0%
Trinidad	Count			1	1
	% within station			.2%	.1%
Spain	Count			1	1
	% within station			.2%	.1%
Mix of 2 Countries	Count	12	34	19	65
	% within station	2.1%	6.0%	3.2%	3.8%
NZ	Count	44	55	75	174
	% within station	7.7%	9.8%	12.6%	10.1%
Australia	Count	40	43	47	130

	% within station	7.0%	7.6%	7.9%	7.5%
Scotland	Count	16	22	13	51
	% within station	2.8%	3.9%	2.2%	2.9%
Wales	Count	8	2	9	19
	% within station	1.4%	.4%	1.5%	1.1%
Ireland	Count	21	3	10	34
	% within station	3.7%	.5%	1.7%	2.0%
France	Count	1	9	8	18
	% within station	.2%	1.6%	1.3%	1.0%
Canada	Count	36	23	33	92
	% within station	6.3%	4.1%	5.5%	5.3%
Total	Count	571	563	596	1730
	% within station	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Figure Six: Origin of Artist by Station



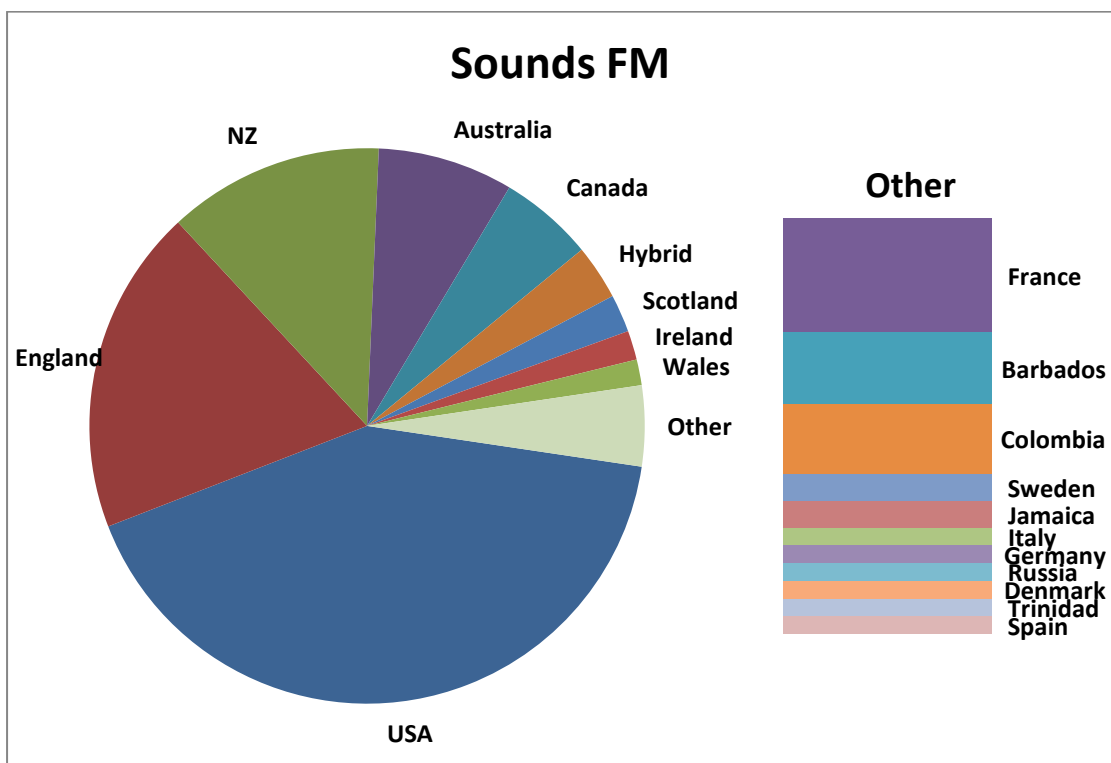
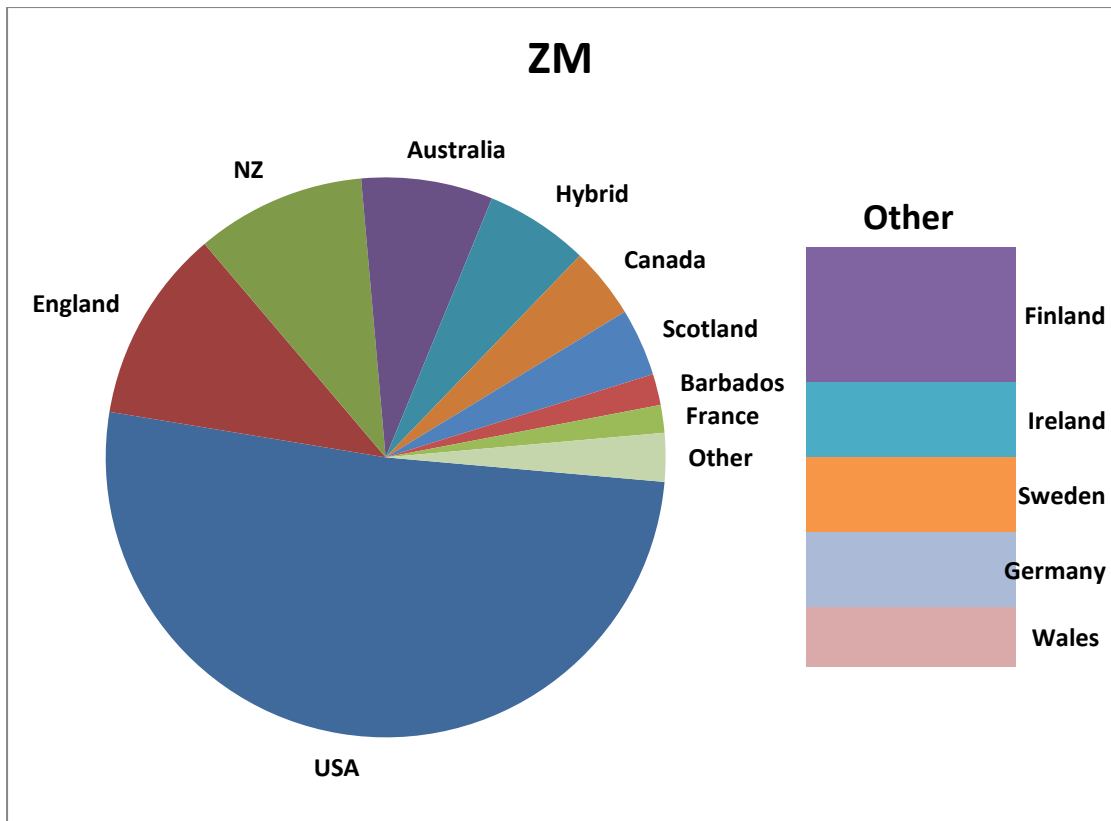
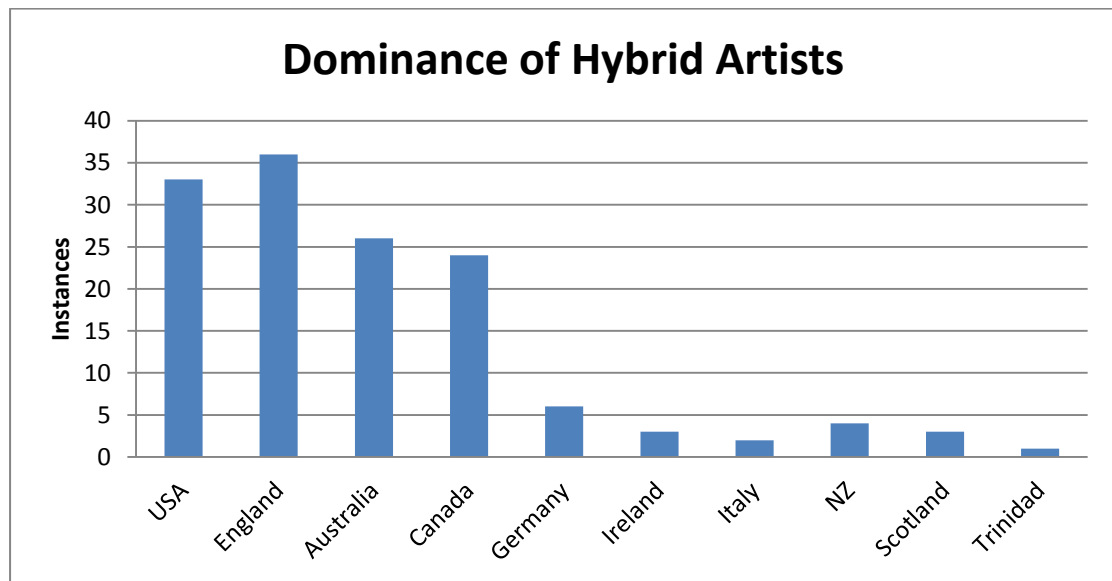
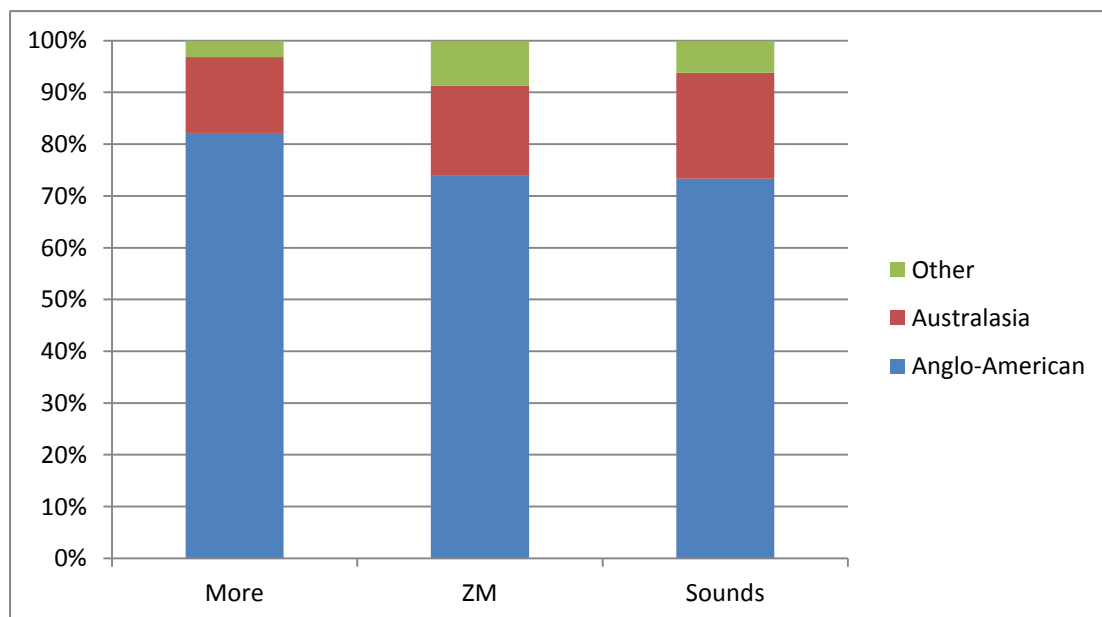


Figure Seven: Country featuring in the creation of hybrid music



Any song that is credited as a hybrid involves artists from two separate countries. By counting the number of instances a country has in the creation of hybrid music gives some indication of what countries dominate this musical form.

Figure Eight: Anglo-American/ Australasian/ Other Groupings by Station



Anglo-American represents artists from the US, Canada, England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Australasia combines NZ and Australian artists. Hybrid Anglo-American artists, e.g. USA/England (Pretenders) go into Anglo-American category, the rest of the hybrid forms make up the ‘Other’ category as well as individual artists from countries that do not fit into the other categories. There are no hybrid Australasian songs.

Table Four: Music from Countries Outside of Dominant 8

More	
Sweden	5
Jamaica	3
Norway	3
Italy	1
Germany	2
France	1

15 Songs out of 571 =
2.63% unique Diversity

ZM	
Sweden	3
Barbados	10
Finland	5
Germany	3
France	9

30 Songs out of 563 =
5.33% unique diversity

Sounds	
Sweden	2
Barbados	5
Germany	4
Jamaica	2
Italy	2
Colombia	5
Russia	1
Denmark	1
Trinidad	2
Spain	1
France	8

33 Songs out of 596 =
5.54% unique diversity

If a song is listed as a hybrid and it includes an Anglo-American or Australasian artist with someone from a country that does not fit into either category, e.g., USA/Germany, then it is coded here as having a distinct ‘other’ country’s influence, i.e. Germany. It does not include a hybrid form from a mixed dominant source, e.g. Australia/Canada in the form of INXS feat. JD Fortune.

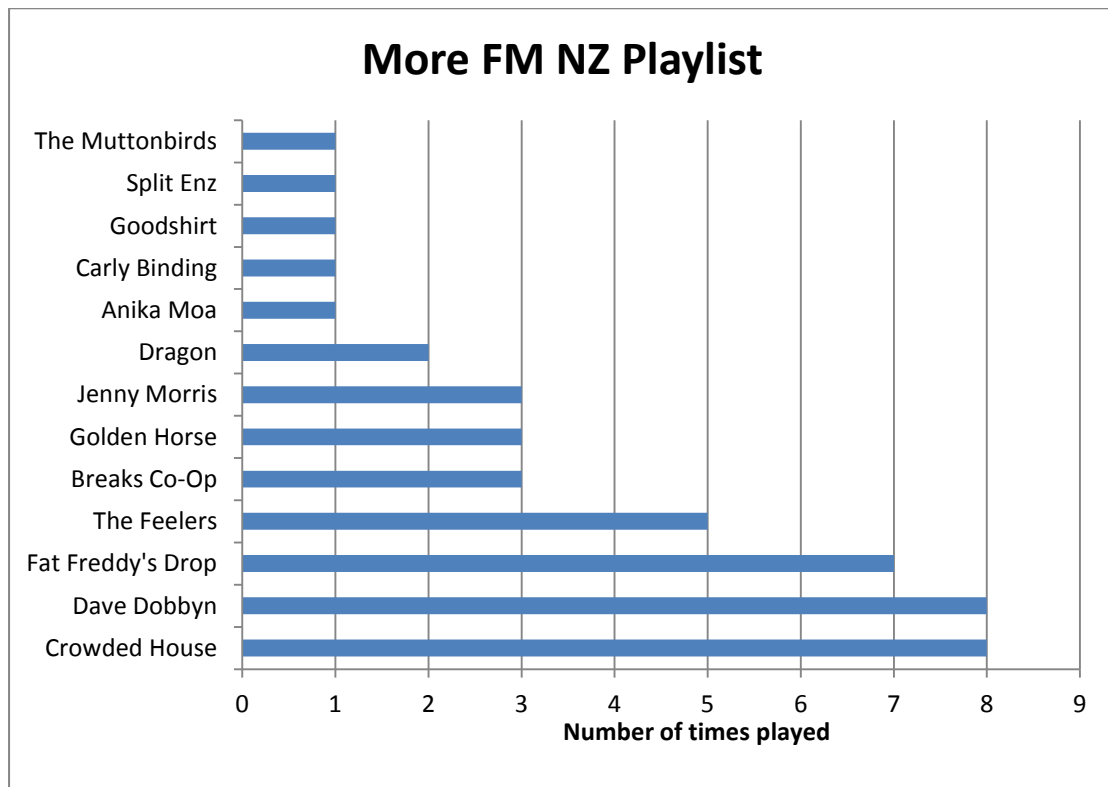
Table Five: New Zealand Artists by Station

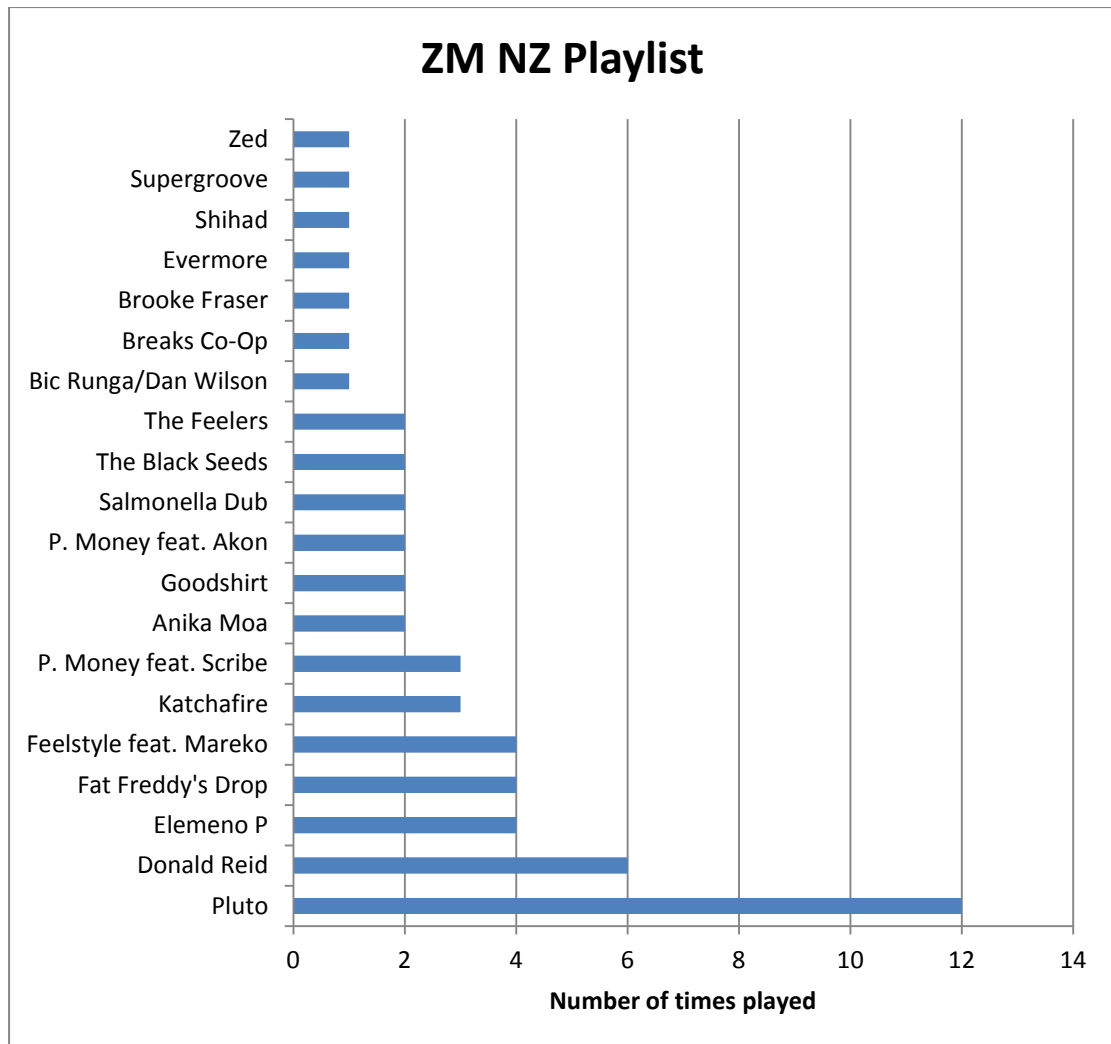
		More	ZM	Sounds
48May	Count			3
	% within station			4.0%
Aaradhina	Count			2
	% within station			2.7%
Anika Moa	Count	1	2	
	% within station	2.3%	3.6%	
Ben Novak	Count			3
	% within station			4.0%
Bic Runga	Count			4
	% within station			5.3%
Bic Runga/Dan Wilson	Count		1	
	% within station		1.8%	
Breaks Co-Op	Count	3	1	1
	% within station	6.8%	1.8%	1.3%
Brooke Fraser	Count		1	11
	% within station		1.8%	14.7%
Carly Binding	Count	1		4
	% within station	2.3%		5.3%
Crowded House	Count	8		
	% within station	18.2%		
Dave Dobbyn	Count	8		4
	% within station	18.2%		5.3%
Deep Obsession	Count			1
	% within station			1.3%
Donald Reid	Count		6	1
	% within station		10.9%	1.3%
Dragon	Count	2		
	% within station	4.5%		
Elemeno P	Count		4	2
	% within station		7.3%	2.7%
Evermore	Count		1	
	% within station		1.8%	
Fat Freddy's Drop	Count	7	4	6
	% within station	15.9%	7.3%	8.0%
Feelstyle feat. Mareko	Count		4	
	% within station		7.3%	
Golden Horse	Count	3		3
	% within station	6.8%		4.0%

Goodshirt	Count	1	2	
	% within station	2.3%	3.6%	
Hello Sailor	Count			1
	% within station			1.3%
Jenny Morris	Count	3		1
	% within station	6.8%		1.3%
Katchafire	Count		3	
	% within station		5.5%	
Mareko	Count			1
	% within station			1.3%
Mutton Birds	Count			1
	% within station			1.3%
Nesian Mystik	Count			2
	% within station			2.7%
P. Money feat. Akon	Count		2	
	% within station		3.6%	
P. Money feat. Scribe	Count		3	1
	% within station		5.5%	1.3%
Pluto	Count		12	6
	% within station		21.8%	8.0%
Salmonella Dub	Count		2	
	% within station		3.6%	
Sarah Brown	Count			2
	% within station			2.7%
Savage feat. Akon	Count			1
	% within station			1.3%
Shihad	Count		1	
	% within station		1.8%	
Split Enz	Count	1		
	% within station	2.3%		
Steriogram	Count			1
	% within station			1.3%
Straw People	Count			1
	% within station			1.3%
Supergroove	Count		1	
	% within station		1.8%	
The Black Seeds	Count		2	1
	% within station		3.6%	1.3%
The Dukes	Count			3
	% within station			4.0%
The Feelers	Count	5	2	2
	% within station	11.4%	3.6%	2.7%

The Muttonbirds	Count	1	
	% within station	2.3%	
The WBC	Count	1	
	% within station	1.3%	
Vickie Evans	Count	3	
	% within station	4.0%	
Zed	Count	1	2
	% within station	1.8%	2.7%
Total	Count	44	55
	% within station	100.0%	100.0%

Figure Nine: Summary of New Zealand Artists by Station





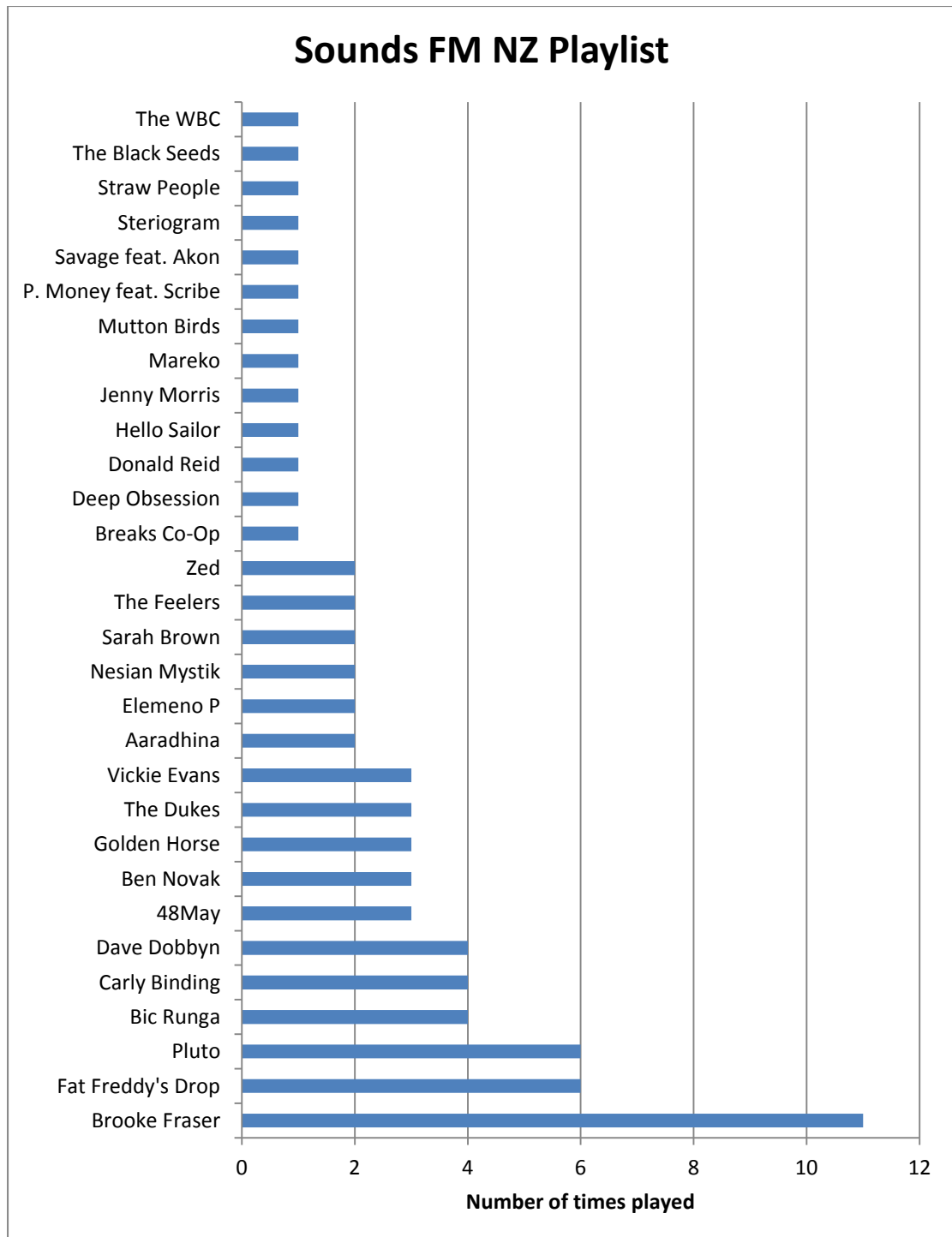


Table Six: New Zealand Music Day/Night by Station

Station		Day	Night	Total
More	Count	21	23	44
	% within day/night	8.0%	7.5%	7.7%
	Total Count	264	307	571
ZM	Count	25	30	55
	% within day/night	10.1%	9.5%	9.8%
	Total Count	247	316	563
Sounds	Count	33	42	75
	% within day/night	13.1%	12.2%	12.6%
	Total Count	252	344	596

Taking this collated data in isolation paints an incomplete picture, as the stations clearly do not operate in a vacuum. Chapter Seven looks at the numbers and will attempt to make some sense of the patterns shown above. Some explanation is required to bring out an understanding of the quantitative analysis and show patterns of behaviours and content that statistics give only a partial view of.

Chapter Seven: *Evaluating Music Content*

Critics have claimed that the hybridity thesis is rhetorical rather than scientific, ideological rather than empirical. Kraidy (2005) suggests it reinforces and contradicts itself at the same time and Boyd-Barrett (1998) believes intellectual development in the field of international communication lurches from one theory to another without exhaustive testing. I shall now use empirical data to show the dominance of overseas content in radio.

What were then CanWest and The Radio Network clearly dominated the ratings in each of the 13 survey markets from Northland to Southland including the major markets of Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin [Appendix A]. Combined, they hold the balance of power and dictate the terms for the New Zealand commercial market. New Zealand radio is dominated by overseas ownership. Does this influence playlists, sounds and directions of the various brands? With such power comes a responsibility to New Zealand's culture. What are the cultural implications of economic power and can it be understood as deterministic?

Origin of Artist by Station

Initial results show the dominance of North American music over all three stations studied: ZM, More FM, and Sounds FM. More than half of ZM's music sampled is from the United States. For Sounds it was nearly 42%.

The second most dominant music source was England with a high of nearly 24% from More FM to less than half that on ZM. The Anglo-American dominance here is quite defined.

Canada's comparatively high showing comes partly because of the dominance of just two artists, Daniel Powter and Nickleback. Combined they account for 62% of all Canadian music sampled over three stations. ZM had 91% of their Canadian content

from those two artists. Sounds FM's two favourite Canadian artists had 45% of the Canadian playlist content.

The Canadian data is somewhat spiked by this over-reliance on just a few Canadian artists. With these artists accounting for a range from 4.1% to 6.3% of total content across three stations, there is a case for aggregating U.S. - Canadian figures into a grouping of North American content. Statistically, the actual number of unique Canadian artists does not warrant inclusion in their own category.

Who dominates the creation of hybrid music?

Since there is such dominance by the North American and United Kingdom artists overall, one would expect this dominance to continue in the creation of musical collaborations. Established artists are more likely to gain air-time when they team up with another artist to create a song. Their track record makes them more attractive to radio programmers, and easier to attain recognition from the audience. This is the case in this study. A hybrid song is defined as a song played on the radio that contains two artists from two different bands, either from the same country or from different countries. The hybrid song figures in comparison to the total number of songs are relatively low, the highest being 6% for ZM, but again there is a strong showing by bands from the USA and England, although the English are more involved in the creation of hybrid music than the USA, which is in marked contrast to the percentage terms of the individual artists. The high showing of Australia and Canada can be attributed in part to the high rotation of one band, *INXS feat. JD Fortune*, after the Canadian singer won the right to front an Australian band in the American reality TV show *Rock Star: INXS*.

The inclusion of hybrid forms of music is arguably part of a new understanding of culture that sees hybrid music as a mixture of differences, or an energy field of different forces. Hybridity emerges from the process of opening what Bhabba (1994 as cited in Papastergiadis, 1997 : 258) has called a third space within which other elements encounter and transform each other. Around the developed world, there are many examples of cultures being understood as a mixing of 'authentic' cultures and the process of hybridity must be understood as an inherent part of the coming together

of social and cultural dynamics. Critics of this positive view of hybridity see it as a potential pathway to dependency, to weakly imitating foreign cultural production or to revaluing certain aspects of a culture while devaluing others. Whether this is better understood as a one-way or two-way approach, as Ram (2004) suggests should be answered by investigation through empirical evidence.

Comparison of Anglo-American/ Australasian/ Other Groupings

The Anglo-American dominance here is clear. All three stations play predominantly music from two main regions of the world to the exclusion of many others. More FM plays the most with 469 songs (82%) out of 571 while Sounds FM plays the least at 73%, which is still very high, lending some weight to the argument of the domestication of American values. The pure volume of music coming from two dominant centres of production will have some effect on local musicians looking for inspiration and musical forms in their music. If there is a 'standard' to which young musicians must aspire and music programmers follow, then it is in some part reflected in what comes out of the US and Great Britain. Tomlinson (1991) sees this as the outcome of the use of political and economic power to spread the values and habits of a foreign culture at the expense of a native culture. This produces a cultural domination that originates with commercial objectives, namely the desire to infiltrate a recipient nation with cultural products for commercial gain. There will be a discussion later of the profit motive of the two dominant foreign owned operators in the New Zealand radio market.

How many artists make up a unique 'Other' by Station

The world has 192 countries. If the eight current dominant sources of musical production are removed, (including that of Anglo-America, the voluntary quota of New Zealand songs and those from Australia, along with the hybrid music forms from only these centres of music production), one is left with some sense of what I have termed a 'fringe inclusivity', that is music made or contributed by artists from the remaining pool of 184 countries that do not fit into the other dominant categories. This provides an indication of the geographic diversity of songs that each station plays. The numbers are very small. Sounds and ZM are similar with around 5% and

More FM has half that figure again. Barbados features highly with 15 songs, but this is solely due to the high rotation of one artist, Rihanna, on ZM and Sounds. France records the highest number of plays with 18, although again this is not an indication of diversity with 16 plays for just one artist, Bob Sinclar.

This is a clear manifestation of the dominance of only a few actors that many critics have suggested is a negative outcome of globalisation. Mercer (1994 as cited in Campbell et al., 2005) discussed that across a whole range of cultural forms there is a dynamic which critically appropriates elements from the master-codes of the dominant culture. One can refer to the notion of ‘triadisation’ that says globalisation is about the prosperity of three dominant actors, i.e. the United States, the European Union and Japan. In music too, interdependence is not global, but confined to a few musical powerhouses. Østergaard (1998) added that the dominant actors are repositioning to control the whole media process from content inception to delivery to individual audience segments. McQuail, (2000) summarised this concern best when he said the purpose was to dominate the media consumption in smaller countries and impose one’s own cultural values on audiences, leading to a decline in local cultures.

How many Artists make up New Zealand Content by Station

The total New Zealand content comes in at 7.7% of all More FM music sampled. Commercial music stations are risk-averse and so are less willing to experiment with ‘unknown’ local artists. Their high rotates of only a few popular songs and well-known artists indicate their lack of diversity. With just 44 New Zealand songs played, and their total number of New Zealand artists at just 13, over half of More FM’s current New Zealand content comes from only three artists, Crowded House, Dave Dobbyn and Fat Freddy’s Drop, and 84% comes from just seven artists. There is a simplistic conservatism at play here where the audience may be blamed for wanting what they have always got. Ang (1991) sees this streamlining of programming achieved through what Gitlin (1983) has called ‘recombinant culture’. The streamlining of the audience goes with the streamlining of media’s output into a smooth sequenced flow, matching the characteristics of attempting to “bring the variable elements in the streamlined audience under control” (Ang, 1991 : 66).

ZM's artist count fares better with a total of 20 New Zealand artists and 55 New Zealand songs played, although Pluto was played a dozen times compared to Donald Reid at just six. That is still quite numerous as the remaining artists are played four times or fewer. Just over half of ZM's New Zealand song playlist comes from just five artists, Pluto, Donald Reid, Elemen P, Fat Freddy's Drop and Feelstyle featuring Mareko. Despite this, their playlist is considerably more diverse than More FM's with its New Zealand content listed as 9.8%.

It is interesting to see whether an isolated local radio station such as Sounds FM is either risk averse like the big players in the metro markets or more willing to be experimental in its playlists with regard to New Zealand music. There may be many reasons for this. Sounds FM may not see itself as part of the corporate logic of what a placeless network should sound like. This may be in part due to the local station not having to protect such a narrow share of the market against many like competitors, with more freedom to play songs that may cross over into different formats or perhaps with less structured research or prescribed playlist from a higher level employee to guide them on every music decision. With a total of 75 local songs being played, it has 70% more local content than More FM and 36% more than ZM. Sounds' total number of different New Zealand artists is 30, over twice as many artists as More FM and half as many again as ZM. Similarly to the metro stations, one artist does dominate in Brooke Fraser, however only 30% of the playlist is dominated by just three artists, and less than half by six artists. Accordingly, Sounds has the highest percentage of New Zealand music being played with 12.6% and therefore the most local diversity.

This lack of artist choice is not surprising to many critics who argue that New Zealand's deregulation and consolidation restrict diversity. Cocker (1992) argued that "There is ample evidence world-wide that unrestrained market competition in broadcasting in fact tends to work strongly against the choices of citizens" (as cited in Shanahan and Duignan, 2005 : 37). Pauling and Wilson (1994 : 200) suggested that commercial radio's need to make ever increasing profits would result in an 'ultra-normalisation' of format content, and Atkinson (1998) maintained that the programme variety the market reformers in the 1980s promised has failed to eventuate (Isifides, 1999, Chambers, 2003, Barnett, 1998). Hence the high rotate of 'safe' New Zealand

artists that have been tested and approved by research or seen to do well on other stations. The conservative *raison d'être* of a programmer in a very competitive music environment, where high paying careers are made or lost in the ratings game, is fear. It is not an environment conducive for experimentation, chances or risk. Familiar songs get thrashed, unfamiliar or untested songs risk losing listeners. More on this will be examined later when I interview Programme Directors.

In this era of conservatism, anything that does not fit the norm is highly scrutinised. DiCola and Thompson (2002, as cited in Shanahan and Duignan, 2005) found that radio formats in the United States have generally become more similar since changes to ownership law in 1996. Shanahan (2005) suggests that an examination of New Zealand commercial music stations has followed this trend with homogeneity of format-specific elements which has important implications for creators of New Zealand music.

With so few local songs getting airplay in major markets, the challenge of getting a local band's song into the tightly squeezed playlist is very considerable indeed. With the major stations being so competitive and having the most listeners in the country, they have arguably the most influence over what a large proportion of the country listens to on the radio. Overall it sets the tone on what is acceptable or unacceptable especially for emerging talent.

Sounds FM makes different judgements. Variety clearly exists in different stations, but the agenda is predominantly set by the overwhelming influence of the major networks.

If a band wants to go beyond playing in a small pub – breaking into the big time seeking fame and fortune, or even just a living wage - then radio is the most obvious starting point. The Internet is increasingly popular, but radio is still the default route bands or solo artists take.

Creating music outside the “norm” restricts the chances that a risk-averse programme director will decide to play it. Bad programmer choices increase the chance that valuable listeners will ‘channel hop’ to another competitor's station.

So if music on the radio does play a part in influencing the styles of music that are created in the pursuit of radio airplay, then the transfer of values does have some influence on contemporary New Zealand music culture. Schiller (1976) understands this process as the decision makers being pressured into shaping the radio industry to promote the values and structures of Anglo-American music producers and the radio environment. Boyd-Barrett (1977) adds that a better term for this process is media imperialism. There is a link between the types and sound of local music played on commercial radio and being selected by the gatekeepers who compare them to what is currently on their playlist. Alternatively, the discourse of hybridity is “indicative of an economic apology” for musical selection decisions detrimental to minority bands by the New Zealand radio industry (Kraidy, 2005 : 93).

Does Radio Hide Local Artists at Night?

If programmers fear unfamiliar New Zealand songs, or generally lack confidence in New Zealand music, one response would be to keep their voluntary content quotas up by loading New Zealand music into the night and early morning shifts well away from their peak listening times. It would be exposed to fewer people and free up the day parts to play music that was safe, popular and well researched.

This could potentially result in better listening numbers through the important morning and day parts and generate better survey results to on-sell to advertisers.

Results from each of the three stations surveyed show this route is not being taken. In percentage terms, each station plays less local music in the 6p-6a shifts than in the mornings and days. Although the actual number of songs has increased in nights, proportionally it is slightly less than the 6a-6p figures.

Sounds FM performs best with 42 New Zealand songs played during the nights, with More FM around half that number. Sounds FM also peaks their New Zealand content percentage during the days with around 13%.

To give a fuller picture of the New Zealand radio industry, and how it operates with national and international alliances, attention must now be given to key actors within

the surveyed stations. It is their expert practise that needs to be interrogated to ascertain their views of where the industry sits in an increasingly globalised world. Chapter Eight will focus on the key positions of software developers, National Talent Trainers, Announcers and Programme Directors to reflect on their positions of power. This is the qualitative element of the research.

Chapter Eight: *The Industry Reflects on its Influences*

A Hybrid Radio?

By its very nature, commercial radio is in the business of minimising risk. It simply follows public taste and a certain degree of cultural stasis is the inevitable by-product of its caution. According to Shanahan (2005), there has been a shift in attitude of broadcasters where the shareholder is now the king, rather than all stakeholders. In the drive to increase revenue, there has been a tendency to normalize products and maintain the status quo. This has resulted in a loss of localism, a lack of innovation, risk-taking and development of brands. It appears that deregulation “has resulted in a consolidated, conservative, reactive commercial radio climate that is only proactive in maintaining uniformity” (Shanahan and Duignan, 2005 : 42). There are considerable pressures within the medium, technical, social, political and perhaps above all economic that make much of what it offers the public open to criticism. Radio has evolved from treating the audience as citizens of a community to a new understanding of them being essentially just consumers of goods (Murdock and Golding, 1989), delivered to advertisers like John the Baptist’s head on a plate.

The radio formats deserve investigation into whether there is a driving force behind them. Proponents of the cultural imperialism theory would argue that the dominance of North American content and ideology is manifested through an overwhelming presence in content. Interviews with key gatekeepers and stakeholders will test whether this engagement with the global has produced creativity in local musical and operational practices, or whether it is leading to dependence on the dominating centres of musical production.

This contested hybridity argument will be discussed in depth to discover if and how hybridity manifests itself in the current New Zealand commercial radio scene. Radio today is still a mix of strong North American influence, but it is also introducing other countries and cultures. An enormous body of literature is emerging to make a case for

cultural hybridity as the outcome of globalisation but there has to be a confrontation of the issues by asking some critical questions.

The complexity of this object of study needs a more nuanced analysis that is able to take account of some of the multiple shaping factors at once, including discourses surrounding power.

One factor raised in discussions about power is technology. A nation's technological capability has a significant effect on its economic growth, industrial might, and military prowess. It is prudent to analyse these as a factor that influences the balance of power between nation-states.

Technology

Analysing music content gives a quantitative element to this study as shown in the tables in Chapter Six, but it is technology gets the programme made and out to a receptive audience, and sets limits upon what can and cannot be done.

Commercial radio stations around the world share common technology, partly because of the highly specialised role that it plays and due in part to the dominance of the commercial radio structure from the United States. Transmission technology has been relatively stable over the years with a standard radio wave being transmitted and received through aerials. The act of sending and receiving radio signals has not significantly differed over its history; therefore transmission does not feature in this study. What is more of interest are those adaptable technologies that shape the programme prior to broadcast. Some technologies are international in their reach due to their ease of use, a history of relationships with the industry, and more importantly, cost. The most common technology used by the three stations surveyed are: Selector, used to deliver daily music logs so programmers can control their entire music library, Airwaves which manages the scheduling of advertisements, Linker which runs in conjunction with Selector to integrate the pre-recorded events on a station between the songs and the commercials, and Wizard or NexGen that controls the automation and audio playout system. The commonality of these systems means that proficient operators can move from job to job around the country without the need for expensive

retraining. All of these technologies are either run or managed by one global company called RCS with an office in New Zealand.

According to technological determinists, technology is seen as the 'prime mover' in history; it is one of the major causes of changes in society, and is the fundamental condition underlying social organization (Chandler, 2008). Logically, when technology does enter the marketplace and become widespread, it is no doubt likely to produce *some* social change. However, the debate continues as to whether these changes end up being society changing. Technology is one of a number of factors in human behaviour and social change (ibid).

The sharing of common technologies by most of the stations in New Zealand, and especially the ones surveyed opens up the industry to assertions that technology is a homogenizing force. Tehranian (1999) suggests that access to technology is a key to harnessing the positive elements of globalization, and that the free flow of communication technology has accelerated the globalization process. McQuail (2000) agrees that not only content is exported, but also technology and production values, however he believes that this leads to dependence, loss of autonomy and a decline in national or local cultures. With the increasing one-way flow of technology and content, the claim is that native radio will model the metropolitan styles and norms combined with a borrowing of Western (North American) assumptions of consumerism which in turn changes the value structure of the developing countries creating a 'false consciousness' (Lee, 1980 : 105).

All three stations ZM, More and Sounds, and stations around the world share this dependence on technology, and the dependence on the suppliers of specialist technology with only minor differences. All three stations use the software of one firm in particular, RCS Sound Software from White Plains, New York. Two of their products in particular are invaluable for the day to day running of the surveyed stations, Selector and Linker.

Selector music scheduling software is the industry standard to deliver daily music logs so programmers can control their entire music library. RCS invented the first music scheduling program for the PC over 27 years ago. Selector has since then become the biggest selling music scheduling program in the world (RCS, 2009a : 1).

Linker is the world's most widely used promo scheduler. It runs in conjunction with Selector to integrate the pre-recorded carts on a station between the songs and the commercials. Designed to "rotate promos, jingles, liners, sweepers, intros, beds, public service announcements, live scripts or special effects, Linker allows personalizing and positioning the station" (RCS, 2007 : 2). Examples of these carts are the sung or spoken elements identifying the station in between songs, the pre-recorded promotions of station events, or the parts identifying key elements of the show, such as a news or weather sting.

The interface between the final product of music, commercials, promos, announcers and the audience comes in different forms. Sounds FM use the RCS product called "Master Control" which has in the past been a commonly used digital on-air automation system. This is the system that the announcer interfaces with when running a show. It is a culmination of all the other elements of technology used to actually 'run' a radio programme. It is used in over 60 countries worldwide and is fully integrated with Selector music scheduling and Linker promo scheduling.

ZM uses 'Wizard' from Prophet Systems, from Ogallala, Nebraska. Since 1998, Prophet has been an independent business division of American media giant, Clear Channel Communications. However, ZM and More FM's playout system has since been upgraded to the more common industry standard of NexGen Digital, the upgrade of 'Wizard', now managed by RCS.

This would give some impetus to the declaration that there is potential domestication of American values through the technology sphere. This modern communications technology is offered to the world with the promise it can better accommodate musical diversity, but the decision to locate decisions regarding the allocation of resources extraterritorially leads to concerns about global cultural synchronization. Accordingly Hamelink (1983) believes that the indiscriminate adoption of foreign technology can obviously produce profound cultural effects, which raises the possibility that the values and music transferred through technology can be dominated by other countries. This raises concern about systematic dependence on America.

The dominance of this imported mode of production could suggest a technological imperialism and none of these technologies has been uniquely modified for the

specific needs of the New Zealand radio industry. The dependence of the industry on this common technology has meant a reliance on just one company for the installation and maintenance of the products. RCS controls the technology of the commercial radio stations in New Zealand with no competitor to offer an alternative that could potentially better suit the needs of New Zealand operators. RCS sets the agenda for the advancement of technology and the speed at which it is adopted. The trouble is that when there is such reliance on only one company, there is a possibility of incompatibility with future releases, forcing expensive upgrades, similar to the complaints made against Microsoft Corporation. Monopoly power is not beneficial to the New Zealand radio market, especially on economic grounds. RCS has since launched 'Zetta', an all-new automation system during a Broadcast conference in Singapore. Its initial market will be China; however RCS has not yet announced when Zetta will be launched on additional markets (RCS, 2009b).

The technology has become so universal that there is little space for resistance or individual adaptation. Media concentration of technology into the hands of few operators results in, as McQuail (2000) suggests, competition being eliminated and this monopolistic behaviour is contrary to diversity and results in a loss of autonomy.

The power of the corporation has not totally forced its product on a recipient country and there is a tiny space for consultation and debate. Some parts of the technology have responded to industry calls for improvements in its usability and features, but this is not country specific, the changes have been implemented after the company considered the benefit for multiple markets, so it remains an international product, rather than a product uniquely modified for different local markets. However, despite some evidence of technological dominance, there is another commonly used software package that does not fit as well into the North American mould.

Airwaves – a case study of technology

Airwaves is an example of a locally developed piece of software designed specifically for a local market being subsumed into the global. It is unique in the way that satellite technology is modified and exported, and hence a hybrid form that works against the global domination of technology. It started from Radio Avon in Christchurch and quickly grew to Foveaux Radio in Invercargill to future media icon, Steve Rowe,

from Northland. It is one of the few examples of local going global, and yet its success has meant that the globally dominant player RCS has acquired it to maintain its control over the technology domain.

It was developed by New Zealander Matthew Reid in response to a very expensive North American programme called 'Columbine', used by Radio New Zealand in the 1980s. Columbine cost over \$30 000 for a basic model, not including the cost of a computer. In a nutshell, Airwaves was designed to look after the scheduling of advertisements, and then it sent out the bills, so it looked after the accounting as well.

The early success of Airwaves came as a direct challenge to the North American software. This technology took hold through a better understanding of the current needs of the industry and also through a price differential, "I think people ended up using our software here, mainly because it was cost effective. You only had to spend on an AT computer which was \$16 000 in those days and our software has always been rented so it was very cost effective to get into it" (Reid, 2006 pers. comm., April 6).

Airwaves started in 1984, and it has naturally grown, but not specifically for the needs of the New Zealand radio industry. It may have been designed by a New Zealander, and initially sold to New Zealand radio companies, but it has now outgrown its New Zealand origins. Newer versions that take into account foreign cultural and economic needs are now being sold internationally.

An example of this is the purchase of Airwaves by SBS in Sweden. SBS was an international corporation who wanted "all their reports in English; they wanted it all in the equivalent local currency so there was very little we had to change" (ibid). This was a local product which merged with the needs and wants of an international audience, rather than a product which operated in culturally imperialist terms of pushing technology onto recipients, owing to a lack of alternatives and without concern for local customs or traditions.

The economics of Airwaves had two effects. Not only did the cheaper cost structure meet the market's needs, but its introduction challenged the limited market diversity and market dominance of the North American software, Columbine.

Airwaves did not remain within New Zealand ownership and was sold to RCS Sound Software in 1994. “I sold it to the Americans because we had a small company here with a fairly solid dominance in NZ, we had 30% of the market in Australia and to grow that you needed to start putting a huge amount of money into the infrastructure to go internationally. So I decided that it was much easier to form an association with someone and they already had all the offices around” (ibid). This positioned Airwaves as a home-grown product but now part of global structures.

Airwaves has enormous support internationally, especially in Europe and Asia, but little support in America. It may have had North American owners, but this did not mean success in the North American market. Ian Campbell, head of RCS New Zealand explains, “America is full of traffic systems and they’re as cheap as chips over there and it’s just a stupid market to be in unless you’re with the big boys and the big boys are growing their own to be honest” (Campbell, 2006 pers. comm., April 19).

The technology of Airwaves was created in response to an expensive and operationally mismatched booking system. The end product was made in the shadow of Columbine and elements of that system were incorporated to ensure a smooth transition from one method of booking and placing advertisements to Reid’s software. But it still had to perform tasks familiar to the booking operators and be able to merge with current operation software provided by other North American technology corporations. In short, it was a hybrid product of New Zealand technological innovation situated within a North American framework. This was not static technology made solely for the needs of a New Zealand radio industry, it has since been modified to meet the needs of other countries, taking into account the different ways of business and allowing for the inclusion of unique ‘traditions’ of local radio business. In this sense, the product offers an example of how technology becomes a hybrid of different nations, with a solid New Zealand base, and yet also an example of how the economic might of the United States determines the responses from recipient countries. This is not North American technology, but a fusion of global and local best described as a hybrid technological product.

Despite the various modifications and improvements to the RCS products, Campbell does not see them all as predominantly local products, “I’d say they were international products. I think Selector, Linker, Master Control are pretty standard. I mean it’s more the percentage of more international standard probably 80/20 and with a traffic system you’re probably looking at more like 50/50 being more common amongst countries” (ibid). This assessment of global/local suggests that these technologies, crucial to the smooth running of New Zealand commercial radio stations, are not as technologically located as media imperialism critics would advocate. They reflect more of a mix of influences that is constantly being updated and improved to meet the needs of different radio practices.

Airwaves may have started in New Zealand, but the power of RCS has meant that fiscal considerations have dictated the final outcome of a locally made product. It is an example of how local successes cannot resist the lure of global capital, and the resulting transfer of power to large multinational companies. Where there are opportunities to take the best locally and streamline it for global sale, the profit motive of large corporations means it is just a matter of time before the financial incentives are too great for local operators to ignore. The local is subsumed into the global, and relations of power remain the same.

Link Studio – a case study of local software for local needs

Another piece of software that is local both in its origin and its function is a package called ‘LinkStudio’, designed by New Zealander Steve Booth. Both ZM and More FM use it, but Sounds FM does not because of the low level of prize management needed. Primarily, it started out as a prize management system in 1994 but from then, it has tied back into web integration. “If I had to put it in a sentence, I’d say it is maybe a Customer Relationship Management (CRM) tool with prize management” (Booth, 2006 pers. comm., March 21).

Link Studio started as a solution to the problems of More FM not being able to communicate effectively with their audience. There was a need to set up a club, a desire to be able to communicate with the audience more effectively and Link Studio,

though not unique, is an example of relative independence. It was not long before the needs of other countries were incorporated into it for sale in other markets. Interestingly, Booth followed the same path as Reid by expanding into markets in Australia and the United Kingdom. Booth made modifications to the customisation tools within it, adapting address lines, postal codes and the way information is imported in much the same way that RCS modifies its operating systems to meet the needs of radio stations around the world. It is an example of Robertson's (1997) glocalization; a hybrid of one country's technology and the unique radio operational needs of another country. Link Studio is one example of a few isolated technologies exported out of the New Zealand radio industry, which were developed initially to meet the needs of a local market and quickly redeveloped to try to meet the needs of overseas markets, especially America.

Booth recently returned from a conference in the United States aimed at small radio groups and pitched Link Studio to the industry there, but is wary of trying to grow too big too soon. "Our thinking was to focus on smaller markets as a proof of concept before targeting the larger markets. America is definitely on the radar, however making sure we have the Australian market covered will stand us in good stead when making further attempts to target the US market" (ibid).

Meeting the unique needs of the competitive North American market is paramount if Link Studio is to get a foothold internationally, according to Booth. He understands for financial reasons and for the long term sustainability of his product, the United States is one market to be in. There are already similar products available, and the company is aware that modifications will be needed for its products, as some states require licensing for every competition that is given away, and some may require information for tax purposes.

Despite Link Studio being created in New Zealand, the product does not exist in a vacuum and is constantly being refined and improved. Inspiration does not come from solely local radio industry needs, but also from taking a close look at what other countries are doing. "The development evolves as we enter into different markets. At this you could suggest the American influence is based on the way our client radio station operations are run. If the operations are highly influenced by American

concepts and consultants then you could suggest there is an American influence” (ibid). Link Studio is a further example of a local product changing to meet the needs of an expanding market and again the development of the product is progressing with an eye to the major radio market of the United States. As Booth states, if it can make it in the central launching point of America, it is therefore set up for international distribution and global profits. The economic imperative remains the most powerful driving force for global dissemination. Hamelink (1983) believes that this adoption will produce profound cultural effects; however it may be better understood as a changing significant cultural practice.

News Management

When it comes to technology to assist news gathering and production, the major networks have again relied upon and installed North American technology. More FM utilises a worldwide newsroom computer system for radio called ‘Burli’, a desktop system that assists journalists in gathering, editing and broadcasting the news. The company is registered in Vancouver, Canada.

ZM uses different news software called NewsBoss. It also is an easy-to-use newsroom automation system designed especially for radio news production and presentation. Since 1994, it has been sold in over 20 countries. The product is a trademark of Desktop Technologies, an Australian company with marketing alliances with North American companies Broadcast Electronics Inc, ENCO Systems Inc and Harris Corporation. Both NewsBoss and Burli are not modified for the New Zealand market.

Sounds FM does not require any news management software, instead preferring to “take our satellite feed from ZB, so we don’t use any news software, for local news we just use WordPad and type it up, and we read it off there, so we don’t really have a need for any sort of news software” (Shearer, 2006 pers. comm., June 27).

The reliance by More FM and ZM on such technology points to what the critics have suggested is the downside of creeping globalisation. Sassen (1999) argues that the new technologies have contributed to the shrinking of state authority shifting power onto the world of private corporations and markets (also see McQuail, 2000).

Hamelink (1983) sees the modern communications technology as a tool that helps create a single global culture. However in reality, both these technologies are relatively passive, as they do not affect the way the news stories are written, instead they act as a facility to hold and transfer stories internally and externally between local newsrooms. What is not in question is the fact that both news tools are owned and modified extra-territorially and local news operators are at the receiving end of the financial and operational needs of the owners.

Ram (2004) believes the global does tend to subsume and appropriate the local or to consume it, “sometimes to the extent that the seemingly local, symbolically, becomes a specimen of the global, structurally” (11). Other critics have argued that access to technology is the key to harnessing the positive elements of globalization and that the free flow of technology has accelerated the globalization process, leading to a rise of globalism in the economic, political and cultural arenas (Tehrani, 1999). This accelerated globalism has enabled foreign media giants to transcend New Zealand’s national boundary.

Technology, whether it be imported into New Zealand, or exported out, is a mixture of influences. In terms of news software, it is unmodified foreign technology directly imported for use in the New Zealand market. This is a rare case of technology being incorporated without modification, and adds weight to the argument of technological dependence on large overseas companies. However, what is more common is that some technologies are North American dominated like RCS, and others have more of a local structure like Link Studio. The technology may end up defining an industry and become the dominant means within which the media industry operates, or it may be a fledgling software programme trying to find a way into the international market, but either way, technology has become a hybrid of different cultures to different markets. Technology does not exist in a vacuum; instead it is confronted by culture and adapts itself through human agency if it is to have a future. To this end, technological imperialism is an inadequate and arguably inaccurate description; it is more suited to a hybrid form, a combination of global and local factors to a greater or lesser extent.

Hybridity here in a technological space does have important implications for the radio

industry. There is still however, significant imbalance between the local and the global players. Despite attempts by Reid to modify common overseas technology to suit the needs of a local population, with their own specific design and implementation, what they actually end up with is a product generic enough to be modified back for sale in foreign countries. In fact the more technology can become a homogenous commodity and cross boundaries, the more chance there is of selling it on the global market with the end goal of making a profit. The local appears not to be created for the sole purpose of satisfying local needs, but always with a view to export back into the global. Economic considerations guide the local in the never-ending pursuit of profit. Hybridity in a technological sense is incomplete without a fuller understanding of the economic and profit motives that drive the products to larger markets in pursuit of global sales.

Radio technology is still dominated by global companies with little or no modifications for the markets they enter. Technology is shared between the radio companies in New Zealand and its universality of use in a global sense makes it the only choice through a distinct lack of local alternatives. It may be operated by people that make it work for them in their own unique market, but the technology is standard, with a universally understood operating platform.

The ability to network radio programmes in New Zealand so easily with this technology does have implication for each region's micro-culture. Technology assists the homogenisation of one national culture being reflected with little room for regional differences. Sounds FM uses technology to broadcast and maintain its local content, so the technology is essentially neutral. With the additional human component, technology becomes a tool in which regional culture becomes threatened. The ease and speed at which this is being rolled out around the country does lead to allegations of a homogenisation of culture. This of course can only come with the financial backing of the corporations in control of the radio market, and the actors charged with directing the future of the radio industry.

One of the actors in the potential homogenisation of culture is the National Talent Trainer who has the indispensable task in guiding a station's unique cultural sound, both musically and linguistically. The National Talent Trainers both reside in Auckland and travel to the regional stations to guide announcers on how they 'should'

sound. Also regional announcers may send copies of their voice breaks to them in Auckland to get feedback on their performance. So nationally, both networked and local station announcers are replicating a style that is passed down to them by management. If the structural or musical thematic ideas of one critical member of management are dominant, then this will obviously have an important trickledown effect for an entire radio network spanning the country. From here, it is important to look at the role and influences of the National Talent Trainers.

National Talent Trainers – Monkey see, Monkey do: or are they their own King of the Jungle?

One of the roles of a National Talent Trainer or Group Programme Director is to guide the future direction of a station's announcing and programming team. This comes in the form of programming research, both local and international, and training announcers one-to-one on constructing voicebreaks, as well as where to find information and what to be talking about. These trainers need be responsive to unique local needs while retaining considerable power to replicate overseas trends. It is a delicate balance with social and financial responsibilities to both an audience and shareholders, who may disagree with some decisions they regard as counter-intuitive to their own wants.

Dallas Gurney, the National Talent Trainer for TRN believes that research into the audience is critical for a radio station's ultimate success. "There's nothing better than knowing exactly what it is that your listener wants from you as a radio announcer. Research is certainly the most valuable tool regardless of whether you're on air or in a programming role" (Gurney, 2006 pers. comm., August 17). In addition to this, he uses consultants to bring in fresh ideas, new approaches and cast an outside eye over what they are doing. But the biggest resource that Gurney admits to is his own personal experience, which included roles at Radio Northland, as night announcer on ZM, and more recently as the Operations and Programme Director of the Adult Brands for TRN.

Jana Rangooni, the Group Programme Director for CanWest strongly believes in what she calls 'internal coaching'. "Whether it's programme directors coaching the on-air

teams, me coaching the programme directors or with More FM, our group head for More FM spends a lot of time working with the More FM PDs one on one, that's probably the biggest training thing that I believe in, and is the strongest part of our company training plan for my area of the business" (Rangooni, 2006 pers. comm., October 4). CanWest also invests in an annual breakfast show boot camp where they get all the breakfast shows and programme directors in the company together for a three-day programme. This is in conjunction with quarterly training sessions with the network programme directors, bringing in external consultants and sending people to relevant media conferences, which will be detailed later.

Christian Shearer, Programme Director of Sounds FM in Blenheim does not have access to a dedicated staff trainer. It is a role he has had to take on himself, "I instruct them on how to formulate their voicebreaks, I work to a basic idea and leave them to decide what the topic of the break is going to be and what is going to fit in" (Shearer, 2006 pers. comm., June 27).

The research that the two National Talent Trainers invest in comes from a mix of global conferences and consultants, however most data is sourced from the audience and experts that reside within New Zealand. CanWest finds local inspiration is through listener research, which does not include large studies on the phone or surveys. Many of the CanWest stations spend a lot of time, "almost monthly getting small groups of listeners in and they might just talk about your favourite promotions ideas, your favourite contests and what you'd like out of a contest. They probably draw more ideas from that kind of thing than we do from the States" (Rangooni, 2006 pers. comm., October 4).

Recently CanWest used people from the New Zealand advertising industry to come in and talk about branding, as well as key personalities from specific local companies. "We have actually used the 42 Below guys a couple of times because they have done some fantastic seminars on how to market and brand your product for no money" (ibid). They send their marketing directors to an annual New Zealand marketing conference and recently sent the marketing managers of the stations that target the female audience to a specialist one-day seminar on marketing to women.

TRN believes that looking locally and reflecting on what is important in the audience's lives is the key to success. Before the advent of mass networking, reflecting the concerns of your community was paramount in establishing a relationship between the announcer and the audience. It belongs to a formula of commercial radio that comes from the earliest radio markets overseas, and is staunchly supported by the talent trainers. Gurney says: "If you can talk about what you're passionate about, your quirks and interesting things that you've noticed, you'll relate a lot better" (Gurney, 2006 pers. comm., August 17).

He also defines success as being in the type of content, not how it is presented. Whatever the audience is talking about should be reflected in the show. "If you have a real variety of content, you can hit a lot more people, a great source of prep could be something else that no-one has thought of - those things that people think about but never talk to other people about" (ibid).

CanWest takes a similar line regarding the way in which a show should really connect with a local audience. They believe that one critical source of daily preparation is the newspaper, but not just the main metropolitan broadsheets. This is echoed by Gurney as well.

We actually make sure that a station like the Breeze gets all the suburban newspapers as well and really try to encourage that kind of active stuff, so if they are in Christchurch, your number one job is to understand your audience in Christchurch and what they are interested in and what they care about (Rangooni, 2006 pers. comm., October 4).

The focus on local research and reflecting community concerns comes in part from a perceived dissatisfaction with the state of radio in the traditional mentoring ground of the United States.

It used to be that you looked overseas for new formats and ways of doing things. Now what we've increasingly found is that overseas radio, United States in particular, is not doing anything special, and a lot of the stuff that we do in New Zealand believe it or not is cutting edge. In fact there's not a lot of depth in America, it's been the traditional market you've gone to for new

radio ideas, [but] there really isn't anything there anymore, they're just doing the same old stuff (Gurney, 2006 pers. comm., August 17).

Gurney here is perhaps aware of his overly protective stance towards localism and is trying to deflect concerns about its veracity in some way. There has always been sensitivity about the industry mimicking the United States, and the sensitivity surrounding this issue has led to claims of doing a public relations job on the issue. The politics of localism is fashionable, with local music acts attaining better chart positions, increased visibility of New Zealand Music Month and more New Zealand music being played on radio. This appears to be an attempt to defuse concerns about the content and quality of the radio programme. This politicking of the benefits of localism is echoed by Rangooni who agrees with Gurney. "A lot of the American model has been not real enough and not relevant enough to target audiences. It was very much based on pure format and structures that perhaps took into account this sound of the station and how hot something sounded rather than how relevant it was to listeners" (Rangooni, 2006 pers. comm., October 4).

However, despite this new focus on meeting the needs of their niche audiences through local research, and downplaying the relevance of the North American radio market, there is still much overseas research taken into account and acted on. TRN still employs the services of a North American consultant, Tracy Johnson, currently the manager of Jack FM in San Diego, formally known as Star FM. He has written 'Morning Radio' and 'Morning Radio II' which are "really the handbooks for setting up and executing a breakfast show so we draw on his experience" (Gurney, 2006 pers. comm., August 17). Here, Gurney undercuts his own stated emphasis on the lack of American innovation above. On one hand he suggests a lack of depth in ideas, and at the same time believes in the experience and advice of his consultant.

CanWest also employs the services of a North American consultant Denis Clarke, a breakfast show talent coach and currently the producer of Ryan Seacrest's show at Kiss FM in LA. His role will be discussed further in discussions with Programme Directors. However, Rangooni downplays this influence, suggesting that his North American influence is present, important, yet minimal after suggesting that the American model is not relevant enough to target audiences.

The day to day role of training announcers and duplicating the edicts of foreign consultants is handled by the Programme Directors who ensure the focus and direction of the station. They are responsible for everything on air, so it is in their best interests that the sound of the station is solely focussed on their target market. Training announcers is an important aspect, and there is a wealth of information available locally and from overseas to assist in this task.

Being a Programme Director for a small station in a small market with a wide target audience, Shearer is limited in what he can use to train talent. Budget restrictions mean that he has to rely on what he has at hand, and this means a more localised training structure, with limited overseas influence. His biggest resource is:

Me, that's it really. I'm quite lucky that I've got a couple of very experienced announcers on staff as well so I also use them as a bit of a feedback tool for young announcers that are coming through (Shearer, 2006 pers. comm., June 27).

Shearer takes more of a hands-off approach to his announcers, instead trusting them to formulate a show that meets the needs of the listeners. This freedom to be autonomous comes in part with the confidence that the announcers are competent enough to create a relevant show for the audience and is typical of the style of announcing from smaller stations. "Local and community radio broadcasting extend the principles of public broadcasting, in particular diversity and independence" (Maharey, 2004, as cited in Shanahan and Duignan, 2005 : 11). This is more in line with understanding the audience as citizens of a community.

While that may be relevant for small market operators, the converse is true for the large networked operators who came into existence after deregulation. The free market model might result in an increase in the quantity of radio outlets, but many argued that this did not necessarily equate to an increase in the diversity of programming (Chambers, 2003; Atkinson, 1999). Iofides states that free market competition will not guarantee pluralism, diversity of content and accessibility, but suggests that "unrestricted competition would promote cultural uniformity and exclude minority social interests" (1999 : 153). In this study we are able to see that for

music programming, there is little diversity across all three brands studied. Despite the relative freedom to experiment with different artists, all stations have an over-reliance on Anglo-American song selections, and there is only a slight difference in the number of local songs that they play, as detailed in Chapter Six.

For announcers, the freedom to reflect their community is best seen through the local stations of Sounds FM and More FM, with their announcers being encouraged to look for local stories first before relying on international stories. This freedom is not so apparent in ZM, which has essentially nationwide broadcasters with a secondary local Auckland show. With time constraints and access to information, announcers can duplicate relevant international voice breaks for local and nationwide, whereas local stories for just the Auckland market are not so readily transferable to the national ZM audience. There are pressures for time and relevant content that make international stories easier to find and disperse to the audience. Using one international story and duplicating it across local and national is half the work of finding one good national story and one equally relevant local story just for the Auckland market. This does back up Isofides' claim that cultural uniformity will be an outcome of unrestricted competition, especially for networked products. The ultimate power of what is disseminated to the public lies directly with the individual motivation of the announcer. Whether the audience are seen as consumers or citizens, the announcers can decide how instructions are interpreted and whether they see them as worthy of pursuing.

Encouraging announcers to look for cultural products to reflect the audience's interest has much to do with the global/local structure of a station. Accessing solely local resources and focussing on the community will have a positive spin on localism, but may alienate listeners who want a station to reflect the cultural products they are familiar with from other media outlets including the Internet, newspapers and television. The balance between the global sources and the local will give an indication as to whether or not the station sees local New Zealand culture as important to generate audience share, and hence ratings.

There is a desire for the familiar from Chapter Three (Douglas, 1999), and the shared experience and so Sounds FM sees it as important to be as local as possible,

I encourage local newspapers as I think the Internet can lead you on the wrong direction sometimes. Our big difference in the market is that we are local so instead of another announcer talking about something off the internet, why not talk about the trouble you had using your eft-pos card at Countdown on Main Street? (Shearer, 2006 pers. comm., June 27).

This freedom to reflect local issues comes from a position in the market more concerned with treating the audience as citizens of a community rather than just consumers of goods (Murdock and Golding, 1989). As well as being consumers, making personal choices in the marketplace, people are also citizens with the right to a say in the construction of collective life and the laws and rules that govern them. How radio stations treat their audience by providing them with content in some ways reflects how they see them, either as important individuals with a desire for knowledge about themselves, their community and nation, or simply as temporary holders of disposable income.

For a community station such as Sounds FM, limited competition means that there is more relative freedom to create a community brand without the constraints of adapting to a highly fragmented market. The encouragement to reflect the local may be an indication of a station whose horizon is more focussed on New Zealand culture as worthy of airtime.

Despite the relative freedom to create, the format of a standard voice break is not without some semblance of international structure. The voice break structure's history has again faded in time, but is something common amongst radio announcers. Programmers can be seen as either risk averse or innovators, or some combination of the two. Sounds FM is a little conservative when it comes to constructing a voice break. Despite the freedom to experiment in a small market, instead of being an innovator, Shearer admits to being, "a little bit reactionary, from my point of view. I like the tried and true but I also like to be close to the latest thing, so it's a bit more reactionary than cutting edge I'd say" (Shearer, 2006 pers. comm., June 27).

More FM holds a different position in that training for announcers can come from the local Programme Director as well as from experts from outside the market due to financial freedoms. However, Royal believes that because More FM is predominantly live and local, receiving training from outside the Christchurch market just would not work. To really reflect the interests of a local market, he believes training must be done in-house and this is a task he personally looks after.

I want to have a hands-on approach with our announcers. We are number one in our market and also one of the few stations that are live and local for 90% of the day. [Personally], I like them to do their own shows then come to me and we'll sit down together and work out ways to make it better and brighter. I want them to live and breathe Christchurch (Royal, 2006 pers. comm., September 18).

Royal is adamant that local differences are so big, that national training would interfere with the creation of a good local show.

Certain on-air stuff that works for Christchurch just wouldn't work for Auckland, and vice versa. We are very passionate about our community, we want to know what's happening in our community and I want the jocks here at More to live and breathe Christchurch community (ibid).

Trying to define the balance between global and local content in a show can be difficult, but Royal trusts his announcers to strike a balance that is suitable for the target audience,

As far as international and local stories go, it's really up to the jock what they want to put on air during their show. We'll sit down after the show or once a week and we'll go through it coaching on how we could have made it shorter, better, brighter or did we really need to do it at all (ibid).

Royal agrees that a radio voice break must have a consistent structure, something that should be replicated every time the microphone is on. This limits the freedom that announcers have to experiment with how they want to construct the next 40 seconds.

There are some certain things you can and can't do on the radio. You really do need to say your name after every break, you really do need to say your positioning statement, [and] you really do need to tell them what station they're listening to. Word economy too, if you can say it just as well in a shorter amount of time, then absolutely do it (ibid).

The More FM formatting structure of a standard voice break was formalised into a 'Style Guide', which is a quarterly guideline-training manual to assist announcers on structure and presentation. It was received by Royal on a Monday morning and thrown into a bin on Monday afternoon. He does not believe that following a standard format created by overseas consultants with input by local group Programme Directors is the way to create engaging radio. He does admit that the Style Guide is still a valuable reference tool for those announcers who are just starting out and are unfamiliar with the structure of an industry standard voice break. So external pressure here is apparently rejected which reflects on the tensions between announcers and managers in media industries. This is part of larger issues of structure and agency that Hesmondhalgh (2002) discusses regarding where power resides in practice. The autonomy of the symbol creators may in fact work against the guidance laid down by the intermediaries who negotiate the space between the creator and the commercial imperatives of the company. However, Royal may have been a little disingenuous with his stance, because his staff have attended the Auckland talent boot camps alongside many of the country's other CanWest announcers. They have been the recipients of the same national and international training as many of their counterparts, so to claim some sort of independence from Auckland may be a little misleading.

Boston's previous work experience before taking on his current role at ZM was working in Austria for a United Kingdom company, GWR enabling him to experience the United Kingdom approach to radio. There are differences in voice break structure, and Boston tries to take the best ideas from the United Kingdom and incorporate them into his announcers. However he does admit that some aspects of foreign radio are not ideally suited for a New Zealand audience,

It's a little bit more formatic over there. For a local station trying to make money, squeezing in 12 or 13 minutes of ads in, the jocks have to be far more

disciplined in order to compete with the likes of Radio One and Radio Two. In New Zealand it's more of an even playing field here. It's that balancing act between the science and art, too much science you become boring, too much art and you become unlistenable (Boston, 2006 pers. comm., November 22).

Training announcers is more in line with mixing overseas and local modes of thought. Sounds FM relies on the previous knowledge and experiences of their Programme Director, adapting 'common knowledge' into formats and structures that announcers must follow. The common feature amongst all programmers is that localism is valued highly, but done within the existing structures of a 'standard voice break'. Past experiences of announcers and programmers exposed to overseas practices has meant a continuation of some important basic standards of presentation. These include mentioning the station and frequency at the front and end of a break, mentioning your name, keeping it short, entertaining, enthusiastic and with content that is relevant to the intended demographic. Despite the Trainers promoting their relative independence when it comes to training, it is still situated within historical structures that emanate from dominant centres of cultural production. North America has been a leader in commercial radio structures well before New Zealand adopted the model. This is evidenced in the current direction of breaks becoming much shorter in length and the imported American standard of teasing future features at exact points in the upcoming hour.

The training does not happen in a vacuum and the mixture of global and local training is couched within the framework designed and proven in North America. The ongoing relationship between New Zealand and America is testament to the fact that there is still some power in their relationship. The use of consultants is proof that power still resides in the North American model of modern commercial music radio, and that the engagement with foreign training tactics and guidance is something that, despite protests to the contrary, the industry believes will result in eventual profit.

As well as a North American consultant, CanWest also likes to send its staff on conferences, but the North American dominance is diffused into a more international range of locations. One of the good conferences overseas every year according to Rangooni, is the NAB (National Association of Broadcasters) European conference

which exists to proactively advance the rights and interests of free, over-the-air radio and television broadcasters. This European conference is international in name only. It is of course a spin off from the United States body, which indicates still more North American dominance in the radio field. There are other conferences the trainer utilizes in the United Kingdom, Australia, and the United States. If the Talent Trainer has read an interesting article from a consultant who might be covering areas that are relevant to their people, the Company has brought them in for breakfast show boot camps. Consultants and guests do not only come from these three main areas of radio expertise, recently CanWest invited a production specialist from France. Some of the imported ideas are in terms of marketing and “how to market and brand your product for no money” (Rangooni, 2006 pers. comm., October 4), and incorporating what they see on TV and in movies.

Decisions about the direction of local professional values and formats are delivered by foreign actors who know little about the complexities of the local cultural environment, and local staff who return from overseas conferences are inculcated into the culture and direction of global entities. The significance of hiring mostly North American consultants and sending staff on international conferences is that it directly correlates with changes to the structure and form of the New Zealand radio market. Critics of this approach (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 2000; Hettne, 1995) suggest the chances of maintaining autonomy are severely threatened.

In terms of this kind of creative industry, radio has to come up with numerous promotion ideas, and CanWest freely admits to taking ideas from around the globe, but predominantly from those three radio markets which are traditionally good sources for creative ideas, although the mix of locations may be changing.

[We] probably actually steal more ideas from Australia and the UK than we do the States. American radio is not particularly creative; I think New Zealand radio [was] more like American radio when I got into the industry in the late 80s/ early 90s than it is now. A station like the Edge say, would take so much more inspiration from a station like Nova in Sydney than it would from any of the radio stations in the US (Rangooni, 2006 pers. comm., October 4).

Despite Rangooni's protests that her family of stations look for inspiration from a range of global players, former New Zealand Programme Director, and now Group Programme Director for DMG Radio Australia, Dean Buchanan sees the local industry still relying heavily on just one major market. "Why does the radio industry still seem to have an obsession with following American radio? [...] I fear that in many ways, a lot of New Zealand radio is American radio-just better executed" (Buchanan, 2004).

The ideas may be stolen from overseas, but the end result is not a carbon copy of what was presented internationally. Locally, Rangooni still believes that the future of radio comes from a mix of global ideas and local personality.

I'd say you tend to start with yourself. Our business is an ideas business so that's one of the biggest things. For promotions ideas, I'd say more ideas come from our own people brainstorming. Second source would be Australia, third would be UK, [for] production and imaging, I'd say the guys get more ideas from just what's going on in the world, and what they see on TV, in movies or in music in sound in general. And if they were going to be influenced by any production they've heard in any other country it's probably Europe (Rangooni, 2006 pers. comm., October 4).

However, if production were influenced by television, movies and music, then it would have a North American slant owing to the dominance of the North American entertainment industries in New Zealand.

I love the news presentation on Fox News overnight on Prime TV. I've always loved Fox when I go to the States. I've never seen a presentation style like that in news radio or in news television. If we were going to open up a new talk format that was focussed a little bit younger, I would take elements of that (Gurney, 2006 pers. comm., August 17).

This follows discourses that global culture is predominantly North American culture, especially in the musical arena according to some critics. "Simply put, all New Zealand music (from classical to country and western) is derivative. It borrows from abroad; expanding on imported influences, denying them, and then re-embracing

them. Styles, themes and sounds are all borrowed; consequently New Zealand-produced music is governed by universal, or international sounds and rhythms” (Lealand, 1988 : 75). The derivative aspect of much of the local culture is an integral part of our cultural milieu.

One half of TRN’s shareholders are North American in Clear Channel Communications which means Gurney has a huge amount of access to their intellectual property. He sees a successful show as incorporating content from a variety of sources, “a smorgasbord of stuff, that’s what we’re really after. A good breakfast show in terms of content is really a buffet, different types of different things and the art of how much of one thing you have where and when it is time to move on to something else” (Gurney, 2006 pers. comm., August 17).

Rangooni suggests that nearly twenty years ago, mainstream New Zealand radio stations used the back page of the North American radio industry music bible, ‘Radio and Records Magazine’ in terms of the hits they were playing. She argues that the claim that local radio looks at overseas formats and imports them directly into the modern media diet is a relic from the past,

I don’t think anyone takes a format from America now. When I first got into radio which was 20 years ago, then yes, people would get an American consultant in who would almost give you a format and give you the structure of what your hours should look like and everything like that, whereas now all of our stations are built now on our research of our New Zealand market (Rangooni, 2006 pers. comm., October 4).

She later admitted that the New Zealand market is not a ‘virgin’ market, but the structure is already built on American tastes. Now she believes her CanWest stations probably play much more English music and are actually a long way away from what those North American formats are.

In the States a CHR format, which in New Zealand ZM and The Edge would be the closest kind of form would be far more skewed towards the hip hop and R&B music genre, whereas in New Zealand we are going through an

enormous Rock wave, pop rock wave if you like, that's actually quite different from what's happening in the States (ibid).

The style of music played on CanWest's More FM brand and TRN's ZM brand may be more suited to a Rock format, but despite her belief that her stations play more English music, the data shows that North American music accounts for nearly 50% of all music on More FM. Not even one-third of the music played on More FM is from the United Kingdom.

The position promoted regarding the company's more recent international sphere of influence may be in part due to Rangooni's defensive stance and sensitivity to the questions on North American influence in the interview. As a talent trainer she may not be aware of the musical programming decisions made by her senior staff members. On one hand she may believe that she may be guiding the direction of the company to reflect more than just traditional North American modes of thought, but in practice what is happening is that the same musical and format dominance from North America is filtering down and influencing programming decisions at a local level. However, she does admit that strong North American influences are impossible to ignore: "You would have to say that because we'd all had experience in the American, the strong American formats, some of what we do may be influenced by what we know in structure" (ibid). This admission may be more indicative of the music structure than she gives it credit for. The reliance on music and announcing structures are highly influenced by the relative success of the leading players in the North American market, even as the National Talent Trainers attempt to downplay its relevance to the local market. Local operators will want to naturally duplicate recipes for financial sustainability as a model to be copied or modified. With the start up and running of a radio station potentially costing thousands of dollars, local operators are only interested in brands and techniques that are viable in the long term for gaining profit and audience share.

Listening by appointment – America comes to town?

This is certainly the case with some of the key ways in which the Talent Trainers are instructing their announcers. Over the past few years, a new focus for announcers has

been on implementing a concept called listening by appointment. Instead of generic teases that include words such as ‘coming up later’, features or specific programming points of interest are teased with a particular hard time when they will appear on the show so that the audience can ‘book’ the event into their busy schedule. The concept’s engagement with the industry has been a complex one. It has been introduced to an extent, but then resisted, adopted and reworked. It is not as simple as a straightforward implementation into their daily practice. Because it involves the human element, some are more accepting of the edict than others.

The concept is something that television news and light entertainment programmes have adopted for a while. Radio has taken this on board and new industry standards introduced by foreign consultants filter their way through the networks, are listened to by other independent radio stations and are incorporated into their daily programming. This is a North American concept promoted through the network consultants, where they believe that people are so busy that radio needs to book in an appointment to secure listeners’ time. It is an example of following or being told to follow what trends are coming out of America. However, the announcers hold the power as to whether it becomes standard in their radio show.

Gandy is familiar with the concept of listening by appointment, but it is something she uses carefully. The difference between telling your audience to listen at a particular time, and going too far in teasing is a tricky proposition. Royal’s disdain for strict programming structures, as evidenced by his dismissal of the ‘Style Guide’ written by head office in Auckland, means that listening by appointment is a stylistic and structural format he does not agree with nor will implement in his daily show.

However, what is good for the networks may not necessarily be good for the local stations. The recent concept of listening by appointment is not something Shearer has been impressed with enough to encourage his on-air staff to emulate, so there is a level of independence from the network brands.

ZM’s Boston has modified this concept to incorporate it into his daily programming. Instead of replicating it, he has chosen to adapt the essence of the idea and turn it into something more relevant for his listeners.

Listening by appointment shows the independence of the New Zealand market from some of the new structures and ideas from the larger overseas markets. Just because it happens overseas does not mean that it should be adopted outright into the local market. This is an example of the autonomous nature of the local broadcasting market, where local Programmers are free to select whatever works best for their own market. Overseas consultants may encourage the idea as a way to gain listeners, but that is no guarantee that Programmers will utilise it. Though the fact that it is a new trend that has to be thought about and either incorporated or actively resisted shows the power of consultants to set the agenda for the local market.

Partial Counter Flow – evidence of the fight back of influence?

A counter to this one way flow of formats and influence from overseas is the lesser known fact that elements of the New Zealand radio industry are now taking a small role in influencing parts of the industry internationally. In Sydney, Australia the two group programme directors of two of the biggest radio companies are New Zealanders. In the United Kingdom, New Zealanders and Australians hold some of the key programming positions. The fact that the New Zealand radio industry is one of the most deregulated in the world carries some weight with overseas operators. If success in their respective industry means an ability to operate effectively in very competitive circumstances, then those skills of overcoming intensive competition carries some currency in other international markets who are also facing competitive pressures. In the United States, there are suggestions that this success could be replicated, if it were not for strict visa and immigration controls. Rangooni says: “With a huge industry like the United States radio industry, it would be pretty hard for them to argue they don’t have people within their own industry that can do the kinds of things that we can do” (Rangooni, 2006 pers. comm., October 4).

The North American media giant, Clear Channel Communications, is starting to look at what the industry is doing in Australia and New Zealand and taking ideas back to the United States, but this is certainly on a small scale and the long term prospects for the New Zealand radio industry to be a leader in ideas globally, and finally export innovation rather than import it, are doubted, “I think the US industry is quite arrogant still, they still think they are the best industry in the world” (ibid).

The talent trainers concede that with advancements in technology, changes in the way the modern radio business will operate will need to be constantly assessed. Local radio appears to be an industry reacting to what is happening globally, and it is through the changes in technology that radio will find new opportunities, rather than seeing them as a threat to its existence. With the local audience slowly becoming a part of the global technology explosion with an uptake of iPods, as well as the potential for future satellite and digital radio as seen in the northern hemisphere, some important questions are presented to the gatekeepers,

We've had to have a really good look at radio; are we essentially going to be like the record companies with iPods and mp3 players and digital radio and satellite radio, nobody is going to buy CDs anymore, they all download stuff because everyone has got an iPod? (Gurney, 2006 pers. comm., August 17).

What is clear is that global and local factors are tightly intertwined. Nothing exists independently, as Talent Trainers incorporate global ideas into creating local shows and programme products. The future of radio must take into account international trends if the industry is to survive locally. With the maturation of the industry, and perhaps with claims of the North American market becoming stale, radio is now beginning to look for guidance from other centres of expertise, as well as looking internally. The domestication of ideas from around the globe has not diminished, but what may have changed is the reliance on America as a centre of excellence, CanWest is certainly looking further for inspiration, but both companies still incorporate North American methods into their announcing and programming strategies. The concept of Americanisation may be shrinking, but Anglo-American frames of reference are still glaringly present. The levels of this hybridity are worthy of further debate. Some would argue that the radio industry still continues to demonstrate significant cultural domination, as shown through its on-going relationships with North America in formats, conference attendance, and more importantly, the use of consultants to guide the sales and programming strategies of the local industry. However, others would contend that the spheres of influence have grown from just relying on one country to a range of countries, and that the wholesale adoption of ideas from foreign lands is inadequate to accurately depict the state of relationships. Content and ideas are borrowed and re-appropriated to suit the needs of

the local industry. What is important is the assessment of whether this continuing influence is detrimental to local needs and culture. The future of radio incorporating rising globalism does not leave much space for autonomy and what could be arguably termed a ‘self-directed New Zealand radio culture’.

The industry may have matured but not to the point of having the self-confidence to survive independently. It simply cannot exist by turning inwards and solely focussing on itself, especially when its audience is becoming increasingly connected globally. With impending changes in digital technology, there will be far-reaching consequences for the future of radio, and the way the population will use radio transmissions to satisfy their ever-changing needs. The Group Programme Directors and National Talent Trainers are on a tricky middle ground between global radio structures and satisfying local needs. Trying to incorporate them means a mixture of influences with the same outcome of trying to provide a radio product that is still relevant to a population’s needs.

How to decipher and implement the directives of global consultants and the instructions on how to think globally and act locally comes down to the on-air announcers. Announcers are in a powerful position as the bridge between structure and agency, and as purveyors of culture, they have a pivotal role in the choice and presentation of global themes or reflecting what is local in the constant battle to maintain and build ratings.

“Far from being unitary or monolithic or autonomous things, cultures actually assume more foreign elements, alterities, differences, than they consciously exclude” (Said, 1994 : 15). However, seeing hybridity without referring back to its clear power relations gives an incomplete picture. An alternative reading may see it as a smokescreen for overt dominance of techniques and tools that originate from one main area of the world. The reliance on North American staff for training and models for inspiration makes the concept of hybridity factual in one respect, but a mask for domination in another. National Talent trainers have attempted to divert focus away from this fact, perhaps as they are aware of the debate surrounding employing foreign actors and techniques to guide our unique culture.

The notions that cultural homogeneity and Western cultural dominance are myths, that there is a cultural counterflow from the non-West to the West, that global free trade is beneficial to all participants in it, and that individual creativity and freedom explain global cultural success constitute a discourse whose central notion is hybridity. This discourse at once denies that the United States dominates global popular culture and asserts the irresistible power of U.S. popular culture on foreign audiences (Kraidy, 2005 : 79).

Despite claims that the spheres of influence are becoming more global, it is clear that North America still pulls most of the strings in the formation of structures that guide the day to day presentation of radio in New Zealand. What is emerging is that “as a global benchmark, then, U.S. popular culture provides opportunities for audiences in developing countries to shed their allegedly unsophisticated tastes as they attempt to emulate the cultural sensibilities of American viewers” (ibid: 81). The concept of hybridity posits that other cultures exist in the New Zealand culture, and therefore offers foreign media an opportunity to expand and to further create links between their music and modes of practice and local communities. However, unequal intercultural relations shape most aspects of the cultural mixture apparent in the commercial music radio industry. The Talent Trainers may defend or deflect their spheres of influence, but the visible outcomes of their decisions tend to be heavily reliant on the Anglo-American industry. There appears to be little reason to imagine this pattern will deviate considerably as the industry and the audience become more globalised. As a discourse of intercultural relations, hybridity conjures up “an active exchange that leads to the mutual transformation of both sides. Mainstream public discourse frames this exchange as benign and beneficial” (ibid: 148). The Talent Trainers fall into line with this assertion.

How hybrid structures convert into practice is the focus for the next discussion about where the modern New Zealand radio station is headed in the face of rising globalism. Announcers are the window through which the audience really gets to engage with the brand of the station. Whereas music may be duplicated across different stations, it is the personality and choices of the announcer that makes a connection with listeners that turns into ratings and therefore profits.

The Americanisation of Announcers – See Evil, but speak no Evil?

Announcers or DJs are on the frontline when it comes to putting into effect the directions of the National Talent Trainers or individual station programme directors. Their daily decisions have a direct effect on how many people choose to listen to them for entertainment or information aside from the music. Personal and professional success for announcers is judged by the measuring stick of the bi-annual or annual ratings survey. Maximising ratings is the goal for every announcer in consultation with their Programme Director. Without listeners, the sales team have no 'ears' to sell, hence less revenue. What defines 'good' radio is highly subjective, but with stations living and dying by commercial pressures and incentives in the endless pursuit of profit, ratings are the most common yardstick for measuring 'good radio', since they directly correlate with advertising revenue.

There is pressure on commercial radio announcers to gain audiences, and their decisions about what they deem to be important to their listeners reflect in some way the global/local preference of their music brand. In the network shows, one announcer can talk simultaneously to thousands of listeners in multiple markets around the country, whereas a local announcer can communicate only to those who choose to receive the single signal broadcast to their community. With the explosion of radio stations since deregulation, the place of the community broadcaster has in most part been replaced by the network station operating out of Auckland. ZM and More are a combination of local and national through their 24 hour broadcast cycle, Sounds FM are local only. The network stations have some ability to define and affect the culture of a nation through the pure volume of listeners they reach every week. What is of interest is whether nationwide announcers rely more on global stories that are universally recognised, as opposed to local announcers who can afford to reflect local events and stories without the risk of alienating listeners who may find the story geographically irrelevant. Also do the announcers follow the directive of their managers' carte-blanc, or is there a more complex reworking of their practice? The mix of global/local content will have some part to play in reinforcing and reflecting New Zealand culture.

According to Hesmondhalgh (2002), symbol creators are granted considerable autonomy within the process of production. There are cultural reasons for this, including the desire to possess creative autonomy and higher ideals of free speech. But there are also economic/organisational factors as well, such as a desire to trade off the 'star' quality of announcers, who are overseen by intermediaries between the creator and the commercial imperatives of the company. "Symbol creators and audiences are suspicious of the bureaucratic control of creativity, again reflecting ingrained cultural assumptions about art. In order to control the risks associated with managing creativity, senior managers exert much tighter control over reproduction, distribution and marketing" (Hesmondhalgh, 2002 : 22). This means that there is a potential conflict between managers and announcers which creates a contested space negotiating where power really lies. What is worthy of investigation is whether the announcers follow the directives of management, compelled by a broadcast system where "market forces have contributed to an increasing hybridity of global culture, ever more complex and more commodified" (Boyd-Barrett, 1998b : 174), which adds weight to the argument of foreign themes trickling down to the on air product without modification, hence supporting discourses around domination. Alternatively, do announcers possess more creative freedom to reflect their community, more in line with what Hesmondhalgh suggests?

James Liddicoat is the daytime announcer at Sounds FM in Blenheim and his role is to connect with his local community and he estimates he has six minutes an hour to fill. After the mandatory announcements such as weather, community notices, competitions, liners, interviews, pet reports, fun event guides and station promotions, there is little space or time to do anything else. With the pressure to play more songs an hour, the freedom to be creative is severely squeezed.

Sarah Gandy is the 10a-3p announcer for the ZM network, based in Auckland. As well as presenting one live show for the Auckland market, she does a 'virtual-live' show for the remaining ZM stations around the country. Some markets have decided to stay with a local announcer during this time, such as Bridget Howard in Christchurch, but Gandy's reach is from Whangarei to Southland. ZM is broadcast through 19 towns and cities throughout the country, with many more localities able to

pick up the signal. This extended reach means that the ZM network has considerable national influence on those thousands who listen to the broadcasts every day.

Jason Royal works for More FM in Christchurch and was at the time of the interview in a unique position as the Operations Manager and day host. In his previous role of an announcer, he had to lead by example, as not only did he instruct his announcers on what he expected of a radio show as a Programme Director, he also had to create an entertaining show as a benchmark for others to follow.

Any radio show will be a combination of local stories and events in conjunction with reflecting themes that are more international. For local inspiration, the Internet is consulted frequently. Liddicoat finds New Zealand news websites such as stuff.co.nz valuable, although the site is a combination of local and global news stories from various agencies. Events being run in the community are seen as an important relationship building opportunity for the station, although not every event gets support.

National magazines do not feature highly as a research tool, and the use of the local newspaper is limited, as their local news team uses the paper to follow up on stories. By the time Liddicoat gets the paper in the afternoon, he finds the content already dated, although he will cover a newspaper story if it has enough news value to be still relevant in the afternoon.

Despite the Programme Director suggesting that people on the street are a great source of topics and interest, the announcers do not share this enthusiasm. Although it is generally agreed that it is a good source for local relevance, it is not something they actively engage in these days.

When it comes to research, Gandy uses the Australian site undercover.com.au as it deals with Australian and New Zealand stories. For more local New Zealand web sites, she uses stuff.co.nz and the nzherald.co.nz website. The local paper also features as a source of information to construct voicebreaks, but she also says that part of her job is to use her own eyes.

In terms of local content your job is to look around. And see stuff that you see when you're driving to work and for the Auckland only show, that's a great opportunity to be really local (Gandy, 2006 pers. comm., October 9).

Another source of local stories comes from their news server, NewsBoss. She looks at that "all day, as the stories come in, that's the other really good source of on-going news stories as they are happening locally or generally, or it's the news story of the day" (ibid).

For More FM, Royal agrees that the local Christchurch paper, the Press is a good source of preparation, as it is always topical, although it tends to set the local news agenda. If the Press doesn't select some local stories for inclusion, then the chances of that story or event getting any airtime is severely diminished. However, he tries not to repeat stories using the same angle, as he believes that it is just regurgitating old news, news that the listeners can get by spending a dollar at the newsagent.

Attempting to reflect local stories by accessing local audio clips is difficult with requests going to sister stations or other More FM stations in the network. The politics and competitiveness of being first with audio or information sometimes gets in the way of simply broadcasting a story. "We will go to someone like Radio Live who is also one of our stations, if we can help in any way without it destroying our own show and we're not going to give prep before we've used it ourselves, we are very keen to pass on phone number information" (Royal, 2006 pers. comm., September 18). From this we can see that radio's agenda is very heavily set by other media institutions. Using other sources of stories and then adapting them for their own use very heavily restricts their output and the media continues to work within their own self-imposed framework.

Royal does not rely too heavily on foreign sources to make up the bulk of his programme. He admits preferring to talk to people locally about local topics but his belief in the pulling power of local is not shared by those in power. The switch to national networked shows is due mostly to simple economics; it is cheaper to employ one highly skilled person in Auckland than furnish the pay-packets of multiple employees from different locations around the country. In a business with profit at the

forefront and trying to make growing returns for investors, this is economically prudent. Alongside this, it may in part be due to a gradual move to orienting the audience to the idea of networking entire sections of the radio day. In days gone by, many stations were broadcast entirely locally, but over time have seen more and more of their shows being uprooted to be sourced out of Auckland. This is an on-going process, especially with many of the smaller independent stations being acquired by MediaWorks and then switching to the More FM brand, perhaps with a view to networking elements of their broadcast day as well.

Despite the move to networking, Royal still portrays a personal dedication to the benefits of localism. He is also involved with the breakfast show and considers personal talent is a critical factor in the success of any radio show

There's Simon and Gary who are just exceptional talents [and Bondy the producer], there are probably a handful of people in the country that are in the same category as Si and Gary [...] So when you sit down with those guys you're guaranteed to come away with something (ibid).

The shows are a mixture of overseas ideas, such as 'Battle of the Sexes' and 'The Impossible Question' and local talent for relevance. This appears to be the standard formula for any high-rating radio programme. However, localism's importance cannot be underestimated. "If someone local did something big, then we'll spend all morning until 7.30 trying to track that person down. We'll drop an international interview in a heartbeat for someone just as big and bright locally" (ibid). Royal continues to deflect focus away from their international content, and in some respects may be providing a public relations exercise. Royal may see that localness is something that the station publicly prides itself on, and is pushing that agenda at every opportunity. This may be seen as the public expression of the argument, a posited aversion for external consumption, whereas what is actually broadcast may in fact contradict his stance. What is unclear is whether Royal is offering a public face, or a more reflective one, therefore some statements need to be interpreted cautiously.

Overseas Material – how much is too much?

Being a small nation in the South Pacific, to be up to date and relevant to the audience, a show cannot just focus on local stories. The country is part of a wider globalisation of culture, and international cultural events and celebrities are an integral part of linking New Zealand with the rest of the world. When looking for overseas material to help construct a voice break, Liddicoat again finds the Internet a good and easy source of information. Ananova, a global news accumulator which specialises in weird stories is one website that Liddicoat actively searches, although he is aware of topic burnout: “It’s a UK website but it’s often got stories from India, Germany, Soccer World Cup is big at the moment so there is a lot of stuff from Germany” (Liddicoat, 2006 pers. comm., June 27).

The Internet again features highly for ZM. This is the default data portal for many presenters. “The internet is definitely the key source I use, obviously the big stars, the Hollywood gossip, music information on new artists, that kind of thing is overseas” (Gandy, 2006 pers. comm., October 9).

The sites she regularly uses are many and varied, and they come from different countries, the norm appearing to be US, UK or Australia. They include contactmusic.com, andpop.com, getyourfix.com.au, pinkisthenewblog.com, and Wikipedia, the online encyclopaedia. The reason she uses these sites on a regular basis is to keep up with overseas trends and stories in music.

Much like every other announcer in the study, Royal believes that the Internet is an invaluable resource for prep and information. Again, the dominant source for information regarding bands does not come from anything local, but from North American websites, and that will have an effect on what is broadcast. When looking for material to help construct a voice break, Royal admits that overseas sources still figure strongly in assisting him to connect with his audience, especially when big news stories break in the world. Instead of looking for comment on how it affects the audience locally, reciting the agendas of large international news services is seen as a normal response to a disaster.

You can't go past September 11, you can't go past the tsunami, that kind of stuff we'd go to international news services to get the answers we need. We quite often use CNN and ABC. I've had a relationship with them for years. I can now ring them and say do you have a reporter in Gaza, and do you have the satellite phone, and then I've got that reporter just on talking about what happened an hour ago (Royal, 2006 pers. comm., September 18).

To find out about anything on the planet, More FM relies heavily on Google and the ease of accessing the internet for all the announcers enables global trends and content to be incorporated into the show with little effort. The announcers do attempt to modify some of the content and make it relevant for a local audience, but the inclusion of international stories that you know are of interest to an increasingly globalised audience has the effect of negating any positive element of cultural bricolage due to the pure volume and limited locations where this information comes from. A Washington Post article, entitled "Hollywood Tailors Its Movies to Sell in Foreign Markets" begins: "Most Americans know that our popular culture exerts a powerful influence across the globe, shaping attitudes, trends and styles (Waxman, 1998: A1, as cited in Kraidy, 2005). The article's cosmopolitan surface "sits upon a latent paternalism" (: 77).

The dominance of North American websites gives some weight to claims of the domestication of American values, and makes the connection with selected global cultures all the more pervasive.

Prep Sites – A Guiding Hand in Americanisation?

Radio prep sites are a common way of aggregating content and delivering it to subscribers globally. Most prep sites tend to be North American, although New Zealand does have its own version put together by a More FM announcer in Palmerston North. Sounds FM does not subscribe to any prep site, owing to the annual cost. It is not an expense that the Programme Director can justify in a small market, especially when the content is predominantly North American. Preparation is left up to the individual announcers to create.

Gandy does not have much faith in prep sites either, having never seen a New Zealand version. She dislikes the overseas versions and believes the content does not suit her or the audience's needs.

More FM is the only station of the three that actually subscribes to prep sites. Whereas the other announcers do not make use of this service, Royal does find it useful in the construction of a show, although admits to not relying on it heavily. The prep services were until recently a combination of global and local ones, "one of them is supplied by Mike West, the breakfast jock from More FM Palmerston North. He does a prep service called Prep Monster, we subscribe to that" (Royal, 2006 pers. comm., September 18). The global services appear to have limited appeal, but are still utilised. One of the services used until recently was called Radio Star, but it was decided that overall it did not fit the needs of the local market: "It's an American one and 90% of it is useless but there is the occasional great phone number or gag" (ibid).

Prep sites contain a wealth of information about North American cultural products. The simplicity of sourcing global news clips is also another reason that announcers look to the internet for prep: "If it's an international story, chances are the audio you want is already sitting there on the Prep Burger site" (ibid).

The reason that More FM uses North American prep sites is because of the relationship the audience has with North American cultural products. Only through the relevance of content can an announcer stay connected with his or her target demographic. With a local population brought up on North American popular culture, it is inevitable that to connect with the audience, the radio station must reflect and reinforce its audience's television watching rituals.

The reason we go there is because one, they are American and they are ahead of us for most of our TV shows. If Grey's Anatomy finished here on Friday night, it probably finished in the States a couple of months ago, but the audio is still on their web page. So we went on and got audio from the last episode 10 weeks before it finished. We know what music was coming up on that show so we could play it the very next day (ibid).

This is again an example of radio's agenda being set by other media producers who supply many North American cultural products into the New Zealand home. The reliance on prep sites is mixed for our interviewees, but again the common strand is that if they are consulted, the vast majority of them are North American based. The local Prep Monster site is a mixture of local ideas and international content; however the international content still is predominantly sourced from one main centre that reflects the dominance of North American cultural products in our modern media society. To connect with a globalised audience, local radio must reach out to mirror the consumption patterns of a highly savvy international media consumer. With so much North American content on television, in music and in the international pages of the local press, local radio has little choice but to replicate the agenda set by other media organisations. Otherwise it risks alienating an audience that is connected to the outside world. The preset agenda means that radio producers don't have creative autonomy, but are instead continuing to work within a predetermined framework. Again, the discourse of values transfer carries some weight, but in some sense is not pushed onto a culture but pulled from the willing recipients instead. It is another channel in which there is some dependent relationship with America.

The Global and Local Balance – Who wins at See-Saw?

The balance between global and local stories very much depends on the current hot story of the day. It can vary daily, but what does not change is the fact that a show is made up of those two important elements. Sounds FM believes that the balance between global and local stories that are chosen to be relevant to their audience very much depends on what is topical. National stories, such as the Tana Umaga handbag incident will warrant an entire show being dedicated to that incident, whereas an international event on average will not earn as much airtime.

Royal has a preference for what is happening locally, "I like to avoid the international stuff unless it's a story you just can't turn your head away from" (ibid). At this point in the interview, there may have been an inclination to reflect his commitment to localness in a positive light instead of an accurate reflection of what stories he chooses to cover. What Royal relates to his audience may be different from what he

would like to reflect in a perfect world. Local content may be preferable, but in a city of around 350 000 people, local stories that carry some news value may be sparse and difficult to follow up, resulting in a tendency to look globally for a vast array of items to make up a show's entertainment factor.

For ZM, the combination of global and local that makes up a show has important implications in reflecting or reinforcing New Zealand culture. Being a network show as well as a local Auckland show, what is of concern are what stories are deemed worthy of audience interest and whether these stories, sources and promotions are local, national or global, and which countries are the global providers.

Gandy recites one of the ZM philosophies that announcers should try to talk about things that are happening in New Zealand rather than overseas. However, in a globalised world where many of the artists that the station plays come from foreign countries, there has to be a fair reflection of the audience's global interests to keep them listening to the programme, and hence the ads.

Gandy tries to keep an even balance of global and local stories in her show. This is dependent on what news she has available during a broadcast day, but generally her aim is to keep a mix of stories. A true combination of global/ local comes from the different features she has in her show.

I do try to do the gossipy stuff for my show, I do have the music news bulletin and there might be artist information based around the couple of new songs we play each hour. They are both foreign and local artists. So that overseas content tends to get crossed off in the music news stuff, but generally if you're talking about on-air stuff I try to keep it local because it's far more relevant (Gandy, 2006 pers. comm., October 9).

This mix of content displays a need to keep the audience up to date with the centres of music production and celebrity gossip, but also to reflect local identity by talking about local and regional issues that are recognisable and relevant to her nationwide audience. Part of this may be Gandy being mindful of following the company line in interviews, previously admitting that her Programme Director has instructed the

announcers to look for local content first and foremost. This is what Hall (1991) refers to as identification and contestation, suggesting that while adhering to the two-way view and insisting upon reciprocity and locality, he does not lose sight of the overwhelming power of the “global post-modern which is trying to live with, and at the same moment, overcome, sublimate, get hold of, and incorporate difference” (Hall, 1991 : 33). Hall recognises the relatively inferior power of local resistance, but still believes it plays an on-going important role in the constant battle between domination and resistance. A content analysis of the voicebreaks of the networked shows may give a clearer indication as to the relative merits of claims that the announcers try to keep an even balance between global and local.

Voice break Construction – Following Whose Norm?

That standard format for an effective voice break can be heard on most commercial formats around New Zealand, and it has not really changed over time. “I guess that’s probably an international format” (Liddicoat, 2006 pers. comm., June 27). The pressure to standardise voicebreaks is something the industry has experienced nationally. In the fight to retain an increasingly distracted and ad-averse listening population, playing fewer ads and increasing the quantity of music played has come at the expense of personality radio. The smaller stations admit to succumbing to this pressure, but believe they have the freedom to reverse this trend, and bring the human element back into modern radio.

I think we went through a stage of real Americanised radio for a while, especially with voice tracking and things getting a little bit networked, right let’s get it real slick and real tight, voice breaks have to be 45 seconds long. Where now I think it’s starting to come back a wee bit especially a station like this, let’s get a little bit looser and get some more local stuff (ibid).

The guidance Gandy receives in structuring and delivering an effective voice break comes from one source, her Programme Director, Christian Boston. Weekly air checks are conducted to make sure she is following the policies of the National Talent Trainer. However, she believes she is her own best critic. Being in the target audience both demographically by age and psychographic by lifestyle, she is essentially left to

herself to define what is relevant to her audience. If she finds it interesting, then she believes that it is immediately transferable to being worthy of interest to her audience. She admits to possessing a lot of autonomy as to the construction of a voice break, and what topics get covered, “Christian pretty much leaves me to my own devices and then once a week we’ll have a listen to a couple of breaks and say yes, or no, or maybe you could have done that slightly differently” (Gandy, 2006 pers. comm., October 9).

This is different from when she started when the Programme Director spent time moulding her performance to a ZM standard, presumably a standard passed on from the Group Programme Director. However, Boston has recently come back from overseas as a Programme Director for a United Kingdom radio company, so he would have already been *au fait* with United Kingdom standards of voice break construction, with performance aspects common throughout the global commercial radio industry.

He was really trying to mould what he wanted to get out of me. But it was definitely how to go into a voice break, all of the on-air techniques that any announcer goes through from their PD of what they want, if they want full momentum, or if they want ZM mentioned so many times in the voice break, and also the concept of bring it in, talk about it, do the kicker, get out. The other thing that he does do is word economy, could you have said this in 30 seconds instead of 45 (ibid).

Competitions and Prizes – New Local Ideas or Old Foreign Concepts Revisited?

In an industry that thrives on competitions and prizes to attract and retain listeners, the search for brand new promotions ideas becomes difficult and time consuming. The standard fallback procedure is to use a proven idea from the past, or tweak an old idea to create something new. Innovation in radio promotions is a rarity, especially in an industry where there is a belief that everything has already been done,

I don’t think anything’s new, seriously I think it’s all got the same concept of competition... I guess getting an old idea and maybe relating it to what’s

happening, like we've just done the Zoovivor thing so it's like putting someone on the back of the truck for a week and they've called it 'Zoovivor'. Like the 'Dancing With The Stars' type thing now (Liddicoat, 2006 pers. comm., June 27).

The standard radio competition has frequently been centred on answering a question to win a prize, and that has not changed since radio competitions started. It is still being used on commercial radio stations today, with questions varying from simple statements of fact to difficult logic puzzles.

The brain busters one that's like a riddle, we have been doing it here for probably as long as the station's been going. So it's probably taking ideas like that and putting a bit of a change, a spin on it, as opposed to really original ideas (ibid).

ZM's genuine innovation for competitions is stifled by time constraints and a reliance on what has worked in the past. However, old ideas are not replicated directly; it is common to look for new local twists on overused global radio promotions.

I personally try to think of new ideas or new twists on ideas. It's pretty hard especially in a day show because you have only got x amount of time so anything overly complicated you don't have enough time to do it and generally the simple ideas are the ones that have been done before because they are simple and easy (Gandy, 2006 pers. comm., October 9).

When implementing ideas, the global radio industry cannot hide innovation, especially as it is immediately in the public domain. Ideas are frequently shared on web logs, between companies, at conferences and in Internet prep sources. It seems that radio has resigned itself to copying others, and allowing itself to be copied. Gandy talks about a promotion that they are currently doing, "we're doing the pay your bills. I don't actually know if we got that off Z100 [a similar format high rating top 40 station in New York] or not because I notice they are doing pay your bills as well, so this has worked really big in this market, no-one's doing it here yet, we should jump on this before someone else does" (ibid). To be an innovator is

rewarding, but the pure volume of promotional ideas required by both stations and clients on a monthly basis, and considering their relative success and failures in the public domain, it is perhaps easier to modify than create despite the desire to be innovative. “If you’re wondering what else is out there you might listen to other radio stations overseas on the net for example, and sometimes that can work, it’s always more satisfying if you’ve come up with an idea rather than what you stole from someone else” (ibid).

The distinctiveness and uniqueness of radio competitions has moved from creating something from scratch that creates a ‘wow’ factor in a market to replicating old ideas with slight modifications, window dressing the old to make something new. This is endemic in modern radio stations where the common perception is that everything has been done before; there is a reluctance to try anything new owing to its being perceived as potentially unproven and hence risky. More FM is just another example of how the spark of genuine creativity has been diminished in this new competitive environment.

There’s no such thing as a new radio competition. It’s always another competition that’s been slightly changed to suit the hosts or the market. I’ve been doing this for 16 years and I can’t say I’ve ever come across a single brand spanking new idea that if I hadn’t punched into Google that I could find on another station somewhere in the world (Royal, 2006 pers. comm., September 18).

If a competition is popular in other markets, it is replicated for a local market, saving time and effort to come up with something untried and potentially a turn off for listeners. One radio game that has been around for years, that has been tweaked and modified but still shares its basic format since inception is a game called ‘Battle of the Sexes’ where contestants try to answer questions based on their knowledge of the other sex. Royal defends the use of the concept on his station,

Some of the oldest and the best are exactly just that, the best. Battle of the Sexes has been around since radio started. It’s probably the best feature

[announcers] have on their breakfast shows just because it's new doesn't make it good. And just because it's old doesn't make it bad (ibid).

The adaptation may vary, but the sources of these winning ideas are not the announcers themselves. Royal admits that finding new ideas is a difficult job, perhaps a reason for the reliance on overseas ideas.

Another example of popular content that comes from overseas and in particular North America is a feature called 'The Impossible Question'. Royal's relationship with North American talent and producers makes this an easy game to acquire and modify for a local market. Questions such as '11% of men use this' are posed and a dollar total is compounded daily until the answer is reached. "I have a relationship with both of the producers of [Ryan] Seacrest's show and Z100 in New York and they send us their questions. I don't know where they source them from either. More than likely, they sit in a room and make them up. I have no idea" (ibid). When getting game starters, promotion ideas and data are just as simple as that, it is no wonder that New Zealand radio shows use the services of the foreign stations that have been around for years proving the concept's popularity over time.

The ease with which announcers and Programme Directors can source competitions and game themes from overseas is indicative of the close relationship that New Zealand has with global radio content providers. There may be some elements of modifying the content to make it relevant to local audiences, or not being modified at all such as the case of Royal lifting the game and data directly from the United States, but what is common again is that the content that may or may not be adapted for a local audience consistently comes from only a few dominant players in the global radio industry. It is a demonstration of what Lee (1980) and McQuail (2000) suggest is a loss of autonomy and a creation of dependence. Hybridity may be offered as a counter to claims of domination, but there is not enough evidence of a range of contributors to make hybridity a synonym for global representation. Hybrid media texts reflect industry imperatives for:

Targeting several markets at once with the same program or alternatively are symptoms of commercially motivated "borrowing". In the absence of the

present global structures where interlocking regulatory, financial, political, and cultural forces drive a race to reach the highest number of people for the lowest cost and the minimum amount of risk, therefore entailing creative productions that cross and fuse cultural differences, hybridity would likely not be as pervasive in media texts worldwide (Kraidy, 2005 : 114).

What is disseminated to the public is a mixture of global and local material, with assistance from the internet. The international material used in the construction of a show is predominantly sourced from North America and information on bands, celebrities, phone ideas and promotion ideas are borrowed from providers in the USA and used for local radio consumption. Some material will be modified to make it relevant and interesting to a New Zealand audience, but what is consistent is the use of America for guidance for announcers. Voice break construction, North American Internet and prep sites and even consultants all assist announcers in the construction of their day-to-day radio shows. This is not to suggest that America is the sole provider of this information, but what can be shown is that it is the dominant influence.

The dominance of Anglo-American content suggests another channel of concern with only a superficial reference to hybridisation. Again, the content that is hybridised only comes from dominant centres of production. It is continuous engagement with North American sources that makes Anglo-American hybridisation a feature of the modern commercial music radio programme, in combination with frequent input from and about their own local communities. As demonstrated above, local subjects in combination with taking the best from only a few centres of production overseas and adapting it to meet the needs of the local audience are evident in all of the stations surveyed. However, as Hesmondhalgh (2002) argues, what gets put out is negotiated by the announcers and is not always at the behest of Programme Directors and Managers. The real centres of power are frequently contested.

Local radio has little choice but to replicate the agenda set by other media organisations, especially in the fields of the daily newspaper and to the television watching rituals of the audience, as they are a rich source of relevant content. The Americanisation projected on New Zealand radio is part of a wider trend that is not

isolated. The spheres of influence extend much further and as announcers do not operate in a vacuum, many media outlets are consulted to bring in a wealth of content that is relevant to the audience.

Both homogenization and hybridization acknowledge that global culture has been in the making for centuries, they both also regard transnational media as active shapers of contemporary culture. The importance of electronic media stems from their ability to connect hitherto relatively isolated spheres of life with relatively continuous streams of sounds, images, ideas and information. Because of the ability of contemporary technologies to transcend time and space, they have accelerated the process of cultural globalisation and at the same time expanded its range (Kraidy, 2005 : 21).

Despite this power of the announcers to choose and shape content, the Programme Directors are a critical cog in a commercial radio station and form an important bridge between the management and shareholder desires for profit, and how station direction is manifested in a human and musical form. This important role in a modern commercial music station is worthy of investigation as it is pivotal in creating a balance between sales and programming, which are frequently in conflict.

Programming: Doing their own thing or pigeonholed as America's Puppets?

Programme Directors are responsible for the way a station sounds, through the music, the role of announcers and even through the length of the commercial breaks. A station sounding 'North American' or alternatively reflecting a local community can in many ways be attributed to the decisions taken by the Programme Director. Whatever influences make it to the airwaves, they are best understood as being a product that is elevated beyond just a combination of influences to a third place where hybridity is understood through its relationship to discourses of power. "Hybrid media texts have the intertextual traces of an increasingly standardized global media industry where successful formats are adopted ad infinitum, hybridized to cater to the proclivities of one audience after another, but always remaining firmly grounded in

the same commercial logic where hybrid texts are instruments finely tuned in pursuit of profit” (Kraidy, 2005 : 115).

The position is an interface between the competing needs of programming and sales. A programmer wants mostly music to satisfy the listening needs and wants of the audience, whereas a sales manager wants a programme full of commercials to ensure profit, seeing the audience as consumers. It is a difficult task to get just right, and what will be of interest is the difference between a programmer in a small local station with community concerns compared to the large network operations and their desire for a mass audience.

To imagine that Programme Directors have the power to make decisions without influence from other powerful actors internal and external to the industry gives a sense of autonomous ownership to their position that is unjustified. “The view that free individuals operating in an unfettered marketplace – and not structures of ownership, production, distribution, and promotion – determine the success of cultural products is also taken up by economist Tyler Cowen” (ibid: 79). Cowen argues that free markets change culture for the better, allowing them to evolve into something more people want. This view suggests an unrealistic view of the individual as being almost omnipotent and beyond influence.

Christian Shearer at the time of the interview was the Programme Director for Sounds FM in Blenheim which targets those aged 18 to 35 years, with a slight female skew. “Our ultimate target is a young family we like to say, couple of young kids, bit of disposable income” (Shearer, 2006 pers. comm., June 27). A small station with a limited audience and budget, the localness of the operation is reflected in the poster he has displayed on the wall behind his desk. It reads ‘L.I.V.E. Radio is local interactive versatile and energetic’. Sounds FM is potentially a station well positioned to operate in a manner that reflects its local community.

Rodger Clamp is the Director of Programming for the More FM network. Based in Auckland, he faces more pressure than Shearer, being responsible for the sound of 22 More FM stations around the country. With more stations come bigger budgets, so it immediately opens access to research, consultants, conferences and listening data to

make decisions on. He is responsible for the sound of the More FM brand, especially through his selection of music. Clamp was unaware that over half of the music that he programmed came from the United States.

Jason Royal is in the unique position as an Operations Manager for More FM Christchurch as well as on-air talent. As a manager, he is responsible for the daily running of More FM, including music logs, overseeing the creative department, the promotions department, and the delicate role of coaching and training the on-air staff. More FM's core audience is "35 year old slightly female biased, so we'll always skew most things we do to being live, local and female" (Royal, 2006 pers. comm., September 18).

Christian Boston is the Operations Manager for the ZM network, based in Auckland. He shares a similar role to that of Clamp, looking after the national music programming and overseeing national promotions and the future direction of the ZM brand. He is a New Zealander, but had some experience working overseas programming for radio stations owned by a United Kingdom company called GWR. He is in a position to compare the programming strategies of the United Kingdom and local operators.

Programme Clock Model

The actual structure of how to programme a typical hour in commercial music radio is fairly standard in the industry, informed by the common use of standard programming tools like Selector to mix a station's sound between current hits and older songs, mixing the types of songs, where they are placed in the hour and how often they are repeated. Some of the structure can be attributed to the ease of using the programme software designed for this, but there is freedom to adjust what has been a North American programming standard imported by consultants over the formative years of radio. "I would presume that most of those sorts of things come from America, I mean the CHR (Contemporary Hit Radio) format was born in America. I think a lot of programming influence came out of there during that (CHR) time of change" (Boston, 2006 pers. comm., November 22). The industry calls it CHR, but in its essential format, it shortens the playlist to play the most popular songs. "The basic concept

behind hit music stations is quite simple: Confine the playlist to those songs that are currently the fastest selling and most popular (sales being a barometer of popularity). This is the same approach that CHR's forerunner, Top 40 employed" (Keith, 1987 : 59).

Traditionally, there have been three ad (or inventory) breaks in an hour at around twenty minute intervals, and this is something that Sounds FM has chosen to adopt for their market. Shearer admits that the format is "probably more something that I've borrowed than something I've created off the top of my head" (Shearer, 2006 pers. comm., June 27). While Shearer chooses not to modify the North American three ad break structure, he defends it as it has to make sense in a commercial market, "The thought of three commercial breaks is more the idea of making sure we didn't have any client clashes" (Shearer, 2006 pers. comm., June 27).

More FM runs a standard three commercial breaks an hour, but modifies it to suit changes in their commercial load, and also to stay in touch with competitors,

It all depends on the amount of inventory you're running and what your competitors are doing. We used to run more breaks at some stage when inventory levels were high. But now we have the inventory level down to what we consider to be appropriate and now we are in the position that we can run less commercial breaks (Clamp, 2006 pers. comm., October 9).

The programming format that ZM's Boston uses is an industry standard three to four ad breaks an hour. Depending on inventory levels, he can shorten it to two breaks an hour, but the numbers of breaks are solely informed by the commercials the station has to play. The more music intensive a shift is, the fewer breaks Boston can play. This is something that Boston has inherited, the concept of an average three break format is something he is very familiar with: "Been around for years, I was brought up on it, we've used it since I've been in radio, from the early 90s" (Boston, 2006 pers. comm., November 22).

This North American influence may have informed New Zealand commercial radio in its formative years, but now with time, other centres of radio are beginning to

experiment with the format, adapting it to meet their own unique needs, and reinventing common radio programming structures. An example is shown in the growth of the Australian market.

Nova broke the mould of the three ad break structure and created a 5 or 6 ad break structure of no more than a minute long, and that was ground breaking as that had never really been done before. So it's not all America now, it's the UK and Australia, and to some extent New Zealand is capable of creating their own format (ibid).

Boston has adapted the standard three ad break structure, deciding that the needs of the New Zealand market warranted a change of format. After returning from overseas, he had the freedom to modify the North American programming standard to fit in with local radio listening needs. By changing what had been done in the past, he believed he could add value to the final product by reducing the number of ad breaks, "I figured out we can get away with a seven and a half minute inventory [in two] block[s] and in those hours I put in a ten [songs] in a row" (ibid).

Programming tools and standards from America have had a great influence on the industry world-wide and despite confidence in some areas to experiment with the industry standard, New Zealand radio is quite happy to adopt a foreign programming model and leave it essentially intact. In this sense, there is little hybridity of adapting a proven overseas model to meet local needs. New Zealand radio follows quite closely the models of North America, and despite some of our close neighbours experimenting with the standard programme clock, the country could be seen as a platform for the domestication of standards imported from overseas. It is open to be adapted, but radio in New Zealand is on the receiving end of foreign structure and practices, which are yet another channel of Anglo-American influence.

Inventory levels – America's Guiding Hand

One of the latest trends to come out of the United States is decreasing inventory levels, or decreasing the amount of advertising time in a typical hour. It has been the response to growing listener dissatisfaction. "On 19 July 2004 Clear Channel, the

largest radio ownership group in the US, announced it was going to limit the number of commercials broadcast on its stations, a clear indication that unchecked commercial inventory is a tune-out factor for audiences” (Ives, 2004 as cited in Shanahan and Duignan, 2005 : 33). The previous glut of advertising time encroaching on the music programme may have had the impact of potentially encouraging target audiences to experiment with new ways of accessing music without the clutter. With the explosion in iPod and mp3 players, radio had to deal with this challenge or lose the audience to new technological devices.

Sounds FM is aware of this latest development, but sees it as a business decision for the radio station to take independently, rather than just blindly following whatever North American radio does. “Maybe it’s something we might consider, it would be a matter of deciding at the time whether it’s going to work for us or not. Just because it’s happening in the United States doesn’t necessarily mean it’s going to work over here” (Shearer, 2006 pers. comm., June 27).

More FM is more accommodating to the concept; they implemented a lower inventory policy for Auckland, and have tried to implement it for the entire group. Changes include dropping from a total of 16 minutes of commercials during each breakfast hour to 12 and from 14 minutes during the day down to 10 minutes of ads per hour. A couple of More FM stations are finding this change difficult, but it is something the entire brand is committed to. Clamp understands the conflict between sales and programming, and is acutely aware of what the competition is doing. Reducing inventory is a key way to regain audience satisfaction, but it cannot be done at the expense of returning a profit back to the company.

Local More FMs understand the importance of the instruction and are masking the national directive to make it appear as the station is independently responding to the desires of the local audience.

We’re also trying to reduce our inventory, we play a fair number of ads, we’re a premium product and we charge a premium price for it but we play too many. The number one complaint for a listener is always that you play too many ads (Royal, 2006 pers. comm., September 18).

Following this North American trend is something that ZM is committed to. Boston keeps close tabs on trends emanating from the United States, and was up to date with the new strategy from their large radio corporation owners, Clear Channel.

[Clear] did a thing called more equals less where they actually realised they had squashed so much in that it was quite a turnoff for people. Some of them were squashing 10, 11, 12 minutes of inventory into two breaks (Boston, 2006 pers. comm., November 22).

The short term outcome was a decrease in profits for Clear Channel, but the following increase in their ratings market share meant that they have been able to claw back that profit, so much so that other North American radio operators were taking notice. This new trend is something that ZM is trying to replicate. “We’ve done our best to reduce the clutter, we have lowered our inventory in a ten in a row to seven and a half minutes” (ibid).

Replicating the trends out of the United States meant that again there is little modification for local needs. Radio understood the dissatisfaction with long ad breaks and implemented a recent proven North American policy in the pursuit of listener satisfaction and profits. It has not been modified, although it suits the local needs of the audience. It remains a low end hybrid form, reacting to North American business practices rather than proactive decisions made by Programmers in New Zealand. However, the local independent station does assert its freedom by rejecting foreign trade practices as inevitable. Sounds FM stands alone in its autonomy when it comes to commercial loads. It chose not to adopt the trends emanating from overseas, although it admits to keeping an eye on them in the future.

As discussed in Chapter Three, this gives a clear indication of the effects of globalisation on the media industry. A key element in this chapter centres on Giddens’ (1990) classic definition of globalization (: 64) as demonstrated above and this is backed up by Held (1999) who suggests that the growing *extensity*, *intensity* and *velocity* of global interactions can be associated with their deepening *impact* in such a way that the effects of distant events can be highly significant elsewhere. There is more evidence of foreign cultural practices being imported with little or no

modification to suit the needs of a local audience. The local industry is following North America, which gives rise to allegations of the domestication of American values. However the 70s understanding of cultural imperialism is now understood to be a part of a wider process of globalisation that requires modernisation with a new understanding of power relations. Several leading figures in the cultural imperialism scenario since the 1970s (Boyd-Barrett, 1998; Mattelart, 1994) have acknowledged the need to revise the dominance perspective and recognise the notion of hybridity, with the caveat that cultural imperialism as a general framework should not be dismissed. “Reconsidering the cultural imperialism thesis and elucidating some of its blind spots are therefore more useful than rejecting it wholesale. The thesis’s most important contribution transcends criticism, the argument that power pervades international communication processes” (Kraidy, 2005 : 29).

Overseas Influences on Decisions – Dominating or Just Contributing?

Decisions on programming matters and promotions are a mixture of global and local influences. Borrowing or appropriating foreign content and ideas is common among Programme Directors, and Shearer admits to listening to overseas stations for inspiration, “Yes, pull their ideas just to see the basic nuts and bolts of it, and think that works and I like how that sort of flows and give that a nudge” (Shearer, 2006 pers. comm., June 27).

Clamp sees his staff as a ‘brains trust’, gathering the best minds together to make the best decisions for the listeners and the company’s profit margins. More FM accesses proven radio ideas from major centres of radio around the world and either duplicates them or modifies them for a local audience.

We all pool into the ideas we run, the promotions we run, some of those promotions have been done overseas so we look at those and see how we can either do it exactly the same, or after they have run the promotion is there anything that they could tell us. We are pretty open about those types of things; we have lots of friends that work internationally. We talk to other

people across the world about promotional ideas and concepts anyway (Clamp, 2006 pers. comm., October 9).

Locally, the team incorporates ideas from around the country in the quest to become the most listened to station in New Zealand.

There's myself, and there is Vaughan Hobbs who is the Auckland PD and National music Director, and there is Timothy Homer who is our Operations Manager in Auckland, there's our marketing Manager Corinna Bush, so there's quite a large brains trust, plus we also accept great ideas from our local PDs as well (ibid).

When it comes to getting the best out of the announcers, the globally influenced ideas and local directives from Head Office are passed down to local Programme Directors to assist with the training of their on-air talent through their annual 'Boot Camp'. More FM regularly sends some of their staff to the event.

It's the breakfast show mainly and their producer, I go and represent the rest of the programmes and bring that info back and have a bit of a boot camp ourselves. All the information provided in Boot Camp does come back in the form of a booklet and we go through it with the 10-2 announcer and the drive jock (Royal, 2006 pers. comm., September 18).

Despite his previous assertions that you cannot have someone from outside the market trying to train announcers on how to be local, Royal backtracks and admits that he sees merit in this type of training, as opposed to the more prescriptive 'Style Guide' direction. What the actual differences are between the prescriptive 'Style Guide' and the lessons he learnt from the Boot camp are essentially semantic. They both instruct announcers on how to get the best performance on-air.

The influence of North American consultants in guiding the programming decisions of national and local programme directors here is clear. North American consultants or advisors have been part of the commercial radio training programme for many years, and this is something that is common in commercial music radio's annual

calendar. The organisers and facilitators of this training for CanWest are Rodger Clamp and Jana Rangooni, a woman with extensive experience, “she had something like 24 years in the industry, she’s programmed stations up and down New Zealand as well as the UK, she’s got a proven track record” (ibid).

Rangooni frequently uses the experience of North American guests to guide the future direction that commercial radio in New Zealand will take. The coach they have most recently used was a breakfast show talent coach and currently the producer of Ryan Seacrest’s show at Kiss FM in LA, Denis Clarke. However, Clark only came out for two days a year in 2005 and 2006, followed by a conference call for the next boot camp in 2007. His specialty area was the highly competitive arena of the breakfast show where he advised on how to be “real in listeners lives” (Avery, 2009 pers. comm., March 13). Gone were the 1980s’ standards of skits, parodies and crank calls. He focussed on the dynamics of a show, the structure of voicebreaks and the removal of so called ‘benchmarks’ which were regular time-dependent features of a breakfast show, such as ‘the Impossible Question’ or ‘Battle of the Sexes’. The focus now became on “how to just be a real person reflecting on their normal day-to-day experiences on the radio” (ibid).

[Clark is involved with] KISS plus he also looks after Z100 in New York, two of the biggest stations in the States. He is their producer and their consultant, been in the industry for like 100 years he’ll come over with proven research from the States and he’ll study our market for a month or two and then he comes to Boot Camp, and he listens to all the breakfast shows up and down the country for RadioWorks and gets a general feel of what New Zealand wants and what they need and then he adapts his ideas from the States and shows us ways to use it for our own markets and then we of course bring it back for our jocks (Royal, 2006 pers. comm., September 18).

Despite Royal previously protesting strongly that he knows the best for his market, he admits that North American ideas do assist him.

We are not always right, we are judging it on our own experience and about what we know about our own market, but there are some techniques and prep

sources, [such as] how to get the best out of your interviewers and your interviewees. Just little techniques that you probably knew yourself but then someone explains them to you in nice clear form, so we bring them down and try to adapt them for our local markets (ibid).

Using the best ideas and techniques of North America and combining them with local knowledge and input is yet another example of how when local radio needs an outside perspective, they get it from the centre of commercial radio, the USA. It may be modified to some extent, a by-product of hybridisation, but what is consistent here is that there is an over-reliance on just a few centres of radio production, predominantly the United States.

The balance between global and local is a delicate one, both on a practical professional level, and how it sold back to the audience and media critics through public relations. Localism is not trained out of announcers; Royal is adamant that it is an important part of any quality radio show as well as incorporating global ideas and techniques from overseas consultants. Individualism is still highly valued, as there is a perception that overtraining will make announcers sound too homogenous.

You don't want to sound like the last person on before you so the last thing I want to do is hone those guys' personalities and say, 'No no, I want you to do this and I want you to say that and keep it under 40 seconds.' I will not do that; it's not my philosophy on how I want to work the station or how I want the jocks to perform (ibid).

Individualism is key, but not at the expense of structural limitations and the pursuit of profit. Royal is aware that there are limits on announcer freedoms. He says: "We are running a fairly tight schedule of a lot of commercials and a certain amount of music we have to play including our New Zealand Music quota" (ibid).

Using consultants was a common technique a few years ago for ZM, but this trend appears to be dying. A new confidence in doing the job themselves has been born, although radio is not quite prepared to go it totally alone. ZM still looks to overseas players to give them guidance and ideas on the future of radio.

We do it all ourselves here. We watch trends, the pre-internet days the consultants had it great, and now with the global revolution that's happened, with things like the internet, I can sit in the lounge here and listen to Radio One in the UK, or listen to K-Rock in LA and hear what they're doing and what they're playing and how they are doing it, what their break structure is and what's going on. You look at world-wide trends and access so much information now that it's almost like information overload. The day of having the consultant come in, for us, is over (Boston, 2006 pers. comm., November 22).

Boston still understands the need for effective strategy planning, looking at possible ways competitors are going to react to things that have happened. For the TRN Company, with ratings shares in Auckland at 50%, they are confident they can survive without international consultants. Boston's statement, "We don't have any external consultants at all now" (ibid) is contrary to the fact that TRN utilise the services of Tracy Johnson, a Talent Coach from San Diego.

There is double think being exhibited here when on one hand Boston claims the use of consultants has expired several years ago, while Gurney still admits to being interested in talking to an American consultant. There is a softer kind of power being exhibited in the move from the direct push of consultants to a more subtle engagement with trends and information coming from stations off the internet.

There may be a new sense of maturity in the industry, a feeling that the old days of relying on overseas consultants are gone, but they have not been completely discarded. Whether they are guests, consultants or current producers, semantics aside, they are still actively used in the industry for guidance and direction. The best ideas are appropriated via the Internet or by consultants and adapted for use in a local market. New Zealand Radio Programmers are not yet comfortable in going it alone, instead keeping close tabs on the trends and features emanating from more experienced global commercial operators in the United States and the United Kingdom. Hybridity here is a high level of mixing, taking the best from the global market and adapting it for the local radio audience, and yet still maintaining ties with

Anglo-American content creators. It is another form of Boyd-Barrett's (1977) media imperialism, disguised as localism.

Audience Testing – Local Ways to Test the Global

To find out whether the music and programming choices made are winning ones that satisfy the public, Programme Directors actively engage in research to test the reaction of people in their target audience. The bi-annual New Zealand radio survey gives an indication of listening patterns, but not of how emotionally people respond to the programme as it is based on quantitative analysis. To dig deeper to see whether the music choices and promotions are well received, there are also auditorium tests where snippets of music are played to gauge acceptability with the target audience. Focus groups provide detailed qualitative information on, for instance, announcers, promotions and music so arguably local input in this regard is highly valued and is obtained in a variety of ways.

Sounds FM being a small budget station has to rely on alternative methods to assess audience satisfaction. The costs of undertaking some research methods are prohibitive so they must be innovative in how they obtain data. Shearer prefers to talk to people directly,

We're quite lucky that we are in a market that we dominate as well and because it's a reasonably small market we get pretty good feedback from listening to what people have to say. We rely a lot on listener feedback and the feedback we get from clients and the average Joe on the street (Shearer, 2006 pers. comm., June 27).

More FM researches the wants and needs of the audience through the industry standard methods of surveys, focus groups or auditorium tests. Being a large network with access to large research budgets assists in this endeavour, while smaller stations such as Sounds FM would struggle to justify the massive cost. A central part of the More FM product is the music, and this comes out of Auckland as a directive, with only a small input from the local markets. The research into music averages out an

entire nation to define what music is suitable for the target market. People listening to these commonalities act and react together (Hendy, 2000 : 120).

This in effect eliminates regional differences and extremes and compresses music to the centre. For the sake of this research, I have termed it content clustering. This is where reduplication of common popular types of music are highlighted and used as a template of acceptability for an entire nation. Anything seen as unfamiliar or specialist in taste is discarded in the quest for the common ground. Certain proven styles of music are replicated and relied upon in this process of regression towards the mean. Conforming to the norms of the American production of music in essence means that local writers are referring to a standard cookbook of song structures for aspiring writers to duplicate.

In the research conducted this can be seen in the limited number of songs in the New Zealand repertoire, and the high repetition of those songs to spike up local content goals. This is shown in Chapter Six with More FM's high repetition of Crowded House and Dave Dobbyn, ZM's considerable favouritism of Pluto at 12 plays, and Sounds FM's over reliance on Brooke Fraser at 11 plays over the sampled period. This is the antithesis of diversity and scope promised by advocates of deregulation in the creation of a radio show trying to capture a broad audience. The method that More FM utilises to obtain the data to prove the relative popularity of some local songs is called a Listener Advisory Board. They are held in each market using,

This thing called the worm. It's technology they used for TV and now it's been adapted for use in radio where they play you certain songs and you each hold a plastic knob in your hand with a dial on it and if you like the song you dial it up and from all those labs everywhere from Northland through to Invercargill they divvy up who's got what and what music is going to work in each market (Royal, 2006 pers. comm., September 18).

Locally, Royal does have control over announcers' content and promotions, but music is not entrusted to the individual whims of local Programme Directors. However, there is some scope for local input. "If we hear a song we think we should be playing

we send it off to Rodger Clamp our Group Programme Director. He looks after More FM right across the nation” (ibid).

For Clamp, the competitive pressures of trying to maximise and maintain a strong and dedicated listener base means that freedom to try out new things is limited. When asked whether he was experimental or risk averse when it comes to music selection, he admitted he was, “neither, just safe” (Clamp, 2006 pers. comm., October 9).

The reliance on the Group Programme Directors to choose the music for the country is common to both of the major networks. It is a central point with some assistance from others to gauge the acceptability of tracks and to discard anything that does not fit the predetermined ‘sound’ of what the Programmer believes the target market wants. It is not an exact science, but regression to the mean is a potentially safe option as the main goal is not to play unfamiliar music that may scare listeners off to a competing radio station. The assumption that audiences are conservative in their musical tastes therefore exonerates programme directors in their limited musical selection practices.

Boston’s support of New Zealand music is not totally conservative and he believes that he is not risk averse when it comes to adding in New Zealand music: “We take risks all the time. We put stuff on and off every week. Some of them you’ll give a go even though you think it’s marginal. And you’re only giving them a go because they are a New Zealand artist. If it was Australian or American it would be in the bin” (Boston, 2006 pers. comm., November 22). Having said this, he softens his own argument by reiterating the importance of his commercial imperatives, “If you put too many of them on at once, you weaken your playlist in a competitive market and you can’t do it to the point where your ratings are suffering” (ibid). On one hand he says he is willing to take risks but is restricted in his freedom to play a wide range of New Zealand music when the commercial realities of audience retention are so high on his job description.

Researching the audience is logically only done locally. Using data from any other country would be considered irrelevant to ascertaining the wants of a local market. In this respect, all research on the effects of radio on the audience is conducted on a

national basis. However, this research is open to criticism on the centralising effects of music data. Choosing the right music for the target audience is a difficult job, but relying on the audience to provide you with accurate figures is fraught with difficulties. The indecisive nature of humans as Boston explained, can lead music choices into safe and conservative grounds. Using auditorium tests to discover audience preference can lead to homogenous music choices if not conducted properly. Taking cues from an audience that is unfamiliar with some types of music may lead to choices that eliminate the chances that songs may grow in familiarity. This leads to content clustering, with audiences choosing the safe music they are most familiar with.

Programmers are inherently conservative in a commercial arena, especially when profits and prowess are so heavily dependent on ratings success. Each of them believes that growth in audience numbers comes from safe musical choices, reacting to the market rather than taking musical risks with it. This innate conformist viewpoint does not lead to innovative radio, but to middle of the road choices that are minimal in risk. Reliance on audience testing contributes to this safe middle ground of music selection. This does have important ramifications in the selection of local music for radio airplay, and what types of music get a chance to be heard. Local music acts were being evaluated in comparison to slick North American radio production values that “epitomised a normative Western ‘look’ against which other [radio] programmes were judged” (Kraidy, 2005 : 131).

Hendy (2000) insists that people tend to gravitate towards music that is familiar, wanting a diet of reassuring aural experiences which limits and restricts the ability of the industry to introduce anything new. DiCola and Thomson (as cited in Shanahan and Duignan, 2005) add that research output from the networks cannot adequately reflect the tastes, attitudes and values that exist across a spread of geographically and culturally diverse communities. Shanahan (2005) agrees with this and includes the assertion that with the centralisation of music output by New Zealand on Air, homogenisation of output is an inevitable by-product, “the process is seen as homogenising; bringing standardised, commodified culture in its wake and threatening to obliterate the world’s rich cultural diversity” (Sims, 2003).

Music Voluntary Quota – A Government-Imposed Protection against Americanisation

A tangible example of the competing structures of global and local comes in the form of the origin of the music that is selected for airplay on the different stations. A commercial music station that plays predominantly overseas music would demonstrate a clear lack of commitment to local culture. This was something that the Government took into account when it deregulated the industry, and put into place the funding agency New Zealand on Air. One of their goals for radio was to devise a way to drive local content figures substantially higher than the less than 2% local content played on radio twenty years ago (Maharey, 2005b : 12).

As detailed in Chapter Two, every commercial station in New Zealand is bound to try to achieve a voluntary music quota per year. All the surveyed stations believed they were playing in excess of their voluntary quota, however the actual local music figures for the surveyed week showed that all were playing a percentage well short of industry, and their own expectations.

Whereas the major networks are cautious about what music to play for fear of turning listeners off, Sounds FM is uniquely positioned to play somewhat more experimental and 'riskier' New Zealand artists to an audience that has less opportunity to switch to a direct competitor. The quota is something that Shearer is aware of but does not pay much attention to, as he believed they are already well above their goal, "I think the voluntary figure for a station like ours is about 17.5% of which at last count Sounds was sitting on around 20% so we were exceeding the target anyway" (Shearer, 2006 pers. comm., June 27).

Shearer takes the stance that there is plenty of good New Zealand music to play, and therefore he finds it easy to meet quota goals. To reflect the culture of the New Zealand music scene, he sees it as his responsibility to support local musicians, and to that end, whether there was a voluntary quota in place or not, he firmly believes that supporting the quality of good local music out there is an easy decision to make. However, Shearer still restricts his selections to music which he believes is 'there for

us to play' so there are limits to what he can choose from and some artists are not considered due to format restrictions and production quality.

Shearer promoted the fact that they were playing in excess of their target of New Zealand music, but the survey showed that the actual content was far less than they suggested. The final count was 12.6%. Shearer was unsure why this was. "Maybe the way the songs were rotating through that week it could be the slices we took out of that day. It could be just the way it was scheduled in those slots" (ibid). One solution to get the content up is to load extra New Zealand songs into the relatively low listening weekend timeslots, however this is something that Sounds FM does not do, "everything rotates through exactly the same seven days a week" (ibid).

The voluntary New Zealand content quota for More FM and all 'Hot Adult' Contemporary stations according to Clamp is 18%. The subject of the voluntary quota is still a touchy subject with some Programme Directors. It may be voluntary by name, but as detailed in Chapter Two, it would appear more mandatory by nature. When asked about its relevance, Clamp was not forthcoming, "I think that's pretty obvious for all radio" (Clamp, 2006 pers. comm., October 9).

More FM's New Zealand content on Monday to Friday came in well behind expectations at 7.7%. A solution to low New Zealand content through the week would be to load more New Zealand music into the weekend which Clamp does, but counters it with overseas music as well, so it would make a negligible increase in total content figures. "We do a thing called the variety music weekend and we do add some New Zealand music into that but we also add a high percentage of international acts too. It's music that we wouldn't normally play during the week" (ibid).

On the ground at More FM Christchurch, Royal has a different understanding of the requirements of the voluntary New Zealand music quota. He mistakenly believes he far exceeds it by choice, and may be unaware of the industry expectations of 18%, "I think we only have to play between 8 and 11% of Kiwi music, we play sometime between 15 and 19% Kiwi music just because we support Kiwi music" (Royal, 2006 pers. comm., September 18). Royal in fact has little control over the amount of local

music played on his station; it is instead dictated by the Group Programmer in Auckland.

Boston's goal is to achieve between 17.5% - 20%, although he proudly claims to exceed this target. In the year that he was trying to achieve between 15 and 17.5%, he asserts he had reached 20%. Achieving the set goals is dependent on what new music is being pushed out. In the quest to achieve quota targets, he believes he is still dependent on certain appropriate styles and productions of local music that meet his entry level expectations. "Because we are CHR we are held to, we are affected by what new music is actually being pushed out. And therefore some years are better than others. So the year that we had a lower quota, we actually achieved it, and the year that we had a higher quota, we're struggling a little with it" (Boston, 2006 pers. comm., November 22).

The New Zealand content quota for the surveyed week was 9.8%, substantially lower than ZM's target. Boston attributes that to a lack of acceptable music to choose from, but is optimistic for the future. "It was a struggle towards the beginning of the year, it picked up a little bit now, in 2006 it hovers around the low to mid-teens and we would like it up at the high teens. We're hoping for more in 2007" (ibid). Loading local music into his more music intensive weekends would be a solution to getting the levels up, but this is something that ZM does not do.

Choosing Overseas Music – Plentiful in the Playlists

The choice of what foreign music to play is an important determinant of how 'North American' a station sounds. In the global and local mix of a station's playlist, choosing music from only a few centres of musical dominance would severely restrict potential diversity and scope. Music selection has always been a point of contention, as it is difficult to keep the entire population happy all the time. Many local bands, producers and newspaper critics in the past have accused Programme Directors of not supporting New Zealand bands, instead preferring to stay with the safe and proven overseas acts to fill up their playlists. Hendy (2000) claims listeners are perceived to want the familiar, and this ideology comes from those in power, the Programme Directors. This is backed up in a New Zealand context by those in the industry. Simon Grigg is a New Zealand born record producer and band manager, who released, or

was behind, some 149 records in New Zealand between 1977 and 2004. In 1982, he was awarded the Record Industry Association of New Zealand Special Award for Outstanding Contribution to The Industry. Grigg does not believe that New Zealand pop / rock would have made it onto radio ever without a voluntary music quota. Radio's adherence to the code is hardly embedded and he believes that radio stations would drop local music overnight if it was not forced on them. He sees commercial radio as inherently lazy and breaking local acts involves hard work.

It has a modicum of risk. Records should be tailored to radio but only so far. Unfortunately it's become a driving force with so much music especially that produced via the major labels and has resulted in an unfortunate dumbing down, with records being tailored to fit formats, and that means trying to make them not stand out against the predominantly US or UK pop that fills radio (Grigg, 2006 pers. comm., August 6).

A good Programme Director will always try to come up with music selections that will maximise audience numbers and time spent listening. It is these two parameters that are combined to create station share, on which profits and reputations are won and lost in the annual radio survey. Where this research comes from is critically important to what sound the station will take. Shearer uses a mixture of sources, "there's a bit of a mixture of going through the RadioScope, checking out what's happening in other charts and testing the water a bit with the staff up here as well because we have such a wide range of ages" (Shearer, 2006 pers. comm., June 27). Because Sounds FM operates in a relatively less competitive market than the network brands, it targets quite a wide market, and getting feedback from staff helps, "you can get a pretty good measurement of what people's thoughts are on songs especially in a market like this that's so wide. It's not an over radioed market so we're aiming quite wide, having that kind of diversity in the building really helps in selecting music" (ibid).

With record companies keen to promote their music, radio stations have access to hit singles before they are released to the record shops. Play on the radio is a way to stimulate public interest in the song which results in local record store sales. To find out what songs are most likely to be hits on radio, Programmers have access to charts of recent hits from other markets. A North American publication called Radio and Records (R&R) has been used extensively in the past, especially at the time when

New Zealand Programmers were reluctant to play any local music. R&R was an easy source of music choices, promoted by the consultants in the early 80s and 90s. It is still being used today, with Shearer admitting to consulting it for ideas and inspiration, “Not the magazine but I have a quick flick through the website and Radioscope which is the New Zealand version” (ibid). It plays an important role in his music research, “We’ll look at what’s creeping up, what’s disappearing and a lot of that will be the basis of what I play to the guys around the building and say, “Hey, what do you think of this?” (ibid).

More FM also uses R&R as a tool to investigate what overseas music would be suitable for the New Zealand audience. Looking at what has proven to be successful in the United States gives some indication of potential success in New Zealand. More FM admits to using the highly influential Radio and Records publication, but not in the traditional printed form. “I don’t buy R&R; I used to, but stopped buying it earlier in the year. I mean most of the information [you] can get online” (Clamp, 2006 pers. comm., October 9).

Again, this can only be used as a guide, but critically, the United States in particular is used as a preferred supplier for overseas cultural products. Using R&R gives programmers a guide to what is working in North America; however it is not used as an exact template for choosing music.

Sometimes what works well in America, doesn’t work well here. If we have a bunch of female guitar singers on, the last thing we need is another female guitar singer. So we’d start looking for other acts that fit the format that aren’t female guitar singers for example (ibid).

In addition to R&R, local record company reps visit Clamp every week, trying to encourage him to add in new songs from their stable of proven and up and coming foreign artists. For the New Zealand radio industry this means that again there is a reliance on American cultural products to set the agenda for musical selection. There has historically been some power in the depth of research and data that R&R can provide for its subscribers, and Programmers are not yet willing to abandon such a rich depository of musical information.

When looking for the global hits of tomorrow, Boston does do research into finding out what is proving popular in overseas markets. Looking for musical inspiration still comes with a strong North American flavour. “Because we are part owned by Clear Channel, we’ve got access to a lot of their databases in the States. We tend to look at their [research] and rate the hits; Premier Radio Networks run those things so we can see the results” (Boston, 2006 pers. comm., November 22).

Instead of relying on R&R, there are places to go on the Internet to dig a little further into the numbers but looking at what is successful in overseas markets does not mean it will be added locally. The final choice is still the programmer’s, but he is still considering music from a dominant North American song base. This is reflected in the dominance of North American artists in the song research of the three surveyed stations. The reliance on R&R by More and ZM may be on the decline but it has been replaced by data still originating from the same dominant source of cultural production. It is not surprising that there is still a strong showing of North American music considering North American firms and publications both physical and on-line dominate their research. North America’s heavy influence on the local playlist is a massive source of cultural power over the creation and distribution of unique local cultural forms. New Zealand as a nation has become inescapably vulnerable to the discipline imposed by economic choices made elsewhere by people and institutions over which they have little practical control (McNeely, 2000, Sassen, 1999, Hirst 1999). Elements of the transfer of values are demonstrated here which adds credence to the arguments of the either direct or indirect domination by one nation over another (Tunstall 1977, Schiller 1976, Mohammadi 1991).

Choosing New Zealand Music – Imitations of Anglo-American Pop?

The limited sources of information for international hits do have some important implications for the types of local music chosen for commercial airplay. Programmers are similarly looking for a trusted central source of reliable music data that they can call upon to make selections for local music. A common place to source New Zealand music for all programmers is from the New Zealand on Air HitDisc. It is a disc of individual songs that have received government funding through NZoA. The disc attempts to simplify the research process for programmers and increase the chances of

the NZoA chosen songs receiving airplay. This is something that Sounds FM and most commercial music stations utilise, “mainly the record companies or New Zealand on Air are a good source, the Hit Disc, we refer to that quite a lot, we have a pretty good relationship with NZoA” (Shearer, 2006 pers. comm., June 27).

More FM has no set format to decide what New Zealand music makes it to the playlist. Instead, one of their main goals is trying to get their local content up. The content has been limited for the first half of the year owing to a perceived lack of proven artists:

Our content has been low because there have not been a lot of big artists for our format, lately that’s increased dramatically as big artists put music back out that is absolutely appropriate for our market. So we add New Zealand music wherever we can, and whether it is suitable for the format, but apart from that, it’s just based on song by song (Clamp, 2006 pers. comm., October 9).

Despite confessing that music is considered song by song, what Clamp is actually admitting to is that an important element of selection is that songs are considered for airplay based on who the artist is, rather than by the musical quality of the song itself.

New Zealand music is selected based on the tracks that are put on Clamp’s desk and restricted to the songs that the record companies and New Zealand on Air decide to push. Again, the suitability of songs is based on what is appropriate for the format, and how ‘big’ the artist is. There is a conservative ethos at More FM, restricting selections to what others suggest is worthy, but the ultimate choice comes down to the Programme Director. “If it was through a record label, they would present it. Obviously, when big stuff is coming out that is appropriate for us, it’s a major push from the record label. We also have a weekly meeting with New Zealand on Air which also backs up the record labels” (ibid). Clamp does not look at anything else. Bands that are trying to break into the commercial arena to get their music played are ignored if they don’t have a large organization behind them. “Anything that is not signed goes through New Zealand on Air for me, and they present it on behalf of the band or management of that particular act” (ibid). Leaving these important music

decisions to New Zealand on Air limits the range of music Clamp is exposed to and with an organization dedicated to promoting only what they perceive as a potential 'hit', the chances of new and experimental music reaching the airwaves is extremely limited. NZoA sets the agenda for what music is considered potentially worthy of inclusion on a commercial radio station's playlist, and it plays an important primary gatekeeper role to new unsigned acts being discovered and promoted on radio.

Boston has a more accommodating and receptive attitude towards New Zealand music although he still remains conservative in his music selections. An obvious starting point is the NZoA Hit Discs and what the record companies choose to put across his desk. Of the limited amount of local music that he is exposed to, Boston is more willing to give New Zealand music a fair hearing, although his conservative outlook limits the chance that music that exists outside his tight format will be included.

The thing about NZ music is that whatever comes across the desk, we'll listen to more than once. If there are two songs on the desk, and you've only got one spot on the play list, and they are both absolutely equal, and one is from overseas and the other is from New Zealand, then the New Zealand song will get on first every time (Boston, 2006 pers. comm., November 22).

ZM did encourage new music from unsigned bands, but only if that music fitted in with their narrow definition of well-made popular music. The standard had to be so high that many of the bands were not considered because their production values were lacking, a typical problem for a new band starting out without access to expensive recording studios and expert commercial producers.

We ran a thing called Project enZM which is still sort of bubbling away, but occasionally we say we'll give you a guaranteed 6-8 weeks airplay and it's scheduled to help you sell your album. The difficulty with that is that you get a lot of bands that need that little bit of extra help from somebody, we are not the record company, we are not the producer (ibid).

Restricting selections to acts that can provide a highly mixed and professional product severely limits the exposure of up and coming local acts on a typically very limited

budget. Critics have expressed concern that with the addition of producers and sound engineers trying to create a song for commercial radio airplay, the outcome is that local acts end up producing music with an overtly North American veneer. Gary Steel, reviewer for the *New Zealand Listener* is one of many who assert that local music is losing what makes it unique in the global arena. He believes that in the process of losing the cultural cringe that was such an intrinsic part of the country's pop past, musicians also lost the charm that (occasionally) made the country great. He asserts that New Zealand on Air's contribution to the current surge by the New Zealand music industry should not be underestimated.

The government body's funding scheme is entirely industry-oriented. Unlike other arts-funding bodies, NZ on Air seems to care little about how innovative or artistically meritorious your music is. Your request for a handout will be declined if it doesn't meet specific criteria. NZ on Air exists to match commercially viable products with industry expectations; these criteria actively encourage pop acts to provide material as generic and "international-sounding" as corporate radio requires (Steel, 2004).

Allowing local music choices to be partially influenced by the success criteria of NZoA has a negative effect on New Zealand music heard in the commercial arena. Bands that do not have the money to create highly polished cultural products are left behind and the self-fulfilling prophecy of success breeding success means that bands that get a start in the music industry are the ones that are continually promoted by commercial programmers as they have established a name for themselves. The ongoing reliance on the HitDisc limits the selection of local music making it to the commercial airwaves. There may be more variety of music, but only that music that passes the gatekeeper of NZoA, and presented on a CD to the programmer. Songs lacking in production qualities are also discarded, and this again restricts the numbers of songs being seen by the final gatekeeper of the commercial programmers. Together this works against an environment sympathetic to local music. The standard set by overseas music creates a benchmark that is difficult to attain by local acts that do not have the financial and promotional muscle of large record companies, nor access to expensive recording studios.

Qualities of New Zealand Music – Carbon Copies of North American?

There are lists of criteria that must be met before considering whether to add a song to the playlist. A song has to sound ‘right’ to be included, as there is a fear that wrong music choices will encourage audience dissatisfaction and a potential decline in listeners. The choices made by the programmer are critical to the stations’ on-going success. Generally, there is some considerable deliberation before adding New Zealand music. For Sounds FM, the qualities that are looked for include,

Fitting the format, good production values, international sound, recognizable artist, chart position, previous rotation on another station, but personal preference can’t really come into it. One of the big things I do with kiwi music is pretend it’s not kiwi and try and treat it like any other artist that comes in and make it stand on its own two feet (Shearer, 2006 pers. comm., June 27).

Essentially, the music has to align with a standard from overseas. Low quality recordings will not be considered, but high quality local songs that share some of the same characteristics of more popular overseas songs will have a better chance of being included in the playlist, “It’s got to have that quality that comes from that bigger artist to stand up. You’ve got to have the presentation down right to make the impact” (ibid). This is an indication of the limit of the ‘local’. Aligning with standards from overseas, ‘fitting the format’, chart position etc. all adds up to show that New Zealand music is only so in name precisely because its production is an attempt at reproducing or emulating overseas standards. This indicates a real limit to hybridity.

Choosing music is not an exact science. Programmers understand that selections are sometimes hit and miss, but if they are unsure, another tool is to play a wait and see game. Doing this allows them to pass the risk over to another station’s programmer and reassess the validity of the song at a later date. Again, this shows a conservative approach to New Zealand music. Sounds FM use this tactic if they are unsure about the suitability of a song, “If I’m not completely sure of a track I’ll sit on it and see what it does. If it starts moving up I’ll chuck it in, if it stays stable or is in decline I’ll keep rethinking it” (ibid).

The production quality is another important factor for More FM. Clamp freely admits to comparing local music to a global standard before even thinking about adding local music to his much sought after playlist, “it needs to fit the format, it needs to have reasonably high production values, when you do put it up against international songs, it does have to match” (Clamp, 2006 pers. comm., October 9).

Systems have been put into place to adapt local music to this global standard. In the past, songs have not been considered because of a perceived lack of production quality, but these days, only looking at songs that the record companies or New Zealand on Air choose to promote has all but eliminated that problem.

“It’s all about good producing, good mastering to bring it up to a level that is acceptable and to be fair, 99% of the tracks that come across our desk absolutely hit that so it’s not really a problem nowadays. It was a problem five, six or seven years ago and that’s why NZoA put in Phase Four” (ibid).

Clamp does not have much faith in many of the New Zealand bands’ production prowess. This may be due to the fact that New Zealand on Air invites him once a quarter to consult on a panel for the potential suitability of songs to receive New Zealand on Air funding. Clamp assesses various songs in his format and gives constructive feedback on what they would need to do to improve the song should they get Phase Four funding. “The majority of them will need to get some kind of funding from New Zealand on Air to get to that level because I don’t think many people have that kind of money lying around to get their production values that high” (ibid). This again shows that the offerings of New Zealand musicians are compared to overseas acts and they are encouraged to modify their production and sound quality so that it is comparable to what is coming out of the global music arena.

Choosing music based on reacting to competitors’ choices does come into the selection process. Audience research will assist the programmer in deciding whether or not to add it into the playlist. What always must be considered is how well it fits into the narrowly defined format, and this is always on a programmer’s mind. In the highly competitive radio market, a station does not want to be left behind in popular

music, but must always be mindful of its limited freedom to choose based on format boundaries.

Some songs that are just out of format for us could cross over, certainly. If it's had a lot of play on a couple of different formats, a lot of play on the Rock and a lot of play on ZM, obviously we'd have to look at that, and in that case what we may do and what we have done in the past is to actually research [audience test] the song. We also research people in our panel that actually listen to other radio stations as well. That will give us an indication whether it is a stretch for our format or whether it is accepted by people who listen to this format (ibid).

Having large budgets allows programmers the opportunity to research music boundaries to maximise listening potential in a highly crowded market.

Boston's number one requirement for local music to be considered for addition to the ZM play list is that it has to fit the station format. After this stipulation, he differs from the selection criteria of other programme directors.

I don't care that it has to have an international sound, it doesn't have to be a recognisable artist, a previous rotation on another station may have an influence if you think another station is getting it to work (Boston, 2006 pers. comm., November 22).

Boston appears to be quite accommodating to New Zealand music; although his attitude is not reflected in his musical decisions of what broad New Zealand artists actually make it to air.

The main thing is that if it's a fit with the station sound and it's a New Zealand artist, we are going to give it a go. It's got to be reasonably catchy and reasonably melodic for it to work on our radio station because we are a mainstream CHR, we're not pretending to be anything other than what we are, a commercial pop radio station. And if it sits outside that, then we're not really going to be able to get it to work (ibid).

What is clear from the programmers is that for the most part, the characteristics of a song existing inside a commercial arena are by definition that it has to sound as good as and sound similar to the international artists already being played. There is a strong economic base for these assumptions, as power resides in audience connection and familiarity with the song. “Hybrid cultural forms that are attractive to the market will survive, while those that lack commercial value will die... hybridity is not only natural and inevitable, but also supremely desirable for both the market and consumers” (Kraidy, 2005 : 95).

Boston however protests that some songs that fall outside the format, or are not up to production standards are sometimes included to give New Zealand music a chance, but this is again constrained by commercial imperatives. Loading the playlist up with questionable music choices is perceived to be a tactically risky ploy that may feed into the opposition’s hands.

Some marginal ones that we choose to play, we don’t think they will get there but you try and give the artist a bit of exposure. We do play some of those, but the thing is that if you get too many of them on the rotate at once, we are in a very competitive environment and if you start playing stuff that is not working with your audience, we are not here to try and ram it down their throats and say this has to work, at the end of the day we’re about playing the hits (Boston, 2006 pers. comm., November 22).

Clearly the commercial imperative informs most of the decisions that programmers face in a competitive marketplace. Sounds FM does play the most diverse selection of local artists, perhaps the freedom of a local station with an arguably more captive audience allows some latitude to experiment with local artists, giving them a fair hearing and allowing them every opportunity to become a favourite with the audience.

Commercial programmers are inherently conservative and this shows in the narrow selection of local artists that make it to their playlists. The common reason is that it has to meet up with an international standard and fit the station format. Picking local songs from a limited selection chosen by NZoA and the local record company reps means that the range of songs that a programmer is exposed to is limited, and what songs are presented may have even been remixed to meet the station format, courtesy

of the NZoA Phase Four programme. International standards are highly influential in the selection process for a commercial radio programmer. Shulman (1994) qualifies this as pressure for local performers to conform to ‘world standards’. Boyd-Barrett, (1998b) terms this media imperialism where the media in a country are subject to substantial pressure from the media interest and standards of other countries. The outcome is a form of hybridity rather than domination, as the impact that foreign influences have contributes to the final product instead of creating it.

Added to the argument of dependence on the dominant overseas centres of musical culture, there is also a level of hybridity that strongly involves the criteria of international song standards. Local acts must emulate the qualities of global music to have a chance of making it through the gatekeepers of the record companies and NZoA before even being presented to the final gatekeeper of the Programme Director. This repetition of foreign standards has important ramifications for the range of songs that the commercial audience is exposed to. The outcome is a lack of diversity as shown in the research, and this is in line with historical concerns over unrestrained market competition in broadcasting, “[it] tends to work strongly against the choices of citizens, especially minorities and temporary or floating majorities” (Cocker, 1992 : 55). Further to this, commercial broadcasting’s inherent need to secure a return on investment would result “in ultra-normalisation of format content” (Pauling and Wilson, 1994 : 200). It is clear that modern commercial radio works against public interest goals such as pluralism, diversity in content and accessibility. Critics were right in predicting that unrestricted competition would promote “cultural uniformity and exclude minority social interests” (Isoides, 1999 : 153).

Artist Repetition – One Way of Attaining Quota

One way of achieving voluntary content quota goals is repeating proven local songs. Instead of having pluralism and diversity in the local music played, stations rely on artists that have a history with the listener.

Familiarity is the key for those artists. They’ve done the hard yards with our audience and they’ve stuck with them and they’ve worked. It’s a proven artist, sometimes I like to refer to it as the Phil Collins status. Some artists get to the point it doesn’t matter what they do, they have a popularity, a familiarity that

listeners jump on board with straight away (Shearer, 2006 pers. comm., June 27).

This is evidenced by Sounds FM having half of their New Zealand playlist coming from just eight artists in Chapter Six. Despite this narrow field of local talent, Shearer defends his selections and even promotes his confidence in local music. Considering he does not programme with much pluralism, he still believes that the New Zealand music industry is strong. “If it fits in with the format, no worries. If anything, I think sometimes it exceeds some of the international stuff that comes through, the kiwi stuff just overpowers it; it’s amazing how the quality is there” (ibid).

Conservative music choices and a reliance on the decisions of Record Companies and New Zealand on Air has meant a narrowing of New Zealand artists on More FM. Clamp’s focus on ‘big’ artists has meant less diversity and pluralism. 84% of More FM’s surveyed New Zealand music came from seven artists and just over half of them came from three artists, who were Fat Freddy’s Drop, Crowded House and Dave Dobbyn. Instead of experimenting with lesser-known artists and taking a risk, Clamp chose to replicate proven artists to help make up his voluntary quota. Admittedly, in the month of February, 2006, there were not a lot of ‘big’ new releases out, but More FM still chose to keep a narrow New Zealand playlist. “February was tough for us and we didn’t hit our quota for that first quarter of the year. Since then, we have made a lot of ground on hitting our 18% and should make it by the end of the year” (Clamp, 2006 pers. comm., October 9).

Admittedly, this was compounded by the fact that many New Zealand acts actually do not release at the beginning of the year because there is a huge push from the record companies on international acts over Christmas, and a lot of bands actually hold back releasing until April in preparation for New Zealand Music Month. However, Clamp still waits for the big artists to release new songs and then backs up his playlist with more songs from that artist from previous years, “we revisit some of the golds of those acts that are coming back through, so at the moment we’re running Greg Johnson on high rotate, Donald Reid, Stellar, Tim Finn, Feelers, Brooke Fraser, Evermore” (ibid). In the commercial arena, the highly researched and tested songs are a safe option that ends up being repeated ad infinitum owing to an assumed

understanding of the audience's preference for the tried and true. The common excuse offered is that there were few local acts to choose from.

Despite Boston proclaiming his faith in New Zealand music, the survey of his actual New Zealand content showed a high percentage of artist repetition. By intention only, ZM should have shown a broad and diverse selection of local artists; however what was shown was that just over half of ZM's New Zealand playlist came from just five artists. This is a revelation that came as a bit of a surprise and his explanation for such a narrow field of artists is that it is a reflection of the popularity among the audience. Audience research drives repetition and the station is simply giving people what they want. "There's no doubt that if an artist gets successful with a particular track, then it's got a better chance of getting a second single to work, so you do end up with these clusters" (Boston, 2006 pers. comm., November 22).

All of the surveyed stations showed high rotations of only a few core local artists. The freedom of the community station meant that they were more diverse in their local music selections; however, they still were not vastly different from the programming structures of the major network players. Relying on the tried and true, listening strongly to audience research does mean that local artist repetition is endemic in the commercial radio arena. The songs that are chosen resemble the high production qualities of the international acts and this results in a continuation of only some types of local music making to the stage. This benchmarking of standards suggests a high entry level for new acts wishing to make music for the commercial marketplace. This has important ramifications for the types of local music heard on commercial radio. This music form closer in style to international acts suggests a continuation of the local music scene towards a replication of prevailing global standards rather than as an indigenous musical form with limited global influence. The conservative mantra of commercial programmers creates a globalised feedback loop that is seen as losing the cultural uniqueness of New Zealand music production, for the benefit of producers of homogenous global pulp. Local hybrid music forms now have more in common with the dominant centres of musical production than reflecting a country's unique culture.

Summary – Is Hybridity the Way to Understand Modern Cultures?

Programme Directors have a critical task in the formation of the cultural content of their radio stations. As previously discussed, programmers employ a range of influences from the global to the local in the construction of their radio products. Other elements strongly utilise the experience and wisdom of Anglo-American radio operators to assist them make a radio product that will be acceptable to a local audience. Using United States programming models, decreasing advertising content and replicating global modes of voice break construction all contribute to an Anglo-American style of radio. There are some differences between the metropolitan brands and the smaller operator, but essentially the methods of the radio programmer come from the same handbook. How each method is applied may vary, but the structures are very similar.

The choices made are based on conservative factors that most programmers incorporate into their decision process. A reliance on tested and popular artists means repetition of songs instead of experimenting with budding popular, yet untested or unfamiliar songs. This is shown in the relative frequency of the same artists making up a station's total New Zealand content figures in February. Despite the Programme Director's proclaimed faith in the quality of New Zealand music coming across their desks, the actual risk-taking on new local artists is severely limited. Allowing New Zealand on Air to assist and edit the selections further limits the exposure that new local acts have on a Programme Director. With a conservative focus that record companies, NZoA and the programme directors have to only find the 'hits', little room for new acts exists outside the conservative boundaries to make it into the public domain. With entry standards so high for professional production that matches or exceeds the cultural products of foreign countries, and songs that sound as if they do not actually come from New Zealand, the influence of the global on the local is strong.

The only challenge to this model comes from independent radio operators providing a radio service with relatively limited competition. The possible explanation to the uniqueness of Sounds FM even though it is a commercial station comes from its ability to make choices. Sounds FM is in a unique position as a small commercial operator in a market where competition is limited. This allows the Programme Director some freedom in what he does. This freedom manifests itself by being more

open to experimentation in some areas, and reflecting a more New Zealand cultural product. It is not overanalysed and researched, possibly because of budget constraints. The station still is a mixture of global and local influences, but the result is a sound that Shearer believes reflects more of what New Zealand radio used to sound like before deregulation.

That's the advantage that we have here. We're independent and we are in a market that isn't flooded by multiple brands that have really narrow target markets, it's a lot more freedom, but it's a lot trickier to do it because you're trying to cater for everybody's needs (Shearer, 2006 pers. comm., June 27).

In the highly competitive metro markets, hybrid cultural products that lean more towards the centres of dominant musical production are favoured over music that sounds unique to the country. This does have important ramifications for the types of music produced for a commercial audience, and also for what music is made for consumption. If an unsigned band wants to make it into commercial radio, they will have to modify their music to fit in with the entry criteria of firstly NZoA and then Programme Directors. This means that the music being made for airplay follows foreign production values such as mimicking current music styles, length, production qualities and themes rather than reflecting the voices and stories of an indigenous culture. This has consequences for the type of music produced and how to define a radio music culture in each unique country.

Before one can attest that foreign music has an effect on local producers, what first must be ascertained is whether there is a dominance of American artists above any other centre of musical production. What the research shows is that there is little difference in the overwhelming proportion of Anglo-American music to New Zealand music. Modern commercial radio is still dominated by music emanating from two major producers of culture in the world. As detailed in Chapter Six, music originating from Anglo-American artists counts for over 70% of the music played on the sampled stations.

There is some noticeable difference in the variety of New Zealand music selected for airplay, with the independent station Sounds FM clearly committed to playing a

greater mixture of local artists, but the total percentage across all surveyed brands is still substantively less than their goal of around 18%. The music is delivered through a universal technological communications platform such as Selector that is offered to the world with the suggestion that the “expression of cultural diversity is now definitely guaranteed. In reality, all the evidence indicates that centrally controlled technology has become the instrument through which diversity is being destroyed and replaced by a single global culture” (Hamelink, 1983 : 4). The adoption of foreign technology can obviously produce profound cultural effects.

These cultural effects are compounded through the engagement with Anglo-American models of programming and announcing. Modern commercial music radio still imports technology, and uses it to replicate a foreign model promoted by Talent Trainers and Programmers, with announcers providing ‘continuity by numbers’ and delivering a mix of global and local culture. Future studies incorporating discourse analysis may be able to provide a more empirical investigation into the relative balance between global and local output by commercial announcers in the commercial radio arena.

Gate keeping by the Programmers is a formidable barrier to new music by local artists reaching the airwaves, and the professional routines of allowing NZoA to guide their choices has a considerable effect on the types of music making it on to the station’s regular playlist. NZoA pluggers were an integral contributor to the increase. “NZ on Air’s programmes for increasing local music airplay since 1994 have played a major role in the local music airplay increases recorded by APRA since 1997” (Joyce, 2002 : 61). However, as the programmers mention, their support for local music is highly qualified, “If you put too many of them on at once, you weaken your playlist in a competitive market and you can’t do it to the point where your ratings are suffering, you’re playing too many duds” (Boston, 2006 pers. comm., November 22). This moderated and mediocre enthusiasm for local music products has a downstream effect on content and production with the outcome in some critics’ minds having been for the worse (Grigg, 2006 pers. comm., August 6). The impact that NZoA has had through Programme Directors has meant that the pluggers are now by default an important cog in the selection process for new music, and what NZoA defines as acceptable for airplay sets a new benchmark for entry level into the commercial radio

arena. Further research into how these selection decisions manifest themselves in the creation of local music is an area that would shed some light into the relative balance between Anglo-American and New Zealand influences.

Chapter Nine: *Conclusions*

The highly formatted, automated, thoroughly market-researched commercial music radio station is in the business of minimizing risk. With international shareholders demanding on-going and increasing profits, conservatism is an inevitable by-product of its caution. There are considerable pressures within the medium, technical, social, political and perhaps above all economic, that make modern radio what it is today.

Pressures to gain the maximum audience possible, as well as to get them to listen longer, are the result of the mantra of the commercial imperative. Currently, the industry faces the constant complaint of endless musical repetition and has brought upon itself a fight to retain listeners who are defecting to personal mp3 players. Historically, the industry has been and continues to look at proven commercially viable global operators for guidance on formats, style, music choices and technology. This engagement with foreign operators comes under scrutiny through the discourses of cultural imperialism and hybridity. How local engages with the global has been a focus of this research, and from here, what have been the implications for the creation of local culture in the face of rising globalisation.

A summary of the major findings are as follows:

- Announcers use a range of websites for idea generation, but predominantly American
- Decreasing commercial inventory is in response to what America initiated
- The standard shape of a voice break is replicated across all brands
- All brands are dominated by Anglo-American music
- New Zealand music levels played on the sampled stations were less than NZoA's target of 20%
- There is increasing concern over local music sounding too 'American'
- Sounds FM's freedom from competition allows more diverse music selection
- The technology used is mostly American based, or created locally with an eye to modify it for sale internationally.

- Talent Trainers still look to American consultants for advice
- Programme Directors closely follow trends from overseas
- Promotions are highly replicated from American origins
- New Zealand commercial music radio tends not to set its own agenda
- New Zealanders are highly exposed to cultural globalisation
- Cultural imperialism, or domination still has some currency when applied to local radio
- Hybridity is an incomplete term that ignores relations of power

Each of these channels of effect has a cumulative effect of a tendency towards the domestication of American values. Having listed all of these channels, it points to a systematic dependence on America, and this is of national concern. While active audience researchers may suggest that dependence is over-stated, the pure volume and channels in which this occurs suggests a tangible relationship that is grounded in American themes. While this study is not grounded in reception analysis, it does provide some weight to the arguments that the content can have some negative affect on an audience, and this is backed up by numerous researchers in Chapter Three. There are grave risks to the autonomy of a national culture when there is evidence of a transfer of values (Schiller, 1976, Hamelink, 1983, Golding, 1989). There are clear channels where this is most likely to occur, and evidence of it e.g. formats and technology.

While the study looked at Sounds FM as an example of an independent operator in a smaller market operating somewhat independently of the pressures of the national networks, the commercial imperative drives that station as well. It did show elements of a model more closely resembling a view of the audience as citizens by playing more local music; however it still draws influences from foreign operators in areas of announcing, technology, music research and training staff. It did demonstrate some freedom in comparison to the larger network brands, but in recent times, this has come to an abrupt end. It is difficult to compete against the massive financial resources of the two major players and subsequently on the 31st December 2007, MediaWorks acquired the Blenheim based Marlborough Media radio business which

owned and operated Sounds FM in Blenheim, Picton and Kaikoura, as well as Easy FM in Blenheim and Picton (RadioWorks, 2007).

One can also add that in the final analysis, the large network brands exert pressure directly and indirectly. Competing in a market dominated by them is an indirect pressure. However their subsequent acquisition of Sounds FM is direct pressure. The major networks' desire for full control of the market has seen them continue to buy up small independent operators with a view to subsume them into a national network. More FM has purchased and rebranded many of the heritage local stations and renamed them More FM with a view to network their product and reach even more of an already over-radioed population.

It is in commercial radio that the tension between the government and global corporations has been most evident in the past two decades, balancing the profit imperative of the broadcasters with the State's desire to maintain national cultural autonomy. Deregulation shifted a broadcasting industry mostly controlled by the government to one controlled almost entirely by commercial interests. This is the natural outcome prophesized by critics who predicted the demise of autonomy in the face of rising globalism (Negus, 1996, Hettne, 1995, Easton, 1997, McQuail, 2000). New Zealand radio is now very much part of the global media industry.

In the literature a clear consensus emerges that in most western markets, in the on-going pursuit of profit, entertainment has been relied upon to deliver audiences and hence sets of listening ears for the reception of advertising messages. Critics have suggested that this is colouring broadcasting for the worse. It fits nicely into the commercial orientation of business, but it also undermines the public service ethos. Some have speculated that this may in fact cause the eventual demise of public service broadcasting. The media and especially the news media have increasingly become part of the entertainment industry. "Entertainment has superseded the provision of information; human interest has supplanted the public interest" (Franklin, 1997 as cited in Thussu, 2007 : 5).

McChesney suggests there has been a deterioration of public participation and a "decisive increase in the business domination of media policy making. In Britain the Communication Act of 2003 demonstrated a clear shift in language from protecting

the public interest towards the concept of the individual ‘citizen-consumer’” (2004, as cited in Thussu, 2007 : 39). The role of entertainment, “the last of the Reithian triad of ‘informing, educating and entertaining’ the public – gained ever greater prominence during the 1990s” (Thussu, 2007 : 32). Public service broadcasters have been forced to follow the American model of broadcasting (ibid: 38), while the FCC Chairman Mark Fowler suggested that the public interest should be defined only by market logic “The public’s interest, then, defines the public interest” (as cited in ibid: 22). The media are operated by private parties for the purpose of generating profit and “are thus subject to the operational principles of the market system” (ibid: 51).

Hallin and Mancini (2004) suggest that the liberal model is likely to be adopted across the world “as the differences between national media systems are clearly diminishing. A global media culture is emerging, one that closely resembles the liberal model, which is represented by central features of the American media system” (as cited in Thussu, 2007 : 68). Entertainment programming has been accepted easily into the radio programming model, as local consumers have been exposed to American entertainment for a number of years.

The hybridisation argument emerges out of an interesting paradox. Pickering and Shuker (1993) suggest that a healthy music scene cannot flourish either under excessive state control or under the corporate control of transnational capitalist enterprises. On the one hand, excluding foreign material altogether would prevent a particular country’s musical practices from being enriched by exposure to styles from elsewhere, on the other hand, the entirely free play of market forces, with radio stations unimpeded by certain principles of balance and cultural responsibility, would inevitably swamp indigenous practices (as cited in Hendy, 2000). However what can be seen here is that the balance is a little one sided. The dominant engagement with Anglo-American culture has left the industry struggling to find an identity that is apart from its cultural parents. The industry has become predictable and impressionable.

What has happened in modern times, as Hendy argues, is that the radio landscape has become increasingly segmented into niches and the patterns of daily production ensure a steady delivery of the familiar and tightly targeted output to particular sections of the audience, “listeners are perceived to want more than anything a diet of

familiar and reassuring aural experiences” (Hendy, 2000 : 237). This familiarity has left the audience with a diet that is controlled and safe, with an over-reliance on American music which is affecting the outputs of the local music scene. This was confirmed by the study with the over-dependence of Anglo-American music played, and the massive repetition of just a few New Zealand songs as detailed in Chapter Six.

Pickering and Shuker (1993) understand the difficulties faced by New Zealand music against the perceived onslaught of Anglo-American imports: “When a local culture is swamped by material from outside, the possibilities for indigenous development is also diminished. It is a question of creating a dynamic balance of forces” (as cited in *ibid*: 238).

The concept of hybridity or mixing of cultures is not a new revelation. What was secure and familiar back at the beginning of radio history was a hybrid form in itself, New Zealanders copying a British model. Especially in radio, to suggest that New Zealand had authentic boundaries to its own unique culture ignores the manipulation of foreign influences throughout the country’s history, as detailed in Chapter Two.

Radio’s history has always been predominantly influenced by two nations, England and the United States. Even the very early attempts to create radio came from work done in these two countries. Early inventors such as Marconi and Fessenden, although born in other countries, did some of their most important radio experiments in England and the United States. It was in these two countries that radio grew and became a dominant force in global radio broadcasting.

New Zealand radio has always looked to these two centres of production for guidance and structures of presentation, technology and ideas. Right from the time that radio was introduced into New Zealand, it has always been a mix of Anglo-American and Kiwi. No one influence has entirely controlled the radio scene in its history. Format, presentation, consultancy, staff, music, and technology have been a combination of the spheres of influence from the United Kingdom and the United States. Over time, this influence has morphed from one distinct centre of production to another, but has not done so at the expense of the weaker sibling. The spheres of influence have co-

existed since the first days of broadcasting. As this study has shown in Chapter Two, New Zealanders have always had engagement with Anglo-American radio culture through music such as jazz and rock'n'roll, formats and people since its inception.

The Americanisation of New Zealand commercial radio therefore does not suggest a change from a solely BBC model pre-deregulation, but an intensification of influence since 1990. This brings to light Giddens' (1990) claim that globalisation is an intensification of social relations. What emerges from this study is that American influence in New Zealand radio is not new; however since the liberalisation period that marked deregulation, the post 1990 industry has experienced an intensification of that influence. As we saw in Chapter Seven, American encouragement developed hand in hand with the growth of the broadcasting industry with the use of consultants and adoption of formats, and began to dominate as more players came onto the market and as commercialisation became the key to profits, and therefore success.

The concept of broadcasting as essentially an entertainment medium, contrary to the public service vision of the BBC's Lord Reith, is not a recent development, but one accepted just six or so years after the adoption of the wireless in New Zealand. Once a nation in isolation in the South Pacific, it now finds itself a partner in a global society where cultures meet both internally and externally, and is experiencing an intensification of those ever-present trends.

The study confirms that cultures are fluid by nature and are always in motion as the result of continuing interaction both from within the culture itself and with the outside world. All cultures are hybrids in that sense. For example, Gandy looks internationally for interesting on-air content and then adapts it for a local market, Airwaves was created in New Zealand, but is constantly being adapted to meet the needs of international consumers, and MediaWorks employs international consultants to guide programming ideas, but what is actually implemented is modified to sate the requirements of a local audience. It is also important to note that the constant motion and incorporation of different elements brings with them new characteristics, new distinctions and new similarities. From this perspective, perhaps hybridisation and globalisation do lead to a loss of cultural distinctiveness in cultural products- and in cultures as well. However, by losing what was there, we are presented with something

new, something unique, and something that represents yet another culture. It is only when we lose sight of the dynamic nature of culture and lock ourselves into a quest for cultural essentialism that the hybridisation of cultural products will necessarily lead to stale homogeneity (Wang and Yeh, 2005 : 190).

Commercial radio has the option of treating the audience as citizens of a community or as consumers of goods, or perhaps somewhere in between (Murdock and Golding, 1989). The Government-run public broadcaster Radio New Zealand National would be the closest to seeing the audience as citizens at one end of a spectrum, while commercial radio provides the balance as clearly money and consumer orientated. As shown previously, MediaWorks' on-going acquisition of small independent radio stations adds to their massive stable of stations and adds more potential ears to be sold advertising messages. The content provided by commercial radio operators is clearly indicative of this with a conservative ethos of retaining the maximum number of listeners to deliver them commercial messages for their own financial gain. The politics of profit filter most decisions that radio makes in the commercial arena.

Theoretical Issues

In order to understand radio in a New Zealand context, attention was given to its shaping factors. An indication of the process began by the arrival of settlers who brought with them their own culture and values. Globalisation is therefore not a new process, but it has played a role in the transfer of British values into our emerging radio landscape. In a New Zealand context, this could be offered as a potential launching point of globalisation. While acknowledging the modern global reshaping of the local, contemporary debates have suggested there is a better way to understand radio in contemporary society.

There is a general consensus that some elements of the contemporary world are best understood through the prism of globalization. Opinions differed as to whether globalization is a positive or a negative development, but there is general agreement that many of the modern advances and regressions are either a symptom or a consequence of globalization. The impact of this on the cultural arena has typically been seen as something negative, promoting globalised culture as simply the enforced

global extension of Western Culture. The process is seen as homogenising, it infects with the cultural ills of the West with its obsession with consumption practices and the fragmentation of cultural identity. It is also seen as a threat to what are regarded as the fragile and vulnerable 'traditional' cultures of periphery nations, and finally, the process is viewed as part and parcel of wider forms of domination, such as those involved in the grasp of transnational capitalism and those involved in the maintenance of post-colonial relations of (economic and cultural) dependency. This sees globalization as a natural extension of western cultural imperialism.

However, the cultural imperialism argument provided an answer that is not totally complete. To use the argument in defence of the stand that 'we are protecting the native cultures' implies that the culture of New Zealand is not strong enough to survive on its own, or that the culture is static, and there are plenty of examples in history that negate that. The actual process of the formation of New Zealand's culture is far more complex than the answers the cultural imperialism argument provided and it offered an almost omnipotent view of the power of the media that is difficult to prove.

The more controversial aspect of globalization is its cultural implications: does globalization lead to universal cultural uniformity, or does it leave room for particularism and cultural diversity? Few, if any, cultures have developed as completely isolated phenomena; part of adaptive cultural growth is selective borrowing and exchange. The evidence of this new interplay of local/global is demonstrated in the New Zealand commercial radio industry. Now is the time that New Zealand radio may be casting off the shackles of its overseas influences and becoming comfortable with finding its own direction. However, this is not a mature industry, it still looks quite heavily to its mentors while experimenting with the future, and this perhaps places the industry more in line with a simplistic version of hybrid modes of thought. While Rangooni believes radio is now looking to Australia and therefore is distancing itself from claims of Americanisation, Grigg still sees a dependence that is causing a dumbing-down of the music industry.

This hybridity concept is advanced as the most up-to-date method of understanding cultural formation and the manifestation of this sees a mix of strong American

influences, but New Zealand commercial music radio is also introducing other countries and cultures in varying quantities in the quest to define itself for the 21st Century. However, the reliance on the safe uniformity of a well-oiled, much used media style means that what makes a country unique is lost by default.

In this study we are able to see that for music programming, there is little diversity across all three brands studied. Despite the relative freedom to experiment with different artists, all stations have an over-reliance on Anglo-American song selections, and there is only a slight difference in the number of local songs that they play. The sense of variety presented to members of the New Zealand radio community is diminished as my figures confirm in Chapter Six. 70-80% of the music played comes from Anglo-American sources across all three stations, and just over half of ZM's New Zealand song playlist comes from just five artists. This overwhelming presence of music from two main centres of music production, and frequent repetition of only a few local acts to some shows their dedication to mediocrity and is perhaps a reason that radio is struggling to grow audiences.

Some would argue that the radio industry still continues to demonstrate significant cultural domination, as shown through its on-going relationships with North America in formats, conference attendance, and more importantly, the use of consultants to guide the sales and programming strategies of the local industry. The Americanisation projected on New Zealand radio is part of a wider trend that is not isolated.

What is clear from this research is that the discourse of hybridity needs to be re-assessed. To understand it as a simple mixing of cultures renders it incomplete, and disguises the underlying power relations inherent in it. Hybridity reflects uneven development within societies, and there are structural factors that shape local media texts. What must also be remembered is that there is real inequality in a culture's production and distribution. The issue is that borrowing does not come from a range of countries, but only from a few. However, the actual negotiation with foreign cultures means that a normal process of selective adoption and adaptation will take place in the on-going fluid creation of a country's culture. The outcome is a grab-bag of influences combined and reconstituted, some more-so American, others less-so. What is consistent is the inconsistency of it all. The hybridisation discourse would

have more grounding if there were more correlations across all elements that make up modern radio, but it is an ever changing Doctor Dolittle's Pushmi-pullyu. It would appear that just when one side appears dominant, the other pulls back striving to assert its own dominance. The battle is currently being won by Anglo-American actors, so to suggest that New Zealand culture is a mixture of cultures is somewhat disingenuous. Cultural imperialism holds some relevance here with the massive engagement with Anglo-American actors, whereas hybridity is a more nuanced understanding of that particular engagement, but the outcome of the interactions are unable to be replicated consistently, as backed up by Kraidy (2005) and by the interview subjects in Chapter Eight. LinkStudio's Steve Booth agrees that if overseas operations are highly influenced by American concepts and consultants then he suggests there is an American influence. TRN's Gurney uses the American consultant Tracy Johnson, and MediaWorks' Rangooni has used American Denis Clarke in the past and yet downplays his future involvement in the company. Sounds FM's Shearer cannot afford nor is interested in looking for guidance from foreign shores. Some deal more-so with Anglo-American agents, and others are claiming to be weaning themselves off, or ignore them completely.

Metro and Regional – Is there any difference?

The differences between metro and regional radio stations in the research were only partial at best. Although the independent Sounds FM fared better in the scope of New Zealand songs played, the commercial imperative that informs all of the stations are clear in their engagement with foreign technology, programming structures, music selections, sources for announcers' breaks and NZoA. These all add up to an overwhelming reliance on just a few centres of cultural production. Whether this can be termed hybridity is cause for continued debate of the applicability of such a term, but the profit motive is the driving force behind many of the decisions. The desire to reach as many ears as possible with music and content that are relevant to the audience's needs, all done at the least cost possible is the common thread that runs through the New Zealand commercial radio industry. Despite their subtle differences, this *raison d'être* is overwhelmingly the final filter that modern radio must uphold to ensure financial longevity in a highly competitive marketplace. The dominant centres of musical production, cultural products, technological expertise, and experience with

a commercial model in a competitive environment originate in two main places in the world, Great Britain and North America. How New Zealand radio negotiates with these centres has been discussed in light of the discourse of hybridity, but whether this disputed concept offers a complete solution that is more complex and encompassing than the discourse of cultural imperialism is still contested.

Music Issues

One common concern that is frequently in the public domain has been the debate surrounding the creation of local music. There are important questions to be asked regarding the dominant influence of Anglo-American music being played on New Zealand commercial music stations on the creation of local cultures. Questions are raised whether what is made is an imitation of foreign sounds and styles, or it is created with deference to what is unique about New Zealand? Critics have argued that locally made music stems from overseas sounds. It is difficult to counter this influence when the music is played on the same instruments and influenced by the predominantly musically foreign filled airwaves. However, many local artists add something of themselves to the music, coming up with a distinctly New Zealand flavour.

This unique 'New Zealandness' has historically been the sticking point for radio programmers. What makes the music different is exactly what makes it not fit the format, and as NZoA and the radio programmers have indicated, if it's not in the format then there is little chance it will receive airplay no matter how 'culturally' significant it is. The more local musicians sound like American artists, the more they will fit the already existing formats, and the more chance they have of being backed by the record companies, and/or by NZoA funding.

This does have some important implications for content creators as it artificially influences New Zealand culture by funding and supporting that which sounds like other countries. This becomes an issue as local individuality gets eroded through compounding years of this procedure. From new bands who are influenced by overseas artists while attempting to emulate foreign music 'styles' such as rap and pop, there can be no doubt that music does have an integral role in shaping parts of

New Zealand culture. An individual's attitudes and beliefs are greatly influenced by the culture (or cultures) in which he or she lives, and changes to a country's culture can take place as a result of socioeconomic, political, or other fundamental factors affecting a society.

Commercial radio's dominance over the listening habits of a nation warrants special attention in this regard. The highly researched radio formats deserved investigation into whether there is a driving force behind what is disseminated to the public. Proponents of the cultural imperialism theory would argue that it is predominantly an Anglo-American focussed medium with an emphasis on American content and ideology. But being an ever-growing and changing industry that was born out of deregulation, with influence from American 'parents', perhaps some twenty years later New Zealand radio has found its own feet and is now a young adult striving to find its own identity.

Are youth fed more American cultural products?

Since MediaWorks and The Radio Network "have 83 per cent of the national commercial radio audience and make 92% of commercial radio revenue" (Vaughan, 2007 : B10), it was important to sample from their brands. One intriguing question involved the amount of American music played in relation to different age groups. Do stations play more Anglo-American content to a more youthful demographic? By using two different nationally demographically targeted stations, it can be seen that the younger targeted audience of ZM is not fed more American music, than an older, female household shopper demographic of More FM. In the final count from Chapter Six, ZM played comparatively less Anglo-American music than More FM. ZM's playlist featured 72% music originating from Anglo-American artists, while More FM had nearly ten percent more. Sounds FM provided a counter to the pressures of being a network station, with less American music by being more adaptable to local needs and more experimental in New Zealand music content, yet America was still the most dominant centre of music played. The ease of access to music and chart information from the industry's dominant players, as well as wanting to reflect the popular music choices on competing radio stations limits the range of music played, and the country

of origin. It is no wonder that this results in an over-reliance on Anglo-American cultural products.

Technology

Technology, whether it be imported into New Zealand, or exported out, is seen as a mixture of influences. In terms of news software, it is not modified in any way, it is foreign technology directly imported for use in the New Zealand market. This is a rare case of technology being incorporated without modification, and adds weight to the argument of technological dependence on large overseas companies. However, what is more common is that some technologies in use by the radio stations are American dominated, such as RCS, and others with more of a local structure, such as Link Studio. The technology may end up defining an industry and become the dominant means within which the media operates, or it may be a fledgling software programme trying to find a way into the international market, but either way, technology has become a mixture of different cultures, a globalized product that adapts itself to different markets. Each of the radio stations relies on technology to keep their format broadcasting, and uses technology to enhance day-to-day operating efficiency. It is intertwined in the core of radio's modern operating system. Without it, there would be nothing but silence. In reality, all the evidence indicates that centrally controlled technology has become the instrument through which diversity is being destroyed and replaced by a single global culture (Hamelink, 1983 : 4). The adoption of foreign technology can obviously produce profound cultural effects.

Technology is not neutral; it has power and meaning to force countries to become development dependent. The importation of hardware does have an influence on the development of software. This is evidenced by RCS and by Link Studio. Technology where it is either imported and modified, or modified for export, therefore embodies global themes. Most technology use supports the domination thesis more strongly, however the individualistic structures of a host country demand constant renegotiation with the process. Technology bends to meet these needs, and therefore occupies the contested space between technological determinism and technology as neutral in discourses of hybridisation. It exists neither at one end of the spectrum or the other, but within a constant renegotiation between the global and the local.

National Talent Trainers

What is clear from the research is that Trainers actively combine global and local factors. Nothing exists independently, as Talent Trainers incorporate global ideas into creating local shows and programme products. Whereas North America was once considered the essential centre of guidance, it may now be passed over in the search for new global ideas and directions of programming and announcing. The future of radio must take into account international trends if the industry is to survive locally, but with the maturation of the industry, and perhaps with the Trainers believing the American market is becoming stale; New Zealand radio is now looking for advice from other centres of expertise, as well as looking internally. This links into trends observed by others e.g. Tunstall (2008). The habit of stealing ideas from around the globe has not diminished, but what may have changed is the reliance on North America as a centre of excellence. MediaWorks is certainly looking further for inspiration, but both companies still incorporate American methods into their announcing and programming strategies. What can be suggested is that the concept of Americanisation may be shrinking, but Anglo-American hybridisation is still dominant. The industry may have matured but not to the point of self-confidence to survive independently. It simply cannot exist by turning inwards and solely focussing on itself, especially when its audience are becoming increasingly connected globally.

The Group Programme Directors and National Talent Trainers are in a tricky middle ground between global radio structures and satisfying local needs. Trying to incorporate them together means a mixture of influences with the same outcome: providing a radio product that is still relevant to a population's needs. The combination of Anglo-American ideas and directions with local research and relevance means an audio product disseminated to the public that stretches from incorporating Americana through to promoting what is unique about their neighbourhood. There is no overt dominance as is alluded in the cultural imperialism thesis, nor is neutral hybridisation the best way of describing the outcome. The final radio product jumps back and forth simultaneously, from expressing itself as America and as New Zealand almost within the same minute. It is difficult to differentiate between the two for there to be any real conclusions about dominance of interests.

Announcers

Announcers are always looking for inspiration and ideas that will attract and retain listeners, and in a competitive market, the edge comes from doing what the audience will listen to and enjoy. The easiest and safest way to retain listeners is to re-introduce them to already proven global radio ideas, ideas that have stood the test of time in foreign, predominantly American markets. With slight or significant modifications, these ideas have the potential to be winning ideas in a local market. These modifications relate in some part to the arguments of hybridisation, taking the best from overseas and adapting it to meet the needs of the local audience. This hybridisation of ideas in combination with the critical element of localism is the standard recipe for the success of a radio show. This is something all announcers are familiar with and actively pursue in the construction of their daily shows. Local subjects in combination with hybridised international content are evident in all of the stations surveyed. However an understanding of the content as a mixing of global cultures is disingenuous, as the powerful draw of Anglo-American interests again dominates the hybrid content.

The actual content is a mixture of foreign and local material, with assistance from prep sites. What the interviews showed is that the international material used in the construction of a show is predominantly sourced from America. Information on bands, celebrities, phone ideas and promotion ideas are borrowed from providers in the United States and used for local radio consumption. Some material will be modified to make it relevant and interesting to a New Zealand audience, but what is consistent is the use of America for guidance for announcers. Voice break construction, American Internet and prep sites and even staff all assist announcers in the construction of their day-to-day radio shows. The American agenda is set not just by music, but also by cultural products in entertainment through television and movies amongst others. The popularity of American cultural content in other media suggests a desire to reflect this interest in their shows. This is not to suggest that America is the sole provider of this information, but what can be shown is that it is the dominant influence. It is continuous engagement with American sources that makes Anglo-American hybridisation a feature of the modern commercial music

radio programme, in combination with frequent input from and about their own local communities.

Programme Directors

Programme Directors have a critical task in the formation of the cultural content of their radio stations. Programmers employ a range of influences from the global to the local in the construction of their radio products. Some lean more towards a reliance on local talent and personal preferences in the formation of a programme, such as rejecting or modifying overseas trends, doing audience testing and training announcers. Other elements strongly utilise the experience and wisdom of foreign radio operators to assist them make a radio product that will be acceptable to a local audience. Using programming models, decreasing advertising content and replicating an almost universal convention of voice break construction in Anglo-American commercial radio all contribute to a Western style of radio. There are some differences between the metropolitan brands and the smaller operators, but essentially the methods of the radio programmer come from the same handbook. How each method is applied may vary, but the structures are very similar.

One of the most culturally contentious areas of radio programming comes from music selection. Even with a voluntary New Zealand content quota, Programmers are still gatekeepers of hybrid local musical content that can either lean more towards a replication of overseas musical and production values or it could be a distinct local production reflecting the values of its indigenous population.

The choices made are based on conservative factors that most programmers incorporate into their decision process. Wrong choices will encourage the audience to seek better music selections from potential competitors. The proven reliance on tested and popular artists means repetition of songs demonstrated in their playlist instead of experimenting with potentially popular, yet untested or unfamiliar songs. This is shown in the relative frequency of the same artists making up a station's total New Zealand content figures in February. Despite the Programme Director's proclaimed faith in the quality of New Zealand music coming across their desks, the actual risk taking on new local artists is severely limited. Allowing New Zealand on Air to assist

and edit the selections further limits the exposure that new local acts have on a Programme Director. With a conservative focus that record companies, NZoA and the programme directors have to only find the ‘hits’, little room for new unproven acts exists outside the conservative boundaries to make it into the public domain. With entry standards so high of professional production that matches or exceeds the cultural products of foreign countries, and locally created songs that sound like they do not actually come from New Zealand, the influence of the global on the local music scene has been cause for strident debate.

The only challenge to this model comes from independent radio operators providing a radio service with relatively limited competition. Sounds FM was at the time of research in a unique position as a small commercial operator in a market where competition is limited. This allowed the Programme Director some freedom in what he did. This freedom manifested itself by being more open to experimentation in some areas, and reflecting more New Zealand cultural products. It was not overanalysed and researched, possibly because of budget constraints. The station was a mixture of global and local influences, but the result was a sound that reflected more closely what New Zealand radio used to sound like before deregulation. This is something that Shearer appreciated.

That’s the advantage that we have here. We’re independent and we’re in a market that isn’t flooded by multiple brands that have really narrow target markets, it’s a lot more freedom, but it’s a lot trickier to do it because you’re trying to cater for everybody’s needs but at the same time. I kind of think it’s easier as well, because you’ve got more choice to make. I’m concentrating on creating the best local station I can. It’s all about the greater good is probably the better way of putting it, rather than focussing too narrowly on stuff (Shearer, 2006 pers. comm., June 27).

However, one of the last bastions of programming freedom has since been overtaken by the network operators. Now with More FM taking over the brand, this has led to the disappearance of independent programming in Blenheim. No longer are music selections made for a local audience, but the region is now subject to the musical decisions made in Auckland for the More FM brand.

In the highly competitive metro markets, local cultural products that lean more towards the centres of dominant musical production are favoured over music that sounds unique to the country. This does have important ramifications to the types of music that is produced for a commercial audience, and for what music is made for consumption. If a New Zealand band wants to get their music heard, the bands that are already featuring on commercial radio form a benchmark of acceptability. If a band wants to make it into commercial radio, they will have to modify their music to fit in with the entry criteria of NZoA and the Programme Directors. This means that the music being made for airplay follows foreign production values and themes rather than reflecting the voices and stories of an indigenous culture. This has consequences for the type of music produced and how to define a radio music culture in each unique country.

Importance of Hybridisation

The post-colonial discourse of hybrid culture is, according to some commentators, the natural result of a country's engagement with the forces of globalisation. Where the previous era was characterised by domination, this new epoch is a new departure from that threat where it has been welcomed as non-threatening. Hybridisation is seen as an improvement with better consequences for culture. How this hybridisation manifests itself is an important determinant of how a country's culture survives under the pressure of internationalisation. "Popular culture in any localized sense is today a hybridisation of symbolic forms and practices...[It] is vital that the conditions for such interaction are maintained in any particular region or country of the world" (Pickering, 1993 as cited in Hendy, 2000 : 224).

The broad shift from national development to 'cultural pluralism' (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Mohammadi, 1994) "signalled a broader engagement with culture than had the structural focus of the cultural imperialism thesis, and... ultimately... led to the introduction of the notion of hybridity to international communication" (Kraidy, 2005 : 4). Since hybridity involves the fusion of "two hitherto relatively distinct forms, styles, or identities, cross-cultural contact, which often occurs across national borders as well as across cultural boundaries" (ibid: 5), it is clear that hybridity is relevant to the study of the cultural outputs of the New Zealand

commercial music radio industry. However, for the concept to be understood as a simple mixing of cultures renders it incomplete, and disguises the underlying power relations inherent in it. What is clear from the research is that hybridity reflects uneven development within societies, and there are structural factors that shape media texts.

What is apparent from the research is that the mixing of cultures is limited to just a few dominant spheres of influence. New Zealand radio engages with Anglo-American culture through the music they choose to play, the consultants they hire, the conferences they attend and the style and topics the announcers choose to relay to the audience. This is where perhaps the relevant aspects of hybridity as a theory need to be joined with the discourse of cultural imperialism. The rejection of the 'cultural imperialism thesis' in US mass communication research reflects the "national political climate and ideological reluctance to admit to the existence of global American power projection" (ibid: 17). While critics write that cultural imperialism has lost its critical bite, "the fact that many critics still spend substantial print space outlining the deficiencies of cultural imperialism has imbued the thesis with a residual life-after-death attraction and continues to expose the lack of a solid alternative" (ibid: 27).

While a more complete understanding of hybridity must include investigation into relations of power, such investigation as this study shows, ultimately exposes the importance of power, and of domination that have been the essential ingredients in the cultural imperialism model. The overwhelming engagement with Anglo-American culture and expertise is displayed in technology as well as staff through the National Talent Trainers, Programmers and Announcers; however the influences of Americanisation cannot be overplayed. "Although arenas circumscribe options for action, they do not dictate them. There is always a repertoire of choices" (Murdock, 1995 : 92).

The expanding scope of the concept of hybridity dilutes its meaning. However despite its critics, the concept still is an important entry point into understanding the new dynamics of cultural formation in an age of increasing globalism. It should still serve

as point of departure for “renewed scrutiny of the conditions and bases of hybridity” (Kraidy, 2005 : 46).

Despite the limitations of using hybridity as a model to best describe the way the commercial radio industry operates in New Zealand, it is still important to understand what the concept helps to unpack when dealing with power relations.

Understood as practices, communication processes harnessed to express different kinds of hybridity serve to reproduce social, political, and economic structures. When hybridity is posited as a naturally occurring and globally desirable condition in public discourse, it reproduces the prevailing global order (: 152) [...] Far from reflecting a radical openness, then, hybridity follows politicized rules of inclusion and exclusion (ibid: 132).

However while most hybrid forms tend to be structured in dominance, the resulting appearance and identities are not always and not necessarily reflective of total dominance. The staff of the radio stations is selective of what they choose to incorporate into the structure and presentation of their particular commercial station. Here the cultural imperialism thesis is inadequate in predicting the wholesale adoption of foreign culture by recipient nations. What is clear is that unequal intercultural relations shape most aspects of cultural mixture, but radio still can retain some elements of independence in the face of globalism. The Talent Trainers and Programmers are influenced by overseas, but are still free to make decisions that are most appropriate for local culture, rather than replicating overseas trends. It is cultural imperialism with caveats. The notion of hybridity provides an alternative, but ultimately it is an incomplete understanding of transcultural formation.

The aim is to balance the forces of localism and internationalisation. Pickering and Shuker (1993) share their concern about what is needed to help protect indigenous New Zealand music against the perceived onslaught of Anglo-American imports.

It is a rather bizarre situation where the music which constitutes an unknown quantity for radio programmers in New Zealand is locally produced, and that which they feel is already widely familiar in its general ‘feel’ is foreign. In a

healthier cultural environment, this situation would be reversed. When such [musical] trafficking is absent, cultural innovation is at the very least slowed down. Yet when a local culture is swamped by material from outside, the possibilities for indigenous development is also diminished. It is a question of creating a dynamic balance of forces (Pickering and Shuker, 1993 as cited in Hendy, 2000 : 238).

Radio does not need to be defined as a medium intrinsically hostile to musical diversity and change that it becomes impossible for different music and practice to meet in a beneficial collision. Radio can be the site of hybridisation because that is precisely what makes cultures dynamic. Since radio is firmly connected into global circuits of culture, it may often act as an agent of homogenisation, but used sensitively, its very ability to interpenetrate the local and international dimensions of society means it is a medium at least capable of providing the conditions of interaction in the on-going creation of 'hybridised' symbolic forms and practices.

The New Zealand commercial radio scene may well be seen as an agent of such homogenisation. The hybridity of music incorporates a variety of influences from the global to the local. New Zealand artists create music, write lyrics and sing in their own accents, but it is done under an international framework of production standards and fitting into tightly defined radio formats. Very few success stories operate outside of this arena. What some critics are suggesting is that the hybrid music forms are more aligned with global modes of thought rather than reflecting local stories and experiences. This is precisely one of the problems with the concept of hybridity. For instance, some critics (Kraidy, 2005) argue that it fails to provide a definitive quantitative measure of the process of hybridity. One issue raised is that it would appear that any percentage of mixture could be called hybrid. This is what we are seeing in the case of New Zealand radio. A process of delocalisation is operating whereby local music is created to suit international standards and formats. The local radio programmers as well as NZoA support this process. The result is a homogenisation of content that is geographically difficult to pinpoint due to its global themes and similarity of styles and accents. The outcome is more global impersonation than local inspiration.

What is also critical to note is that hybridity does not involve a country engaging with many others; standard historical lines of economic and cultural domination are still present. While countries may be engaging with new ways of appropriation and adaptation of some cultural elements, it is still coming from the same traditional centres of production. In that respect, it still follows a traditional line of domination, and closes its eyes to the history of conquest. Today it is clear that political and economic considerations are central to hybridity. While local radio is currently looking at Australia as a new source of inspiration and innovation, by no means have its producers abandoned the historical ties to England and America. Radio may be feeling ready to leave the safety of the nest some 20 years after deregulation, but there is still much invested in the lines of commercial co-operation from their Anglo-American parents. There is clear evidence of hybridisation, but dominated by two traditional allies in the radio industry. There is little doubt as the digital age matures, New Zealand radio will continue to confront those challenges with the close help of its two mentors, both experienced in the trials and tribulations of the digital arena. Local radio is well networked to learn from the experiences of the two dominant players of English-speaking radio, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Is the U.S. still all-powerful?

Tunstall (2008) suggests that the media have become globalized and Americanised, but he asserts that 'Euro-American' is a more accurate description than 'global' media. However this powerful block that incorporates France, Germany, Britain, Spain, Italy, Brazil and Mexico has little relevance to New Zealand as people 'prefer to be entertained by people who look the same and talk the same' (Tunstall, 2008 : xiv). That leaves us back with the familiar players of Anglo-America. Tunstall's belief that the world's people spend more time with their own media including film, music, news and television than with imported media is overly simplistic, and the evidence put forward in Chapter Six with respect to music negates this notion. Even with the promised voluntary quota of 20% New Zealand content, it leaves 80% content originating from foreign shores. While he suggests that, of the world's audience, only ten percent of their time is devoted to U.S. media (: 449), and that many countries of the world may well still expect to take perhaps one-third (but no longer a half) of their media imports from the United States (: 452), even he agrees

that New Zealand has “some of the most Americanized of the world’s media systems” (ibid: 4). American media may have lost some of their power, but the new powerful ‘Euro-American’ media model offered has little relevance to the New Zealand commercial radio market.

Mercer (1994 as cited in Campbell et al., 2005) agrees with the Euro-American model, but modifies it slightly. Mercer advances that across a whole range of cultural forms there is a dynamic which critically appropriates elements from the master-codes of the dominant culture. One can refer to the notion of ‘triadisation’ that says globalisation is about the prosperity of three dominant actors, i.e. the United States, the European Union and Japan.

Future Research of Music & Commercialism Criticisms

This research shows in Chapter One that there are certainly more New Zealand songs being played on commercial radio than ever before. If New Zealand music is to be solely judged by that criterion, then the New Zealand Government should be exceptionally pleased with the result of their voluntary quota system. There has been more support by commercial radio in the numbers of songs they have added and by their support of New Zealand music month. However, there are important questions to be asked about the quality of music being disseminated by the commercial brands out to the New Zealand public. While there can be no debate about the quantity of songs, what can be argued is the cultural appropriateness of the current music scene. This is an area of future research that could be undertaken to investigate whether local music now sounds too much like foreign products to the detriment of local identity. Critics have pointed the finger at NZoA and radio programmers in general for failing in their role of protectors of culture, and the backlash against the funding agency has seen claims that NZoA’s clustering of content as being more suitable for a generic international market. The people who have the power to make those decisions are the ones too tightly involved in the commercialism of radio, to the detriment of a diverse musical culture on radio.

There are still many areas of research that could further develop these findings. One possible starting point is to look at hip-hop as a music form that connects with both

ends of the global-local spectrum. While engaging with American-led global trends in hip-hop, local communities have adapted African American hip-hop for their own purposes. As such, although individual hip hop scenes form part of a transnational hip-hop community, each scene has its own identity, addresses nationally specific issues and employs its own culturally and linguistically specific markers. Some elements within this fraternity still closely emulate American trends, but the scene generally is a diverse one with many musicians choosing to reflect their own culture rather than mimic American values.

To actually quantify American influence on local musical offerings is a contentious area, and the responses to measuring it may potentially lead to accusations of censorship. If it proved difficult to code overt Americanisation in the local musical content supported by local radio stations, then musical videos partly paid for by NZoA could become the new ground for contention. Visual cues of cultural influences may be an area warranting further discussion. Future research should be initiated in other satellite centres of radio around the globe to see whether the hybridisation of culture is replicated in other countries. The effects of cultural protection policies should also be investigated to see whether they have a countering effect on what it was intended to do. The commercialism of music radio is imitated in many countries around the globe, and there are plenty of opportunities to compare and contrast the different cultural experiences of host countries. India is a new centre with a rapidly expanding radio station base and it would be interesting to see whether the lessons from the New Zealand experiment are learned in a country just beginning to see speedy development in the radio industry that New Zealand saw back in 1989.

There are some limitations to this study. Future research could provide more insight if it extended to more commercial stations than just the three analysed in this thesis. That would be able to provide more relevant data to ascertain the relative merits of Americanisation or not. Another limitation is dealing with an industry that is very self-aware of the public's gradual relaxation of their traditional cultural cringe and increasing support of local music. This means that their on-going relationship with Anglo-America is not one to be overtly promoted. Talking to industry professionals, one gets the feeling that at times you are getting the public relations speech, rather

than an accurate insight into the industry. There are reputations and egos at stake, and so naturally the data is highly subjective.

The state of New Zealand commercial music radio in 2008 may be a timely warning about the cultural consequences of letting commerce overly influence an important part of a country's broadcasting regime. Whether the outcome of mixing cultures is seen in an optimistic light through some of the positive discourses of hybridisation, or as a gradual dissolving of autonomy through domination, it must take into account relations of power from dominant centres of radio production. America in particular still exerts some control over the direction and sound of local radio. As shown in Chapter Eight, consultants, research, music, promotion ideas and inventory levels are clearly embedded in what the public receives, and this power relationship is unlikely to change drastically despite protests of independence from some in current management. Commercial music radio in New Zealand operates somewhere in between these two extremes, some would argue leaning more towards Anglo-American, but radio is forever in flux, adapting to meet the changing needs of a globalised audience.

What positives hybridity brings to the discourses surrounding globalisation are centred on an understanding that it is difficult to understand in a modern radio context. The ways in which those in power engage with foreign centres of expertise is both overt and covert. Content Managers steal, adapt and ignore cultural elements from global providers and reinvigorate them with an eye on their own unique listening public. The value of the discourse of hybridity resides in its "avoidance of a binary model of intercultural relations in favour of a relational approach whose vectors are located on a continuum and in its invalidation of the idea of total difference between cultures" (Kraidy, 2005 : 70). Hybridity therefore is only one element of a total solution towards a greater understanding of cultural engagements and formation. While incomplete, it forms the backbone of comprehending the dynamics involved with the mixing of two unique cultures into a new form. It is Americanisation, but it is not without an on-going struggle to reclaim identity in the face of a becoming McLuhan's (1964) global village.

Appendix A

The pool of stations comes from a selection of the following national brands:

Network/ Independent Brands

TRN	CanWest	b.net	Independent
ZM	The Edge	95bFM	1XX
Classic Hits	The Rock	Radio Active	89X
Coast	Radio Live	Radio Control	APNA FM
Flava	Solid Gold	Radio One	Bayrock
Newstalk ZB	Kiwi	rdu	BBC World Service
Radio Hauraki	Times FM	The Most FM	Beach FM (Kapiti)
Radio Sport	More FM		Big River
Viva	Radio Dunedin		Generator
	The Breeze		George FM
			Hokonui Gold
			Mai FM
			Niu FM
			Port FM
			Radio Tarana
			Radio Waitomo
			Red FM
			Sounds FM
			The Beach (Waiheke)
			The Jade
			Vision
Rhema Group	LPFM		
Life FM	Base FM		
Radio Rhema	Firm FM		
Southern Star	Fleet FM		
	GOfm		
	Grapevine FM		
	Inferno FM		
	KFM		
	Kix FM		
	Magic FM		
	Max FM		
	Mix FM		
	Munt FM		
	Pulzar FM		
	QFM		

Radio Akaroa
 Rivertown Radio
 Soundwave FM
 Static (AUT)
 Up FM
 Z100

You can see what brands dominate in the following survey markets, so it was important to choose a music brand that has a heavy number of listeners in each market and a spread through as many markets as possible.

Commercial Station List by Survey Area

TRN Stations

Survey 2/2005

CanWest Stations

AUCKLAND	CHRISTCHURCH	DUNEDIN
Newstalk ZB	Newstalk ZB	Radio Dunedin
Classic Hits	The Rock	The Rock
Mai FM88.6	The Edge	Newstalk ZB
Coast	More FM	Classic Hits
The Rock	Solid Gold	The Edge
Viva 98.2FM (formerly i98)	The Breeze	More FM
Flava 96one	Classic Hits	Solid Gold
ZM 91.0	91ZM	96ZM
Radio Hauraki	Coast	Radio Hauraki
The Edge	Radio Sport	Coast
More FM	Radio Live	Radio Sport
Solid Gold	Radio Hauraki	The Breeze
Radio Pacific / Trackside	Radio Pacific / Trackside	Radio Live
Radio Sport	Kiwi	Radio Pacific / Trackside
Radio Live	Niu FM	
Niu FM	rdu	
Radio Tarana		
Base FM		
Kiwi		
95bFM		
George FM		

HAWKES BAY	MANAWATU	NELSON
Newstalk ZB	More FM (formerly 2XS)	The Rock
The Rock	The Rock	Classic Hits
The Edge	Classic Hits	The Edge
Classic Hits	Newstalk ZB	More FM (ex Fifeshire)
Radio Hauraki	The Edge	Newstalk ZB
Flava96eight	90.6ZM	Solid Gold
More FM (ex Hot93)	Solid Gold	Radio Sport
Solid Gold	The Breeze	Radio Live
Coast	Coast	97ZM
95.9ZM	Radio Live	Radio Pacific / Trackside
Radio Sport	Radio Sport	
Viva (formerly Easy i)	Radio Pacific / Trackside	
Radio Live		
Radio Pacific / Trackside		

NORTHLAND	ROTORUA	SOUTHLAND
More FM (formerly KCC)	Classic Hits	Classic Hits
Newstalk ZB	Mai FM	Radio Hauraki
Radio Hauraki	The Rock	The Edge
Classic Hits	The Edge	Hokonui Gold
The Edge	Radio Hauraki	More FM (form Foveaux)
Mai FM	More FM (form Lakes96)	Newstalk ZB
Radio Pacific / Trackside	98.3ZM	The Rock
93.2ZM	Solid Gold	Solid Gold
Radio Sport	Newstalk ZB	95.6ZM
	Radio Live	Radio Live
	Radio Pacific / Trackside	Radio Pacific / Trackside
	Radio Sport	Radio Sport
	Viva (formerly Easy i)	

TARANAKI	TAURANGA	WAIKATO
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The Edge
 The Rock
 Classic Hits
 Newstalk ZB
 More FM (formerly Energy FM)
 Solid Gold
 Radio Hauraki
 Coast
 Radio Pacific / Trackside
 98.8ZM
 Radio Sport
 Radio Live

Classic Hits
 Newstalk ZB
 The Rock
 The Edge
 Radio Hauraki
 Coast
 More FM (form Coastline)
 Tahī FM
 89.8ZM
 Radio Live
 Solid Gold
 Radio Sport
 Viva (formerly Easy i)
 Radio Pacific / Trackside

The Rock
 Classic Hits
 The Edge
 Radio Hauraki
 89.8ZM
 Newstalk ZB
 The Breeze
 Solid Gold
 Radio Pacific / Trackside
 Radio Sport
 More FM
 Radio Live
 Generator

WELLINGTON

The Breeze
 91ZM
 Newstalk ZB
 Classic Hits
 The Rock
 More FM
 Radio Hauraki
 The Edge
 NiuFM
 Radio Sport
 Solid Gold
 Radio Live
 Radio Pacific / Trackside
 Coast
 Kiwi
 Atiawa FM

Appendix B

DEFINING NEW ZEALAND MUSIC

The Radio Broadcasters Association has defined what exactly New Zealand music is. On a basic level, they have applied the same definition as used by NZ on Air. That is: New Zealand music is music made by New Zealanders where "made" means "performed" and "New Zealander" means "New Zealand citizen or resident".

IN DETAIL... In 99% of cases this brief definition is sufficient - the majority of songs, or artists, are very clearly either in this camp or they are not. In a small number of cases, however, a line call is required. In those situations they use a common-sense checklist of Yes/No questions. The artist, or work, in question would be expected to receive more Yes answers than No answers in order to qualify.

It is possible that doubts may arise on two points in the brief definition - the word 'made' and the phrase 'New Zealander'. Did you *make* it yourself ...? We define "made" in this context as "performed by". This means a New Zealand artist who records a cover of a song written by a non-New Zealander is counted. However, a foreign band recording a song written by a New Zealander is not. By any common sense test, Zed's performance of Starlight (penned by River Cuomo of Weezer) is still "New Zealand music" and by the same definition, Christina Aguilera's Genie In A Bottle (written by New Zealander Pam Sheyne) should not be.

The "making" of a song may include the commonly held methods (i.e. playing the instruments, singing the vocals), but it may also include the construction of sound in other ways (e.g. sampling, digital slicing and dicing, turntable scratching, or other methods of manipulating sounds to form a new work).

YES/NO Checklist (3 out of 5 YES answers required):

1. You played a major creative role in determining the structure, arrangement and final overall sound of this work? YES / NO
2. You are listed on cover art or accompanying material as the 'Artist'? YES / NO
3. You physically played/sang on the work in question? YES / NO
4. You personally sampled, or otherwise collected, the sounds which form the substantial basis of this work? YES / NO
5. This is an original work - not an alternative mix of a work previously released under someone else's name? YES / NO

This list provides some room for recognising a variety of ways in which an artist might "make" a song. However, it is designed to rule out claims based purely on associated contributions (including producers, engineers, remix-ers) *unless* they played such an important role in a song's production that they, in effect, performed it themselves.

Are you a *really* a New Zealander...? A more common source of dispute is likely to be whether the artist in question can legitimately be said to be a New Zealander. On a basic level a "New Zealander" is someone who has some form of legal basis for claiming nationality by: a) birth, b) naturalisation, c) residency. If the artist is *not* covered by one of those three things, then they can be ruled out straight away.

Those that are covered by one of those three may still be the subject of debate, particularly those that may have been born here but have little, if any, other tie beyond that which common sense would suggest makes them "Kiwis". In those situations, NZoA apply another YES/NO checklist.

In the case of a band, eligibility is based on first answering Yes to:

1. Are the majority of the band members New Zealanders OR are New Zealander(s) the predominant creative contributors to the band. YES / NO

YES/NO Checklist (3 out of 5 YES answers required):

1. You are predominantly based in New Zealand? YES / NO
2. You recorded the work in question in New Zealand? YES / NO
3. Your performance and/or recording career began, in some tangible form, while resident in New Zealand? YES / NO
4. You have made some form of demonstrable contribution (financial, collaborative, promotional or otherwise) to the New Zealand music industry? YES / NO
5. You describe yourself, and are described, in independent media coverage as a New Zealander? YES / NO

This definition should provide the freedom for bona fide New Zealand bands to base themselves overseas (and record there) as a way to enhance their global careers, without jeopardising their 'local' status at home. For example, an internationally based Kiwi band may answer 'No' to the first two questions but would qualify by meeting the other 3 criteria.

However, expatriates or those who left at a very early age would need to demonstrate some form of connection to New Zealand beyond simply their birth, in order to be considered eligible.

The RBA have sought to find a definition that is as simple, objective and common sense as possible. Importantly, from a logistical perspective, they have tried to avoid the requirement for on-going detective work or policing, or in-depth record keeping about time spent overseas or period since deciding to be based elsewhere.

Song by Song Flexibility In the majority of cases once an artist's status is clear, the material they perform will most likely all fall into the same category from then on.

However, the RadioScope system is designed to apply nationality on a *song by song* basis (not Artist by Artist) - which means that the local content eligibility is flexible to

a certain extent, depending on the circumstances in which each particular song is recorded and presented.

This is useful, for example, if an artist does not meet the criteria at the release of one work, but subsequently moves back to New Zealand or records the next album here etc., to then be eligible with his/her subsequent releases. Or, vice versa, for those who initially meet the criteria, but later do not.

It also means that a foreign artist who records a duet with a New Zealand artist in circumstances which mean that the song should rightly be considered local content, for example, can have a form of 'honorary' local content status on that particular song without affecting his/her other past or future repertoire.

Appendix C

Interview Schedule

Programmers (in-depth interviews)

Do you realize there is more American content on your station than any other nationality?

Simple starters

- What is your NZ content quota goal for your station?
 - Why do you have it, what's the point of it?
- What computer programme technology does your station utilize?
 - Studio/Programming/Ad-Merge. Selector, Master Control, Wizard, Linker, Airwaves, Link Studio, Newsboss/Burli and Digital Airchecker.

Re: Announcers

- Do you instruct announcers on how to formulate voice-breaks, or do you delegate to National Trainers?
 - If yes, where do you source your inspiration from, Boot Camp?
- What subscription based prep services does your station pay for?
 - Are these full of local or overseas content?
 - Why would you choose these, is American pop culture cool?

Programming

- Where does your programme clock model (3 ad breaks at 20:40:56, rotation of power/ gold/ recurrent) come from?
 - Have you modified it?
- How do you choose what overseas music makes it to air?
 - What is your source of info, Radio and Records?
- How do you figure out what the audience wants?
 - Survey, focus groups, auditorium tests?

New Zealand Music

- Where do you source NZ music?

- From the NZoA Hitdisc or music companies?
- What characteristics must be present for NZ music to become playable?
 - Fits the station format
 - Production Values
 - International Sound
 - Recognizable artist
 - Chart position
 - Previous rotation on another station
 - Personal preference
 - Other, please comment
- Why does some NZ music with those characteristics make it onto the airwaves and not others?
- Why does () % of your NZ playlist come from just () NZ artists?

Tricky

- Does NZ music fit your format, does it improve it or is it a struggle to make it conform?
- Are you free to programme over and above your voluntary quota?
 - So why don't/do you?
- Does the level of competition in your market affect your decision of what NZ artists to play?
- Do you consider yourself to be experimental or risk-averse in music selection?
- You are currently playing () % NZ music.
 - Why is this different to your goal?
 - Do you load NZ music into your weekends?
- Inventory levels are going down in the US; do you think you will follow this trend?

Talent Coaches (in-depth interviews)

Simple starters

- What training resources do you use?
- Who assists you in training announcers?

Hybridity issues

- Where do you encourage announcers look for inspiration, local newspaper, overseas magazines, the Internet or other places?

- Where do you look for the future of radio voice-break construction, structured presentation and the next ‘big’ idea?
- Do US formats fit well in NZ?
 - What do you change when you take a format into the NZ market?

Musicians/Producers (questionnaire)

Simple starters

- Can you name other bands you feel you sound like?
- Do you have a local audience in mind when you write/produce music or are you looking beyond the shores of NZ?
- What do you define as kiwi music?
 - Made locally
 - New Zealand born main contributors
 - A distinct sound internationally
 - Telling a NZ story
 - Anything created by at least one NZer
 - Other, please comment

Tricky

- Does the NZ music being played in the mainstream have a local flavour or do you feel it sounds too much like overseas bands?
- Do you feel pressure to sound like successful overseas or local bands if you want airplay or funding?
- If you are on an independent label, do you still face the same ‘popular’ pressures to get airplay?

Hybridity

- How do you make use of overseas music in the creation of your own music?
 - Ignore it artistically
 - Imitate a little/a lot
 - Try to sound like them

Announcers (in-depth interviews)

Simple starters

- Where would you find a good source of overseas material to construct a voice-break?

- Where do you look locally?
- What mix of international and local stories do you favour in the creation of a show?
- What new training techniques have you been told to integrate when constructing a voice break?
 - Where did they come from?

Hybridity

- When looking for ideas for competitions and games, how much do you rely on old ideas rehashed, and how much is genuinely innovative and new?
 - Where did these old ideas come from?

RCS Sound Software (in-depth interviews)

Simple starters

- You supply Selector, Linker, and Master Control, are these modified in any way for a local market?

Hybridity

- Airwaves is a locally designed product, is it modeled on an overseas programme or was it designed independent of current products?

Appendix D

Cast of industry experts

BOOTH Steve – Developer of Link Studio and Owner of Enter Computer Software

BOSTON Christian - Group Programme Director ZM Network

CAMPBELL Ian – Managing Director RCS (NZ) Ltd - Sound Software

CLAMP Rodger – Programme Director - MORE FM Auckland/National

GANDY Sarah – Announcer ZM Network

GRIGG Simon - Record producer and band manager

GURNEY Dallas – Former National Talent Coach for TRN. Currently General

Manager Talk Programming

LIDDICOAT Jamie – Former Announcer at Sounds FM, Blenheim. Currently

Programme Director / Breakfast Announcer MediaWorks, Marlborough

RANGOONI Jana - Group Programme Director MediaWorks Radio

REID Matthew – Developer of Airwaves Radio Software

ROYAL Jason – Programme Director / Announcer MORE FM, Christchurch

SHEARER Christian – Former Programme Director, SOUNDS FM Blenheim.

Currently Programme Director / Announcer at MORE FM MediaWorks Radio,

Taupo.

Appendix E

1989 Radiocommunications Act- 20 year right of ownership

New Zealand Legislation: Acts

Acts are laws made by Parliament



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Radiocommunications Act 1989 No 148 (as at 29 July 2008), Public Act

Act by section

- **Contents**
- **> Part 4 Record of Management Rights**

34 Content of record of management rights

- Every record of management rights shall specify—
 - (a) the name and address of the manager; and:
 - (b) The range of frequencies to which the record of management rights relates; and
 - (c) The adjacent frequencies emission limits applying to the frequencies to which the record of management rights relates; and
 - (d) The protection limit applying to the frequencies to which the record of management rights relates; and

- (da) the power floor applying to the frequencies to which the record of management rights relates; and:
- (e) Any conditions applying to the spectrum licences created in relation to the record of management rights, being,—
 - (i) In the case of a record of management rights entered on the Register pursuant to section [10\(2\)](#) of this Act, any conditions specified in the application pursuant to which the record of management rights was recorded on the Register; or
 - (ii) In the case of a record of management rights that is created pursuant to section [45\(1\)](#) of this Act upon the cancellation of a record of management rights pursuant to section [44](#) of this Act, any conditions specified on the cancelled record of management rights; or
 - (iii) in the case of a record of management rights that is created under section [47\(1\)](#) on the cancellation of 2 or more records of management rights under section [46](#), any conditions specified on the cancelled records of management rights; or
 - (iv) in the case of a record of management rights that is created under section [47B\(1\)](#) on the cancellation of 2 records of management rights under section [47A](#), any conditions specified on the cancelled records of management rights; and
- (ea) any variation, addition, or removal of a condition that applies to the spectrum licences created in relation to the record of management rights; and.
- (f) The commencement date of the record of management rights, being,—
 - (i) In the case of a record of management rights constituted under section [10\(2\)](#) of this Act, the commencement date specified on the application pursuant to which the record of management rights was recorded on the Register; or
 - (ii) In the case of a record of management rights that is created pursuant to section [45\(1\)](#) of this Act upon the cancellation of a record of management rights pursuant to section [44](#) of this Act, the commencement date specified on the notice of transfer

- pursuant to which the new record of management rights was created; or
- (iii) in the case of a record of management rights that is created under section [47\(1\)](#) on the cancellation of 2 or more records of management rights under section [46](#), the date on which the Registrar creates that new record of management rights; or
 - (iv) in the case of a record of management rights that is created under section [47B\(1\)](#) on the cancellation of 2 records of management rights under section [47A](#), the date on which the Registrar creates that new record of management rights; and
- (g) The expiry date applying to the record of management rights, being,—
- (i) In the case of a record of management rights constituted under section [10\(2\)](#) of this Act, the expiry date specified on the application pursuant to which the record of management rights was recorded on the Register, which expiry date shall in no case be later than the date of the expiry of the period of 20 years from the commencement date of the record of management rights; or
 - (ii) In the case of a record of management rights that is created pursuant to section [45\(1\)](#) of this Act upon the cancellation of a record of management rights pursuant to section [44](#) of this Act, the expiry date specified on the cancelled record of management rights; or
 - (iii) in the case of a record of management rights that is created under section [47\(1\)](#) on the cancellation of 2 or more records of management rights under section [46](#), the expiry date specified on the cancelled records of management rights; or
 - (iv) in the case of a record of management rights that is created under section [47B\(1\)](#) on the cancellation of 2 records of management rights under section [47A](#), the expiry date specified on the record of management rights for the successive management rights; and

- (h) the reference number of every spectrum licence, where any of the frequencies within the frequency band to which that spectrum licence relates is within the range of frequencies to which the management right relates.

Paragraph (a) was substituted, as from 12 October 2001, by section [16\(1\)\(a\)](#) Radiocommunications Amendment Act 2000 (2000 No 8). *See* clause [2](#) [Radiocommunications Amendment Act Commencement Order 2001](#) (SR 2001/239).

Paragraph (da) was inserted, as from 12 October 2001, by section [16\(1\)\(b\)](#) Radiocommunications Amendment Act 2000 (2000 No 8). *See* clause [2](#) [Radiocommunications Amendment Act Commencement Order 2001](#) (SR 2001/239).

Paragraph (e) was amended, as from 12 October 2001, by section [16\(1\)\(c\)](#) Radiocommunications Amendment Act 2000 (2000 No 8) by inserting, before the word “licences”, the word “spectrum”. *See* clause [2](#) [Radiocommunications Amendment Act Commencement Order 2001](#) (SR 2001/239).

Paragraph (e)(iii) was substituted, as from 31 October 2006, by section [12\(1\)](#) Radiocommunications Amendment Act 2006 (2006 No 54).

Paragraph (e)(iv) was inserted, as from 31 October 2006, by section [12\(1\)](#) Radiocommunications Amendment Act 2006 (2006 No 54).

Paragraph (ea) was inserted, as from 19 December 2002, by section [4](#) Radiocommunications Amendment Act 2002 (2002 No 74).

Paragraph (ea) was amended, as from 31 October 2006, by section [12\(2\)](#) Radiocommunications Amendment Act 2006 (2006 No 54) by inserting the word “spectrum” after the words “applies to the”.

Paragraph (f)(iii) was substituted, as from 31 October 2006, by section [12\(3\)](#) Radiocommunications Amendment Act 2006 (2006 No 54).

Paragraph (f)(iv) was inserted, as from 31 October 2006, by section [12\(3\)](#) Radiocommunications Amendment Act 2006 (2006 No 54).

Paragraph (g)(i) was amended, as from 31 October 2006, by section [12\(4\)](#) Radiocommunications Amendment Act 2006 (2006 No 54) by substituting the words “20 years from the commencement date of the record of management rights” for the words “20 years commencing on the date on which the record of management rights is so recorded”.

Paragraph (g)(iii) was substituted, as from 31 October 2006, by section [12\(5\)](#) Radiocommunications Amendment Act 2006 (2006 No 54).

Paragraph (g)(iv) was inserted, as from 31 October 2006, by section [12\(5\)](#) Radiocommunications Amendment Act 2006 (2006 No 54).

Paragraph (h) was substituted, as from 12 October 2001, by section [16\(2\)](#) Radiocommunications Amendment Act 2000 (2000 No 8). *See* clause [2](#) [Radiocommunications Amendment Act Commencement Order 2001](#) (SR 2001/239).

Appendix F

Consent Forms: Original Request

----- Original Message -----

Back in October 2006, I interviewed you in person for my PhD thesis at the University of Canterbury. My questions involved foreign and local influences in the creation of New Zealand commercial music radio.

As I am fast approaching the finishing post and hope to submit my thesis early next year, I just need your consent for your name to be attributed to your comments.

The final thesis will be publicly available in paper form in the University of Canterbury library, and in digital form from the University's Research website, however the thesis will not be published.

Attached is a copy of the transcript to check for accuracy and/or sensitive information. Let me know if you are ok with your name being used, alternatively, I can attribute your comments to 'anonymous'.

Kind regards,

Brendan Reilly

Radio 500 Course Leader

BBc 700 Radio Supervisor

New Zealand Broadcasting School

C.P.I.T

PO Box 540

CHRISTCHURCH

t: (03) 940 7551 m: 027 540 8042 f: (03) 940 8701

www.nzbs.ac.nz

Steve Booth

From: "Steve Booth" <steve@enter.co.nz> Wednesday - November 25, 2009 11:17 AM

To: <ReillyB@cpit.ac.nz>

Subject: RE: Permission to use our interview in my PhD thesis

Attachments: SteveBoothIV_rev3.doc (86016 bytes) [View] [Open] [Save As]

Mime.822 (186709 bytes) [View] [Save As]

Hi Brendan,

I have had a chance to review the document that I sent through yesterday. I have made some further minor changes, mainly grammar.

I don't think there is any point remaining anonymous as LinkStudio is about me and my company.

Please find attached the version I'm happy for you to include in you thesis.

Many thanks and all the best, does this mean you'll be referred to as Dr Reilly? Nice :-)

Steve

Jana Rangooni

From: "Jana Rangooni" <jrangooni@mediaworks.co.nz> Monday - October 12, 2009 2:39 PM

To: "Brendan Reilly" <ReillyB@cpit.ac.nz>

Subject: RE: Permission to use our interview in my PhD thesis

Attachments: Mime.822 (53428 bytes) [View] [Save As]

Hi

Looked through all those notes and am fine as long as you keep in context it was in 2006 as a few things have changed since then so some comments are out of context if they are applied to the market today but happy it all still stands for the time you did it!

Thanks

Jana

Jana Rangooni | Group Programme Director | mediaworks radio |

Ian Campbell

From: Ian Campbell <icampbell@rcs.co.nz> Monday - October 12, 2009 1:09 PM

To: Brendan Reilly <ReillyB@cpit.ac.nz>

Subject: RE: Permission to use our interview in my PhD thesis

Attachments: Mime.822 (61018 bytes) [View] [Save As]

That's fine go ahead.

Ian

From: Brendan Reilly [mailto:ReillyB@cpit.ac.nz]

Sent: Monday, 12 October 2009 1:22 p.m.

To: Ian Campbell

Subject: RE: Permission to use our interview in my PhD thesis

Have you had a chance to browse what you said? Are you happy for me to attribute comments to you?

Regards,

Brendan Reilly

>>> Ian Campbell <icampbell@rcs.co.nz<mailto:icampbell@rcs.co.nz>> 7/10/2009
2:44 p.m. >>>

Hi Brendon,

I am ok about you using the interview but it is probably the right thing for me to at least see the transcript in case I said something stupid back then.

Thanks for asking

Ian Campbell

Managing Director

RCS (NZ) Ltd - Sound Software

Christian Shearer

From: "Christian Shearer" <cshearer@mediaworks.co.nz> Thursday - October 8,
2009 3:41 PM

To: "Brendan Reilly" <ReillyB@cpit.ac.nz>

Subject: RE: Permission to use our interview in my PhD thesis

Attachments: Mime.822 (56516 bytes) [View] [Save As]

Cheers, more than happy for you to use my name with my comments.

CHRISTIAN SHEARER | PROGRAMME DIRECTOR / ANNOUNCER | 93.5

MORE FM /

MEDIAWORKS RADIO TAUPO | PHONE 07 378 2393 | FAX 07 378 2701 |

Jamie Liddicoat

From: "Jamie Liddicoat" <jliddicoat@mediaworks.co.nz> Thursday - October 8,
2009 10:13 AM

To: "Brendan Reilly" <ReillyB@cpit.ac.nz>

Subject: RE: Permission to use our interview in my PhD thesis

Attachments: ATT73522.dat (9525 bytes) [View] [Open] [Save As]

Mime.822 (55325 bytes) [View] [Save As]

hey Brendan,

Thats cool, Yeah Funny looking at what I thought, How about the prediction.

i've definatley got some different thoughts now!!

But thats all good,

Good Luck and all the best.

Jamie

Jamie Liddicoat | Programme Director, Breakfast Announcer| MediaWorks

Marlborough | PO BOX 930 BLENHEIM | PHONE (03) 579 0393, 0274 930023 |

Sarah Gandy

From: "Sarah Gandy" <Sarah@zmonline.com> Wednesday - October 7, 2009 5:34 PM

To: "Brendan Reilly" <ReillyB@cpit.ac.nz>

Subject: RE: Permission to use our interview in my PhD thesis

Attachments: Mime.822 (58379 bytes) [View] [Save As]

Hi Brendan,

That all seems fine. Some of the internet stuff is a little outdated 3 years on (my how time flies!) but I'm sure this will be fine in context. It's amazing how the spoken word looks a lot less coherent on paper but yes, I'm happy for you to use my name with this. Cheers and good luck!

Sarah

Jason Royal

From: "Jason Royal" <jroyal@mediaworks.co.nz> Wednesday - October 7, 2009 4:27 PM
To: "Brendan Reilly" <ReillyB@cpit.ac.nz>
Subject: RE: Permission to use our interview in my PhD thesis

Attachments: Mime.822 (53137 bytes) [View] [Save As]

No probs at all mate. Happy for you to put my name to it.
J.

Matthew Reid

From: Matthew Reid <Matthew.reid@xtra.co.nz> Wednesday - October 7, 2009 4:09 PM
To: <ReillyB@cpit.ac.nz>
Subject: Permission to use our interview in my PhD thesis
Attachments: Mime.822 (2651 bytes) [View] [Save As]

Brendan

Thats fine with me.

Regards

Matthew

Christian Boston

>>> "Christian Boston" <ChristianBoston@radionetwork.co.nz> 7/10/2009
3:43 p.m. >>>

Hi

Some of the stuff is a bit out of date .. but guess its ok.
10 in a row still going haha, (but its 2 breaks not 1 as it says in
there)

Rodger Clamp

From: "Rodger Clamp" <rclamp@mediaworks.co.nz> Wednesday - October 7, 2009
3:52 PM
To: "Brendan Reilly" <ReillyB@cpit.ac.nz>
Subject: RE: Permission to use our interview in my PhD thesis

Attachments: Mime.822 (29521 bytes) [View] [Save As]

Fire ahead mate, no worries
R

RODGER CLAMP
Programme Director - MORE FM Auckland/National
Mob: +64 21 991 635
Ph: +64 9 373 5000
Level 3, 239 Ponsonby Road, Auckland
PO Box 8880 Symonds Street
Auckland City, New Zealand

Ian Avery

From: "Ian Avery" <iavery@mediaworks.co.nz> Wednesday - October 7, 2009 3:18 PM

To: "Brendan Reilly" <ReillyB@cpit.ac.nz>

Subject: RE: Permission to use our interview in my PhD thesis

Attachments: Mime.822 (49916 bytes) [View] [Save As]

Good to go buddy

Dallas Gurney

From: "Dallas Gurney" <DallasGurney@radionetwork.co.nz> Wednesday - October 7, 2009 3:08 PM

To: "Brendan Reilly" <ReillyB@cpit.ac.nz>

Subject: RE: Permission to use our interview in my PhD thesis

Attachments: Mime.822 (49971 bytes) [View] [Save As]

Looks fine to me Brendan.

Dallas.

Simon Grigg

From: Simon Grigg <simon@bpm.co.nz>

Add to Contacts

To: Brendan Reilly <reillybrendan@yahoo.com>

Yes, that's fine to attribute.

Kind regards

Simon

Dick Frizzell

Original Message From Dick Frizzell <dickfrizzell@airnet.net.nz>

Hi Brendan...Hey yes!! I'd be honoured.

Good luck with the project...sounds great.

All the best,
Dick

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