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## TIZIANO BONINI

IULM University of Milan

## ELVINA FESNEAU

Paris Pôle-Alternance School of Communication
J. IGNACIO GALLEGO PEREZ

Carlos III University of Madrid
CORINNA LUTHJE
Hamburg University
STANISLAW JEDRZEJEWSKI
Kozminski University of Warsaw

## ALBINO PEDROIA

Institute of Political Sciences/SciencesPo Paris

## ULRIKE ROHN

University of Tartu
TONI SELLAS
University of Girona

## GUY STARKEY

Sunderland University
FREDRIK STIERNSTEDT
Södertörn University of Stockholm

## Radio formats and social media use in Europe - 28 case studies of public service practice

## ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to report, summarize and spread the results of a largescale European research project funded by EBU Radio in 2011 to map best practices in social media and European public radio, focusing on the way successful public service radio formats have incorporated social media in their production flow. The

## KEYWORDS

radio studies social media Facebook Twitter
public service radio EBU
programmes have been selected for one of the following reasons: programmes that are audience leaders in their country, use innovative radio language or are youthoriented productions. The survey has been carried out by a team of ten European researchers from seven countries on a sample of 28 public radio programmes analysed for two months between January and February 2011. The research team attempted to answer the empirical question: 'How social media are used by public service?'. Are there some common threads and shared practices among successful programmes in different countries? The team adopted an empirical approach based on social media content analysis and interviews with radio producers. This article will present the main results of this empirical research project. It will conclude with practical guidelines for public radio production and social media innovation.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Studies on the quality of radio and television programmes have a long tradition in the analysis of public service. Since its inception, the public service has had to study itself, in order to understand if the service it is providing to its citizens/editors is to their satisfaction. In contrast with commercial radio, which had already installed a quantitative rating system by the 1920s, based on the calculations of the total time listeners spent in the company of radio, the value of public service does not lie in the amount of listeners it is able to sell back to advertising investors, but in its ability to provide quality content to as much of society as possible. However, most of the research projects on quality have focused on receiving content, and not on 'texts' (the radio programmes) Studies by Silvey $(1966,1974)$ at the BBC aimed to measure programme appreciation. Nicholas (2008) has highlighted the influence of the sociological orientation that is at the basis of British research on audiences, as opposed to the American focus on statistics. Silvey was the first to experiment with qualitative analysis tools (in-depth interviews, ethnographic observations, mail panels on specific listener groups) in addition to quantitative tools (questionnaires and survey samples), and the effects of these first investigations had a great impact on the BBC's programming strategies. The study that this article presents is not inspired by research that investigates the quality perceived by listeners, but that instead, through quantitative and qualitative tools, aims to understand the use of social media by radio programmes that have already established their popularity and satisfaction rating. There are few studies, especially in the field of radio, that have simultaneously analysed sound content and the use of social networks in order to interact with this content. This study intends to investigate how these programmes extend their strategy onto the new social networking platforms. Furthermore, this study is one of the first to have access to such a vast collection of European data. Though it is true that some studies already exist that analyse the use of new media by individual radio stations (Ferguson and Greer 2011), so far no one has undertaken comparative studies among different countries, as this article proposes.

The analysis of radio stations' use of the Internet and social media is a very recent field, and has highlighted how traditional media, not only radio, have difficulties taking advantage of the connective potential of the Internet. One of the first to be interested in this was Robert Potter (2002), who demonstrated that radio underestimated the web as a tool for empowering the interaction with their listeners. 'Stations', claimed Potter,
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seem to be using the web to deliver three primary types of informative content: information on how to contact the station, information on events being sponsored by the station, and information about station announcers. Listeners' desires seem to be different: they want to access interactive elements on station sites and to be able to express their opinion.
(2002: 381)
In the same period, Pitts and Harms (2003) focused on radio websites as promotional tools. But the web has changed a great deal since Potter's survey, and the rise of Social Networking sites (SNS) gives listeners exactly what Potter said they lacked in the era of Web 1.0: interactive content and public spaces where they can express their feelings and opinions. Social media use by media institutions has risen very quickly. Messner et al. (2011) analysed the messages on Twitter (TW) from 100 newspapers and 100 TV broadcasters.) Most of them have incorporated this microblogging service, but only for promoting the stories published on their websites. Likewise, 80 per cent of 360 tweets analysed by Armstrong and Gao (2010) from nine American news organizations attempted to attract audience to their sites. Ferguson and Greer (2011) studied the TW profile of 100 American radio stations, and concluded that messages from music stations were mostly promotional.

So far, scholars claim, social media have mostly been used by traditional media as promotional tools. Bonini and Sellas (2014) showed how Spanish and Italian public service radio failed to use TW as a public service medium, only focusing on promoting their content and raising web traffic figures, without connecting with the audience. Herrera Damas et al. (2012) reached the same conclusion about the use of TW made by Spanish public radio. Our study has aimed to understand how European public radio services is using social media. We have found several differences among the seven countries analysed, but also a common effort to find new ways of engaging with listeners. Public broadcasting companies have understood that broadcasting good content is no longer enough. Most of the producers we have had contact with are aware that social media can be a tool for fighting the progressive shrinkage of their audiences.

## PUBLIC SERVICE RADIO: IN SEARCH OF LEGITIMATION THROUGH SOCIAL MEDIA?

Public radio in Europe is going through a crisis of legitimacy, and many broadeasting stations are losing ground. The erosion of the audience is slow but constant, except for a few isolated cases of growth (Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland [EBU 2011]). Some countries still maintain large shares of the audience (the United Kingdom, Germany), but there is a general tendency towards an inescapable drop. Today, the inclusiveness idealized by Scannell (1996) is an illusion, and its decline risks becoming a political problem as well: some have raised the issue that it is difficult to justify public funding for a medium that is only popular with a minority of the population (Blumer and Gurevitch 1995). The BBC, which still holds 55 per cent of the British audience, legitimizes its request for the required licence fee for all with the reputation of a company that has always tried to adapt itself to the country's social and cultural changes. Over the years, it has changed and widened its programming, from the 1967 creation of BBC One in order to include youth who were migrating towards pirate radio, to the creation of BBC Asian in order to
include a vast minority of the country within the British public sphere, not to mention the continuous renovation of thematic channels in order to meet the fragmentation of the Nation-public, an ideal type that is now in crisis. This ability of the BBC to represent the changes in British society is also reflected in its citizens' support for the licence fee payment: 81 per cent of the British believe that it is right to pay the licence fee for the services offered by the BBC (Bardoel and d'Haenens 2008: 349).

The old hegemony of public life structured around the State, linked to a territory and mediated by the national radio (as well as by TV and newspapers) has been faltering for years. In its place, as Keane already stated seventeen years ago, at the dawn of the society of telematic networks,
a multitude of interconnected spheres of communication have emerged, which are not immediately linked to a territory and that appear fragmented, divided, adrift. The conventional idea of one/single unified public sphere, and its corresponding vision of a republic of citizens that fight for a common good, is obsolete.
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Therefore, the vision of a generalist radio public is also obsolete. The fragmentation of the national public sphere and the shrinkage in the audience's shares of almost all the European public radio broadcasters foreseen by Keane seventeen years ago is still more evident today. The rise of social network sites and the growing abundance of digital tools for creating our own media are hardly questioning the traditional values and meanings of public service. As Hendy claims in his work, 'public service broadcasting - originally conceived as a means of showing us a wider world, and shaping us into more cultivated, more informed, clearer-thinking humans - is losing whatever normative hold it once had' (2013: 107). Fewer and fewer of us, continues Hendy, 'are likely to see any point at all in having other people "dictate" what we watch and hear' (2013: 107). The broadcasting culture of 'sit back and be told', as Gauntlett calls it, is being replaced by a networking culture of 'making and doing (2011: 223).

Another problem shared among the European public service networks is that of the constant ageing of listeners and the progressive escape of youth, not so much towards the commercial networks as to other technological platforms ( $53 \%$ of those aged $12-35$ report preferring the Internet over the radio as the primary medium for the discovery and use of music [EBU 2011]). Still according to EBU data, from 2006 to 2010 in Italy, young listeners (ages 14-25) of the public broadcasting stations dropped by 13\% (in France and Spain by $7 \%$, in the United Kingdom by 17\%, while in Sweden - land of the music streaming service Spotify - by 27\%).

Some of these public stations are attempting to curb the escape of the prized young age range through custom-made offers of FM and digital thematic networks (BBC Six in the United Kingdom, Le Mouv' in France, Radio Tres in Spain, Radio Wave in the Czech Republic) and with an increased presence on social networking websites. A prime example is the Catalan regional station iCat which, as Bonet (in Bonet et al. 2011) affirms, has successfully repositioned its format based on the paradigm of The Long Tail (C. Anderson, 2007) and on the offer of different content on different platforms. All the success stories in public service lie in the theming and the investment of resources into the development of technological platforms.
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As Enli Gunn (2008) suggested, public service in the age of social media should add a fourth dimension to the well-known Reithian principles (Inform, Educate, Entertain), that of 'participation'. Enli Gunn sheds light on the emergence of audience participation as a strategy for institutional legitimacy and platform expansion: giving space to listeners' feedback, to their comments, opinions, feelings, criticism and ideas, means connecting with listeners, nurturing and fertilizing them. Maintaining a rich and fertile networked public (Boyd 2010) means accomplishing this with the renewed function of public service emerging in the age of the network society, i.e. contributing to creating ties not only with listeners but also among listeners.

## METHODOLOGY

The countries chosen for this research were the ones the EBU calls the 'Big Five' (France, Germany, Italy, Spain, the United Kingdom), which represent the five largest radio markets in Europe, plus two other large European markets (Sweden and Poland, the latter being the only eastern country included in this survey). These seven countries have a total population of 360 million, ${ }^{1}$ while the aggregated radio reach for the same countries is estimated at 241 million (67 per cent of the total [Eurostat 2011]).

Each contributor chose three to four case histories of public radio programmes and listened to them during the months of January and February 2011. They also chose, sampled and recorded a single episode for each case history. The methodology was based on a mixed system of investigation; á quantitative content analysis of audio and social media content and e-mail interviews with public radio producers. The audio content analysis consisted of coding how many different sound items (jingles, hosts' talking slots, phone calls, recorded songs, live music, advertisement, news) were present in each recorded episode and how much time was dedicated to each of them. The social media content analysis consisted in coding how many different activities happened on the social network profiles of the programmes during the selected time sample. Along with the quantitative analysis, each contributor provided us with his or her own critical analysis of the social media activity and strategy enacted by each programme, and with the reasons why, according to his or her abilities as a critical radio listener and social media reader, these programmes work. E-mail interviews with the producers of the programmes selected helped us to better understand the work flow behind each programme and to acquire data about them (amount of listeners, team structure and roles, history of each show).

## Programme overviews

The 28 programmes included in this survey cover most of the genres of radio programming, from morning show (seven) to afternoon magazine/show (seven); from phone-talk/call in/talk show (four) to music-oriented formats (four); from cultural magazines (three) to sport (two) and documentary (one). At the same time, we may also divide them into three main categories: talkoriented, music-oriented and youth-oriented programmes. Apart from two programmes - P3 Dokumentär (SWE) and L'ofici de Viure (SPA-CAT) - that are recorded (with great podcast performances), all the other 26 programmes selected are broadcast live. The programmes have been selected for one of the following reasons: audience leaders, use of innovative radio language, youth-oriented productions, creative ways of interacting with listeners

1. Eurostat - Key Figures on Europe (2010).

through social media. 'Audience leader' means a programme that is one of the most listened to in its time slot, like The Chris Moyles Show broadcast by BBC Radio One until 2012, or the Swedish The Think Tank, a youth-oriented satirical talk show broadcast by P3 SR, which is audience leader in its airing time ( $5-6$ p.m.). An innovative radio programme is a production that has disrupted traditional radio routines, like the Catalan Ofici de la Viure, which was first conceived as a podcast and then as a radio programme; youth-oriented programmes are those that, according to their producers, are mainly addressed to a young audience (between 15 and 35 years old). Most of the youth-oriented programmes selected for this study were music shows, like the Spanish Hoy Empieza Todo, a morning live music show. Programmes like the French La Tweet-liste and the Italian RaiTunes were selected for their creative way of interacting with listeners through social media, since they engaged with the audience by asking them to co-create the music playlists together with the authors.

Due to cultural differences and varying lengths, there are still great discrepancies, even among programmes belonging to the same genre.

A very general definition of 'genre' that is common to all is the following: 'a genre is a combination of distinctive traits that allow audience members to direct their expectations of a text or performance, associating them with previous experience' (Ortoleva and Scaramucci 2003: 3). This definition emphasizes three significant aspects:

1. The genre does not exist by itself, but as a category that is recognizable by the audience (decoding).
2. The genre forms (and transforms) itself over time (remix). This goes for the production - the author always refers to a genre that he or she is influenced by - and for the consumption $\boldsymbol{\sim}$ only the advancement of the experiences of consumption generate a real expertise of genre in the spectator/ reader/listener.
3. The genre defines the conventions and regulates a horizon of expectations. It is a normative system at the basis of a'communication pact' between the author and the audience. This does not mean that the rules are strict. The boundaries of genre change continuously, as does culture.

But every country has its own radio history and has developed its own defini-
tion of radio genres. Even if every contributor shared a common theoretical background on radio studies and the same definitions of radio genres, many differences could still be found among programmes belonging to the same genre. This difficulty in providing a clear definition of European radio genres is also due to the inner aesthetic status of contemporary radio: the concept of 'genre' has been transcended, since it is constantly remixed and updated, forgetting about traditional boundaries. For this reason we believe it is more useful to distinguish programmes by using a'tag system', in order to give more than one definition per programme.
For a complete overview of the programmes involved in this study, see the table below:

The aim of this comparative analysis is to identify the underlying practices, trends and processes stemming from the individual programme analysis and case-studies. First, the social media activities of the surveyed programmes are analysed. Second, a comparison of the music playlists of the music-oriented programmes is performed.
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Table 1: Radio Programmes involved in the study.

## FINDINGS

## Social media activity

A total of 22 of 28 programmes analysed included social media, blogs, Facebook (FB), TW, YouTube, Daily Motion, Anobii, My Space, Spotify. Eight of them have a blog (Caterpillar and Il Ruggito in Italy, Asuntos Propios, Hoy Empieza Todo and L'ofici de la viure in Spain, P4 Extra in Sweden and The Chris Moyles Show in the United Kingdom). One French programme and five Polish programmes are not present on social media. In the cases from Poland, the broadcasters have opened a social media profile of their own. Twenty of them have a personal FB page, sixteen have a TW profile of the programme, fourteen have both FB and TW, six only FB and three only TW.

In December 2011 FB had 845 million monthly active $u^{2} e^{2}$ and TW 100 million $^{3}$. They are, so far, the most popular social media platforms in the world.

We find the same difference of reach between FB and TW in the analysed programmes. FB is far more used by radio producers than TW, most certainly since it was integrated into radio production routines before TW. Collecting FB friends and TW followers involves time; for this reason we will find great differences in social media audiences among programmes in the table below. We must also say that some programmes are brand new formats, while others have existed for many years, so a comparative analysis of these data needs to be done carefully and seen in a wide perspective: its only aim is to provide some information that must be carefully read and interpreted. The Chris Moyles Show in the United Kingdom is by far the most successful programme on social media (one million and 294 thousand fans on FB and around one million followers on TW). The best-performing programmes on social networks are obviously those addressed to younger audiences. Great radio audiences are not an automatic guarantee for high levels of social media activity. Social media managers play an important role in boosting social media audiences, but on-air presenters can also work to invite radio listeners to take part in social media.

While FB largely prevails almost everywhere, in the cases of France and Britain, TW is more widespread, as we can easily note from the following table:

If we go beyond the quantitative analysis, we may notice great differences in the way the two social platforms are used. While FB pages represent the programme as a whole, TW is a more personal medium, more often linked to the attractive personality of the presenter than to the transmission (i.e. in Eclectik with Rebecca Manzoni, one of the cases from France). As a general trend, we could say that listeners are FB fans of a programme and/or TW followers of a single person (the host/presenter/public figure). On FB, the brand value for the fans is the entire programme. On TW, the brand value is represented by a human being. TW works better when it is personalized, since it is, as a medium, more top-down oriented than FB. On TW, what works is the dynamic of'following the leader': many people follow the feeds/tweets broadcasted by a single mind and comment on them; while on FB, the networked-peer-to-peer dynamic is more prevalent. FB is an easier platform to use for user-generated content, as friends/fans can upload notes (texts), photos and video in a very fast and intuitive way.

TW fits perfectly with talk shows and news programmes, since it enhances listener's quick feedback and opinions wherever they are. FB fits better with infotainment, comedy/satire and music shows (for the easiness of publishing music video clips on FB: see the Italian case of RaiTunes). A very peculiar
2. Facebook Stats, December 2011.
3. Twitter CEO, September 2011.


his readers. Along with photos and videos, blogs are the best Trojan horse to attract listeners from social media profiles onto official websites. All of the eight programmes with a blog publish the links to fresh blog posts on their FB walls and TW profiles, in order to draw fans from social media to them. Social media are push-technology, ${ }^{4}$ while blogs are a pull one. A good strategy for broadcasters is to hybridize these two different technologies.

## Social media strategy

The presence of public service radio on digital social networks has begun, but it is not yet predominant. The latest available data state that 60 per cent of European public radios have a FB profile, and 53 per cent have a TW account (EBU 2011). The five reasons why the use of these means should be supported, despite the high costs for management that are not immediately monetizable, have been clearly expressed in research by the European Broadcasting Union: (1) to strengthen connections with regular listeners (keep the faithful audience); (2) to reach new audiences, most of all youth (stop the ageing of public service listeners); (3) to modernize the concept of radio, transforming it into a cross-media platform; (4) to increase opportunities to interact with the audience; (5) to increase the distribution of content, making it accessible for a longer time and more easily.

On one hand, the overview of all the sócial media strategies employed by the seven public broadcasters on the 28 programmes analysed reveals that most of them have understood the importance of social media in nurturing their relationship with the audiences. As pointed out by the Head of the BBC Newsroom, Mary Hockaday, public service broadcasters are 'shifting to a new formulation: Inform, Educate and Connect', which means that they are 'no longer just trying to draw people in, but also more confidently reaching out on social networks, and a full range of distribution platforms that work for audiences, and that some of our journalism is done in partnership with the wider world' (2012: 7).

On the other hand, not all programmes fully enjoy their potential. We found many differences in levels of interaction from programme to programme, due to their different aims and genres, or, sometimes, to a simple underestimation of the tools at hand.

But we can still learn quite a lot from the different ways these programmes have integrated social media within their daily production routines. Having compared these 28 case histories in depth, we may now put together the best practices discovered during this research and describe some important features of social media strategy that have emerged from this study:

## 1. Differentiate

Disseminate different contents on different platforms (blog, FB, TW, YouTube, Daily Motion, etc.). All content has a primary medium where it is published and consumed. Make some contents available only on your official website, and use TW or FB to redirect followers/fans to that content (a new blog post, a new video uploaded, etc ...). Software such as Tweet Deck facilitates the work of spreading posts on different platforms.

## 2. Go where the listeners are

One good practice we have noticed on talk shows is to give the same importance to listeners' feedback, no matter which platform they come from (e-mail, phone call, sms, FB, TW).
4. Push technology describes a style of communication where the request for a given transaction is initiated by the publisher or central server, as in the Television or Radio model. It is contrasted with pull technology, where the request for the transmission of information is initiated by the receiver or client.


Whichever new platform listeners move onto, be there. Then, start colonizing. Sometimes what happens is that a colony declines and ends up being abandoned. This is part of the game. The social media audience is nomadic, it has no strategies, but only tactics. Broadcasters have to follow them and accept playing on different fields/platforms with different rules. Sometimes you will discover that an individual podcaster has received more downloads than your show. Maybe it is time to co-opt the podcaster and offer him an air-slot, like BBC 1 did with pirate DJs in the sixties.

A great example of multiplatform integration is the French programme Le Tweet-liste, where radio and TW are both necessary for the programme, and one nurtures the other. The same thing occurs on the Italian RaiTunes with FB. Music programmes are, of course, the best genres for experimenting crossmedia interaction. Television cross-interaction with radio and social media is still an underrated field of experimentation, but here it is well represented by the cases in Germany of Domian (the programme being simulcasted on TV and radio channels) and KenFm (where four live cameras shooting and streaming through a Ustream platform provide a real-time video portrait of the live radio show), as well as the Italian RaiTunes, which uses a motorized camera to shoot the live show and streams through the official website.

## 3. Bring listeners back Home

This strategy could seem to be in contrast with the previous one, and it is. Broadcasters have to do both: go where the listeners are, and at the same time to capitalize on social media activity that can attract traffic to their websites, by embedding social networks into their official sites, as many of the Swedish, English and German case histories have shown. Do not let presenters gain fans, followers and credibility while using your air time and production resources, and then leave you for another broadcaster, taking with him or her all the precious treasures accumulated on social media.

## 4. Pay (attention to) the Social Media Manager

Behind the most successful social media that have been analysed, there always was a social media manager/multimedia producer. He or she is a hybrid figure: technologically skilled, but also creative, friendly and able, as we have confirmed in our research, to involve and guide presenters and the rest of the team into the social media communication flow.

## 5. Be creative and curious

We are still in the first stages of the social media age. All the successful practices mapped so far are the products of different efforts and mistakes. An empirical approach is needed, along with a lot of curiosity, imagination and love for listeners. New practices still remain to be explored.

PODCAST: THE KINGDOM OF TALK AND STORYTELLING
Podcast audiences are growing in every country analysed. Asynchronous listening is becoming part of the everyday life of radio listeners who, due to changing work routines or lifestyles, can no longer tune in live. Even if on-demand listening has existed since 1996, only with the outburst of podcasting in 2004 has this listening option become industrialized and
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institutionalized. Podcast downloads are growing at a faster pace than live streaming listening (mobile phone applications have something to do with this growth), and in the last few years public broadcasters finally seem to have understood the importance of offering a wide, on-time podcasting service. Some broadcasters, such as RAI, have also started to sell podcast time to advertisers, embedding some commercials at the beginning and end of the most successful podcasts.

According to EBU (2011) the majority of the European Public broadcasters offer podcasts of between $30 \%$ and $50 \%$ of their entire programming, while four companies (RAI-Italy, Yle-Finland, RTBF-Belgium, Cech Radio) overtake $50 \%$ and only three (Hungary, Cyprus and Lithuania) do not produce podcasting. Podcasting download is growing in every country. In Italy podcast downloads faced a growth of $56 \%$ between 2009 and 2010 (Sipra 2013), from 21 million in 2010 to 48.8 millions in 2012 (Sipra 2013). In the United Kingdom, the country with the highest number of podcast downloads, listeners download 21 millions podcasts per month (Spencer 2013).

Nevertheless, the podcast audience is still underrated, since, we must admit, the proportions between the live radio audience and the podcast audience heavily reward live radio. From a traditional point of view, live radio continues to be the real mass medium, while the podcast still seems to be a niche medium.

Podcasting is not only a prerogative of young audiences, because traditional listeners are also slowly shifting to asynchronous listening, as it becomes easier to access. In Italy, for example, the most downloaded podcasts - apart from the mass-morning-drive-time show Il Ruggito del Coniglio - are cultural/ talk programmes with a very high age profile, like Fahrenheit (the most-downloaded podcast of the cult-oriented Channel 3) and Caterpillar. Of course, radio shows that are most listened to also generate a great number of podcast downloads, but in order to fully grasp the potential of the podcast, we have to look to what we have called the 'radio/podcast ratio', i.e. the proportion between the radio and podcast audiences.

These proportions are shown in the table below, even if we cannot cover all the programmes taken into account, since not all the broadcasters involved have been able to provide podcast statistics or, more often, not all the programmes have podcast versions, due to music copyright infringement issues or editorial choices.

For example, if we look at the cases in the United Kingdom, we - can easily note that the r/p ratio' (radio/podcast ratio) of Fighting Talk (average listener's age: 49) is four times higher than that of The Chris Moyles Show (average listener's age: 32). Both are talk programmes, and neither lose their value when listened to in an asynchronous mode, but Fighting Talk, even with half the radio listeners of The Chris Moyles Show, is able to generate around 25 per cent more podcast downloads than the younger programme.

Even if podcast audiences will probably not overtake live listening anytime soon, podcasts will become increasingly common as a listening habit and more important in terms of quantitative numbers.

We owe a special mention and in-depth look into the case of L'ofici de viure in Spain, the real great surprise and exception of this survey. This weekend programme has a tiny radio audience of 33,000 people per episode (around 9 per cent of the total Catalunya Radio listeners per day), but has a surprisingly wider podcast audience of 54,667 downloads per episode ( 437,337 monthly podcast downloads for eight episodes).

According to Spanish contributor Toni Sellas, L'ofici de viure is a talk radio programme about psychology and new spirituality. It is broadcast by Catalunya Ràdio, the talk radio station of the public broadcaster in Catalonia. With more than 50 specialists, L'ofici de viure provides tools for listeners to achieve greater emotional well-being. In just three seasons on air it has generated a loyal following which, rather than quantitative terms, stands out for the special link it has established with listeners and for the community generated around it. When it started in 2007, it was a risky decision taken by the Catalan public broadcaster. However, the strategy has produced results. Now, L'ofici de viure is considered to be a pioneer programme and a reference point in its thematic area. It is the most downloaded of all Catalunya Ràdio group programmes, ahead of such important shows as the morning magazine or the midnight sports magazine. It was awarded the European Podcast Award 2010 in the professional section. Why is it so widely downloaded? One reason is because its contents perfectly fit with a personal and intimate asynchronous listening. Another reason is that the current edition is recorded, so there is no advantage in listening live. Even so, the programme was broadcast live during the previous season, and still produced great podcast performances. This case from Spain is the perfect example of how the listener of the future could appear.

Without falling into sterile futurologist premonitions, these first results lead us to a conclusion: the podcast is the realm of brilliant human talk, it is the kingdom of the alive, radiogenic, intimate, fascinating human voice. Valuable contents for listeners, packed into a lively and friendly radiogenic language, still make the difference on-air and online. One thing that must not be forgotten is that podcast listening is often linked to a mobile and headphone-listening mode: in the aural protected sphere produced by our headphones, human voices resonate closer to our soul, and all the characteristics of the human voice are amplified. Headphone listening is a sound experience that is quite complex, and the most intimate of the different ways of listening to radio. On our mobile platforms, we will only take with us those sounds and voices that make us feel at home in the public and often alien space, no matter if they are music playlists or radio podcasts.

A fair psychological support like the one provided by the L'ofici de Viure (Spain) cultural programme, or by the late night show Domian (Germany), can both satisfy the public radio service's mission and the listener's need for an intimate listening.

## MUSIC PLAYLIST

Music seems to be the most important tool for segmenting the audience, by programming different genres in different languages. Music still remains one of the most powerful identity languages; for this reason, in every country (except for the United Kingdom), the music analysed resulted as being a mix of national pop/folk music and international (English-language) contemporary and classic hits. Adult contemporary and independent pop/rock music (national and international) seem to be the two most diffused music formats, but it would be unfair not to add that it is impossible to find a real general tendency in the playlists analysed, since, fortunately, public radio service has confirmed its advocacy for a wider and more free musical offering than commercial channels.

Among the case histories presented in this research, there are eight programmes mainly addressed to a young audience. Most of them share similar features. If we do not consider C'est Lenoir, which is not specifically
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|  | radio audience (daily listeners) | podcast audience (daily downloads) | r/p ratio \% |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $5 / 7$ Boulevard (FRA) | 1238000 | 4057 | 0,30\% |
| Eclectik (FRA) | 1246000 | 1505 | 0,10\% |
| Caterpillar (ITA) | 733000 | 7801 | 1,00\% |
| Fahrenheit (ITA) | 533000 | 3887 | 0,70\% |
| $1 /$ Ruggito del Coniglio (ITA) | 1584000 | 15501 | 0,97\% |
| L'ofici de viure (SPA - Catalonia) | 33000 | 54667 | 165,00\% |
| El Mati de Catalunya Radio (SPA - Catalonia) | 353000 | 15844 | 4,50\% |
| Today (UK) | 1105000 | 28868 | 2,60\% |
| Fighting Talk (UK) | 669000 | 42045 | 6,20\% |
| The Chris Moyles Show (UK) | 1620000 | 28747 | 1,70\% |

## Table 3:

created for young listeners, all the other shows have been conceived recently, in the last ten years. This is good news, since it means that public radio still experiments with new formats tailored to young audiences. Audience statistics tell us that public radio can also be successful in this audience sector, if it is able to differentiate itself from the market through original and high quality formats, such as the ones presented here.
Music is the most prevalent content of these programmes (between 40 and 70 per cent of the total) except for those belonging to 'talk', as in the cases from Britain. Most of the music playlists of these programmes are indie-rock/ cutting edge-pop/new-folk/electronic-oriented, marking a great differencé from the music formats played by commercial radio, which are mostly based on contemporary hits or adult contemporary, Brand new live music is another common factor among these music shows.
Of course, social media use is massive in these programmes. They are the most active on social media among all the programmes analysed. Cross-media interaction with young listeners is a must in many of these programmes, like RaiTunes and La Tweet-Liste!. More in general, interaction - either real-time through phone calls and sms, or online via Internet and social media - is one of the most important factors of success of youth-oriented programmes. A very peculiar case is that of the Swedish documentary programme Dokumentär, which has been able to attract a young audience thanks to the restyling of an old-fashioned radio genre based on a youth-oriented music playlist, new contemporary issues and fast-paced digital editing.
New music formats, rhythm, fast-paced sound design, interaction, community, cross-media formats, comedy, young and empathetic presenters, have revealed to be the key success factors in these youth-oriented programmes.

## CONCLUSIONS

At the end of this large-scale European research project, we should be able to answer the most important question: are social media a useful tool for public service radio? Even if every case enacted their specific strategies, and despite all the differences of genre and culture that divide the 28 cases, it is possible to find some common features among all the programmes analysed.
The most engaging programmes were those who invested time and human resources into nurturing the relationship with their listeners through social media.
Most of the 28 programmes analysed did a great job of framing the listening experience of their followers, reminding them before the beginning of a show
what they were going to offer and then, during the show, reporting in real time what was going on, what opinions were emerging, who was talking in that very moment, what kind of book was being read, etc. As Lazarsfeld already discovered (1940), listeners informed in advance about the contents of a'serious listening' programme were far more likely to listen to it. The proper frame of reference, including a list of information about the contents of the upcoming programme, can positively influence the listening of what Lazarsfeld called 'serious' programmes (educative, cultural). As far as we know - as Greer and Ferguson (2011) demonstrated by observing more than 100 US radio stations' activities on TW - the average quarter hour share and the number of followers show only a weak correlation. Greer and Ferguson (2011) pointed out that TW is not performing well in widening the FM audiences, but Lazarsfeld told us that a good frame of reference could help listeners to be prepared and to better understand 'serious' programmes. What we can learn from Greer and Ferguson is that radio stations do not benefit from TW in a quantitative way (increase of FM listeners), but their benefits in using it could be qualitative: putting the listeners in the right frame of mind for experiencing, listening and engaging directly with the show.

Social media are probably not a powerful tool of audience building yet, but they can still be an important tool for serving audiences, connecting listeners among each other, letting them join the conversation and, most importantly, increasing the brand awareness.

For social media to serve as a public service medium they should not only be used as a loudspeaking tool, an amplifier room for the broadcaster, but also as a platform where publics can meet and connect with each other. Giving space to listeners' General Intellect, to their comments, opinions, affects, criticism and ideas, means - as Gauntlett highlighted in his book Making is Connecting (2011) - shifting from the culture of 'sit back and listen' to the culture of 'making and doing'.

Bracken and Balfour suggest that we should no more talk of 'public service media' but of 'public service interactivity' and highlight the need for a usercreated mandate. David Hendy adds that a contemporary public service media should be able to: adapt itself to the new technological context; be a trustful information filter; nurture the digital public sphere (2013: 110-26). Adaptation to the new media environment is fundamental. Hendy offers three examples of this adaptation: (1) the degree to which the public service is enabling listeners to create their own schedule; (2) the degree to which it is abandoning a proprietorial attitude to its own programme material and allowing it to be shared and manipulated in ways it doesn't control; (3) the degree to which it 'crowdsources' by drawing on the creative efforts of 'ordinary' people. We believe that among the programmes we analysed, the ones that enacted the best practices of social media use perfectly match these three criteria of public service media adaptation to new digital media world.

Serving the audiences has always been the aim of public service. Now it can be updated and improved with a little help from social media.

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## CONTRIBUTOR DETAILS

Tiziano Bonini (1977), Ph.D. in Media and Public Sphere (Siena University, 2008), is a lecturer in media studies at IULM University, Milan. He co-edited the book Radio Audiences and Participation in the Age of Network Society (ECREA series, Routledge, 2015) and published articles in European Journal of Communication, Media, Culture \& Society, First Monday and European Journal of Cultural Studies.
Contáct: Arts and Media Department, IULM University of Milano, via Carlo Bo 4, 20143 Milano, Italy.
E-mail: tiziano.bonini@iulm.it
Elvina Fesneau is a lecturer in media studies at the Paris Pôle-Alternance (school of communication). Between 2005 and 2008 she taught at the University of Paris XIII. Since 2004, Ms Fesneau has been a frequent commentator in the print media (notably for the cultural weekly print publication Télérama) on radio and television (France Culture).
Contact:
E-mail: efesneau@yahoo.fr
Ignacio Gallego is a professor at the Journalism and audio-visual Studies Department of the Carlos III University of Madrid. He holds a European Ph.D.
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from the Universidad Complutense de Madrid focusing in radio and technology. He has been visiting scholar at the McGill University of Montreal and research fellow at the Glasgow Caledonian University. He has also participated in the Interactive Cultures Research Group based at the Birmingham City University.
Contact:
E-mail: juanignacio.gallego@uc3m.es
Stanislaw Jedrzejewski is Professor of Media and Social Communication Studies at the Kozminski University in Warsaw and the John-Paul II Catholic University of Lublin; researcher at the Communication and Society Studies Centre of Minho University in Braga, Portugal; former member and vice-1995-2007. He was also a member of the board of the public radio broadcaster Polish Radio (1994-1998) where he held the position of Programming Director (1990-1993 and 1998-1999). He was the Controller of Public Radio 1 between 2003 and 2005.

Contact:
E-mail: sjedrzejewski@kozminski.edu.pl
Corinna Luethje is professor in Communication studies at the Technische Universität of Dresden.

Contact:
E-mail: corinna.luethje@tu-dresden.de
Albino Pedroia is independent managing senior consultant; A former Head of International Affairs at Canal Plus, with a specific competence on competition and regulatory issues, and a significant operational experience in this area conducting major corporate merger operations (Seagram, Vivendi-Universal, Canal Plus) before national and European competition authorities on behalf of his former employer. He also managed important projects in the multimedia field, developing pay-TV channels and providing market analysis in this area. At prior stages in his career, he was member of the Board and Head of strategic planning at Havas Group, where he developed many projects focusing on the internationalization and diversification of this multimedia company (including the launch of Canal Plus), and devised tools for the analysis and forecasting of advertising markets. Mr Pedroia currently provides expertise and advise to radio broadcasters. He is also professor of Audiovisual Communication at the Pantheon-Sorbonne (Paris I) University in Paris and at the Institute of Political Sciences/SciencesPo, also in Paris.
Contact:
E-mail: Albino.pedroia@gmail.com
Ulrike Rohn is researcher at Arcada University of Applied Sciences, Helsinki. Dr Rohn received her Ph.D. from the Friedrich-Schiller-University in Jena, Germany.
Contact:
E-mail: Ulrike.rohn@arcada.fi
Toni Sellas is associate lecturer at Universitat de Gerona, Spain. He holds a B.A. in Information Sciences from the Universidad de Navarra (1996) and a Ph.D. in

Communication Sciences by the Universitat Internacional de Catalunya (2009). He teaches at the Communication Sciences Faculty. His teaching interests are radio journalism, radio production, radio and new media, radio programming and radio advertising. His main research focus is on radio and new technologies, podcasting, radio on social media platforms, and new developments in broadcasting, radio formats and programming. Before starting his academic career, he was working for more than a decade as a radio journalist for different Catalan radio stations such as Catalunya Ràdio, Onda Catalana and RAC1.

Contact:
E-mail: tsellas@gmail.com
Professor Guy Starkey is a former practitioner in radio and magazine journalism who still broadcasts daily on two Internet radio stations. He is currently Sections Representative on the Executive Board of the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA) and Chair of the ECREA Radio Research Section. He is a member of the Steering Committee of the Radio Studies Network within MeCCSÁ and of the Comite Scientifique of the Groupe de Recherches et d'Etudes sur la Radio (GRER). Guy has been or currently serves as a judge for the following industry awards: The NewYork International Radio Awards, The Radio Academy Radio Production Awards and the Frank Gillard BBC Local Radio Awards.

Contact:
E-mail: guy.starkey@sunderland.ac.uk
Fredrik Stiernstedt is lecturer in Media and Communication Studies at Jönköping University. Fredrik Stiernstedt holds a Ph.D. in Media Studies at the Södertörn University in Stockholm researching the relationship between radio production and radio textuality with a practical experience from both public service and commercial radios. His research interests and teaching concerns radio and other sound media; production studies; critical theory; the political economy of the media; digital media and media history.
Contact:
E-mail: Fredrik.Stiernstedt@hlk.hj.se
Tiziano Bonini, Elvina Fesneau, J. Ignacio Gallego Perez, Corinna Luthje, Stanislaw Jedrzejewski, Albino Pedroia, Ulrike Rohn, Toni Sellas, Guy Starkey and Fredrik Stiernstedt have asserted their right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as the authors of this work in the format that was submitted to Intellect Ltd.


