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'There's a star man waiting in the sky': How does public radio approach under-theradar musicians in the United Kingdom and Spain?

ABSTRACT

The present article aims to address one specific issue concerning public service media: how does public radio approach under-the-radar musicians? Throughout its history public radio has continued to discover and support upcoming musicians, who, by definition, have few promotional opportunities due to their position on the periphery of the music industry. This research is developed by comparing various public radio initiatives regarding under-the-radar musicians in the United Kingdom and Spain at national and regional level. Within the framework of comparative media systems, it provides case studies of BBC Introducing (BBC Radio, United Kingdom), Sona9 (CCMA, iCat.cat, Catalonia, Spain), Maketa Lehiaketa (EITB, Gaztea Irratia, Basque Country, Spain) and Proyecto Demo (RTVE, Radio 3, Spain). This subject is approached by using a mixed methodology of content analysis and interviews. The findings elucidate how these initiatives are based upon a strong public service commitment, through the combination of public service media and live venues, with particular relevance to young local music scenes and the national music industry.

KEYWORDS

radio music scene music industry music festivals under-the-radar musicians programming public service media public service broadcasting

- 1. Translations from Spanish and Catalan are provided by the author.
- 2. European Broadcasting Union.
- 3. <u>See http://www.</u> eurosonic.net. Accessed 23 January 2016.
- 4. British Broadcasting Corporation.
- Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals.
- 6. Euskal Irrati Telebista.
- 7. Radiotelevisión Española.

It is concluded that providing support to under-the-radar musicians could be a valuable lifeline for public service broadcasting in seemingly permanent crisis.

INTRODUCTION

In their 1991 publication, Booth and Lewis defined radio as 'the invisible medium'. Taking this sentence simply as a metaphor, this does not seem to be the case when it comes to discovering new music (European Broadcasting Union [EBU] 2008; BBC Trust 2015a). From a legal point of view, The Office of Communications (Ofcom) (2004: 49) states that the role of public radio is 'providing opportunities for new talent'. This is evident, for instance, from BBC Radio 1's commitment to 'cutting-edge music' (BBC 2009a), or the 'non-commercial music support' of Catalan station iCat.cat (Parlament de Catalunya 2009: 32), as well as the 'emerging music and cultural expressions support' of the Spanish station, Radio 3 (Congreso de los Diputados 2006: 26).¹

Though music remains one of the biggest markets in the world, in many cases it is young local music scenes that are responsible for continuing to nourish the industry. In order to rise to fame, emerging musicians need to be able to break into the mainstream, and it is here especially that public service radio plays a key role not only as a promoter but also as a prescriber (Davison 1997; Percival 2010). The Internet would provide some opportunities for self-promotion; however it is necessary that public radio remains committed to acting as a link between scene and industry.

Above all, the present article calls to attention a topic that has recently been receiving attention from an array of European public broadcasters, through the EBU² Eurosonic group.³ Specifically, the research aim is to approach one specific issue faced by two of the European audio-visual corporations: How does public radio approach under-the-radar musicians in the United Kingdom and Spain?

The research has been carried out by comparing the initiatives set out by public radio in regard to under-the-radar musicians in the United Kingdom and Spain at both a national and a regional level. In particular, the article provides four case studies looking at BBC Introducing (BBC Radio,⁴ United Kingdom), Sona9 (CCMA,⁵ iCat.cat, Catalonia, Spain), Maketa Lehiaketa (EITB,⁶ Gaztea Irratia, Basque Country, Spain) and Proyecto Demo (RTVE,⁷ Radio 3, Spain). The aim is to grasp how the public service mission is defined, especially through its programming content relating to local scenes and the national music industry.

The study is approached by comparing broadcaster perspectives. That said, however, potential and additional problems naturally occur when comparing the United Kingdom and Spain, primarily at a cultural and an economic level. The main obvious difference can be found in the structure of public corporations. While the BBC covers national, regional and local radio, in Spain two regional radios coexist alongside a national station. Nevertheless, these countries have been chosen because they both have similar approaches in regard to the capital importance of promoting under-the-radar scenes on public radio. Therefore, in Spain and the United Kingdom, public radio has in effect been contributing to the new scene's promotion, as was the case with BBC Radio 1, which were vehement supporters of 'britpop' (Hendy 2000), or the role of Spanish Radio 3 during the so-called '*la movida*' (Fouce 2008). Furthermore, these corporations have music radio quotas, such as language quotas for Catalan radio and BBC's new music and national production percentages.

8. Radio Nacional de España.

Public service broadcasting is a research area that has a long tradition in European communication studies. Public music radio, however, has received limited attention, with few studies, among others, such as Barnard (1989), Pedrero Esteban (2000), Hendy (2000), Long (2006), Wall and Dubber (2009), Barber (2010), Percival (2010), Bonet et al. (2011) and Stoller (2015). In addition, the comparative studies on radio are still limited and have not yet been subjected to any intensive research. The relatively few examples related to music that exist to date can be found in Amoedo et al. (2008), Bonini et al. (2016) and Costa Gálvez (2015a). Accordingly, the academic relevance of the article is rooted in a substantially less-researched topic and applied to the relevant European audio-visual corporations.

PUBLIC SERVICE RADIO IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND SPAIN: SAME CONCEPT, DIFFERENT APPROACHES

The beginnings of radio in Spain emerged in the private sector and it is not until 1934 that broadcasting could be deemed 'as an exclusive function of the State' (Bustamante 2006: 24). Ever since, Spanish radio has been characterized by the coexistence of public and private broadcasters and a great importance to 'smallholding' (Franquet 1986: 62). As a result of Franco's dictatorship, RNE⁸ was, for a long time, the only public broadcaster, a situation that remained until democracy and the regional corporations' beginnings (Arboledas and Bonet 2013). Consequently, music on public radio was not a priority and did not come into existence until much later when general radio was established (Pedrero Esteban 2000). Radio in the United Kingdom, conversely, was founded in the public sector and no commercial stations came into existence until 1972 (Wall 2004). The 1960s were a turning point for the BBC because of the policy of broadcasting music outside the normative tastes of the audience, which accordingly facilitated the rise of pirate stations. In an attempt to recapture the audience, BBC Radio 1 was created, as a station entirely devoted to pop music, a move that Chapman (1992: 226) describes as the emergence of the 'British Broadcasting Incorporation' to the social reality. From that point onwards, music has been 'a key way in which public service broadcasting is justified' (Wall and Dubber 2009: 30). In Spain, though, the situation was completely different, as it is observed from the figure below.

Defining what public service radio is or should offer is a difficult assignment. The non-commercial orientation is essential for music public radio to exist, especially when faced with accusations of 'commerciality', remembering BBC Radio 1's suggestions of privatization (Collins 2003), or similarly in Catalonia with the case of RAC 105, which started as a public radio and then, when the government considered that its public service commitment had ended, sold the station to the powerful Catalan communication group Godó (Clavaguera et al. 1996). The cultural function is one of the predominant justifications for public service broadcasting, which is why it is often viewed as having been directly opposed to entertainment. Nevertheless, as Hoyos states (2011: 59), 'there is no reason why culture should not be considered as an integrating content, in a way that it has meaningful repercussions on audiences and thus on society'. Dereck Chinnery, the programme controller of Radio 1, correctly remarked that 'good entertainment' is an essential factor in picking playlists for public radio (Barnard 1989).

To a large extent, public service broadcasting is developed in programming strategies. In the 1960s, BBC radio programming policy of 'ratings by

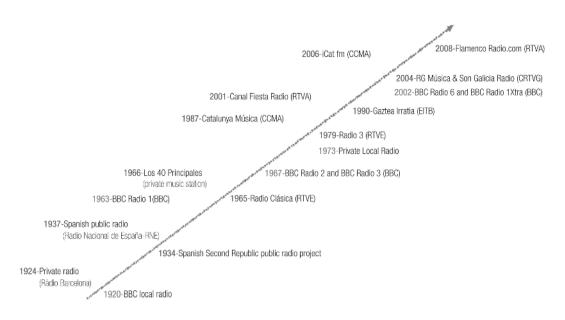
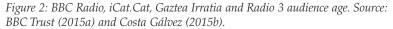


Figure 1: Timeline of music appearing on public radio in the United Kingdom and Spain. Source: Compiled by author.

day, reputation by night' implied the obvious fragmentation of the audience across four stations. By the 1970s the figure of the DJ, as tastemaker and music prescriber, was personified in John Peel, and ultimately led to the start of 'the Discourses of popular music culture' (Long 2006: 30). During the 1990s, however, changes in Radio 1's programming led to a more refined selection and prescriptive functions. These audience fragmentations looked specifically at a younger demographic, as observed in the figure below that compares the distinctive profiles of British and Spanish music radio listeners.

While radio has a mandate to promote upcoming musicians, defining 'new talent' or 'new music' is particularly difficult. The motto 'in new music





we trust' started the official BBC strategy for upcoming musicians; however, 'new music' does not necessarily mean the same to all of the stations. BBC Radio 1, for instance, identifies new music as music that is 'either unreleased or less than one month since release' (BBC Trust 2015a: 25), whereas BBC Radio 1Xtra identifies it as music 'which has never been in the top 40' (BBC Trust 2015a). In contrast, the Asian Network defines new music as being 'released within the last 2 months' (BBC Trust 2015a). One way to protect the production of national and new music is through quotas: an aspect that is relevant to public radio in the United Kingdom and Spain. BBC Radio 1, for example, has a licence commitment to broadcast at least 45% of new music during the daytime and to include a new BBC Introducing track in their weekly playlist.⁹ 1Xtra has the same commitment with BBC Introducing, plus a quota of 60% of 'new music' in its content. In 2014, 71% of the acts in the top ten of the album chart in the United Kingdom were British, and similarly high figures in Spain revealed 86% were Spanish (International Federation of the Phonographic Industry [IFPI] 2014). Consequently, the BBC has a mandate ensuring a quota of between 30 and 40% of British musicians of national production (BBC Trust 2015a). Despite popular demands, the BBC has no local or language music quota (BBC 2009b). The language issue, though, is one of the requirements of all Catalan and Basque audio-visual corporations. As a consequence, Catalan radio has an official quota of 25% of Catalan-sung music, with the Basque station Gaztea Irratia having a 20% unofficial quota of Basque-sung music (Costa Gálvez 2015b). The data can be observed in the following table:

Audiovisual			Quotas	
corporation	Radio	Language	Local	'New music'
BBC	Radio 1		40% UK acts	45%
	1Xtra		35%	60%
	Radio 2		40% UK acts	20%
	6 Music			30%
	Radio 3			20 works/year
	Asian Network		30% UK acts	30%
CCMA	iCat.cat	25% in		
		Catalan		
EITB	Gaztea Irratia	20% in Basque		

Table 1: Music quotas of British and Spanish public radio (2015). Source: BBC Trust (2015a) and Costa Gálvez (2015b).

RADIO, MUSIC INDUSTRY AND UNDER-THE-RADAR MUSICIANS: A MARRIAGE OF CONVENIENCE

The music industry has been an important part of the British and Spanish economies for a long time. In 2014, the income from the United Kingdom's music industry was £4.1bn (UK Music 2015a), with C_149m in Spain (Promusicae 2015). Despite the figures, the crisis of the phonographic sector, however, maintains its position that live music remains a prominent actor (UK Music 2015b). Music festivals, who, in much the same way, offer a platform to

 Last BBC Trust report performance against commitments (BBC Trust 2015b) assures that the station reached the 65 per cent.

- The latest name rumoured to be signing to Apple Music is BBC Introducing general producer, Kieran Yeates (Ingham 2015).
- 11. British Academy of Songwriters, Composers and Authors.
- 12. Association of Independent Music.

under-the-radar music and thus provide support to public radio initiatives, as can be observed in the table below with the supporting festivals, are marked in italics.

Ever since its beginning, the music industry has maintained a close affiliation with radio (Rothenbuhler and McCourt 1987; Negus 1993), and wellknown musicians and producers both work as presenters on Spanish and British radio.¹⁰ The evidence of this closely knit relationship is exemplified by examples such as the BASCA11 protests against the failed six music closure (British Academy of Songwriters, Composers and Authors [BASCA] 2012), and the close relationship between the BBC and the unsigned musicians' association: Matt Graveling, promoter of Best of British Unsigned Musicians, has become since 2015 the producer of BBC Introducing in The South. In fact, British and Spanish radio stations are heavily involved with their respective independent musicians' associations. Many BBC producers, for instance, give talks to AIM members,¹² and in Spain Radio 3 gives an annual award to an artist voted for by its listeners at the Independent music awards (Radio 3 2013). The notion of being 'independent' is as important for the music industry (Wikström 2013) as it is difficult to limit. The term 'Indie' can be seen as an aesthetic concept (Hesmondhalgh 1999), while independent music itself is associated with creativity and authenticity, summarized in Shuker's (2005: 34) dichotomy of the more authentic, the lesser commercial', translated into radio speak as 'radio friendly' music opposed to quality music (Hibbet 2005).

Under-the-radar musicians are usually connected to a local music scene and this is precisely where radio plays 'its role as an interpreter of collective time for small or large communities alike' (Kaplan 2013: 774). The music scenes, which involve both the music industry and musicians, have been intensively researched, especially in relation to 'locality' (Connell and Gibson 2002; Bennett and Peterson 2004) and youth (Frith 1981; Thornton 1995;

Country	Festival
United Kingdom	Glastonbury
	Bestival
	The Great Escape
	Reading and Leeds
	T in the Park
Spain	Arenal Sound
	Rototom Sunsplash
	Viñarock
	Primavera Sound
	FIB
	Sónar
	BBK Live
	Sos 4.8
	Low Cost

Table 2: Top ten music festivals in the United Kingdom and Spain (2014). Source: Compiled by author.

St John 2014). In 1998 Frith argued that the early rigid music hierarchy has been replaced by a more fluid system in which musicians have more opportunities. In theory, the Internet widens and expands the possibilities for independent and unsigned musicians, although radio still acts as a central actor and promotion structure (Kruse 2010). In the ensuing lines, it will be observed how the public radio sphere acts as a kind of 'venue'.

METHODOLOGY

The present article is mainly the result of a research stay at the University of Leeds.¹³ It has been carried out from a descriptive perspective, using methodology based on a mixed approach that involves quantitative and qualitative techniques, content analysis and semi-structured interviews.

The aim of the content analysis is to have a first-hand approach to the programming aspects and to gain an understanding of musicians' core characteristics, the results of which were collected over a two-year period. First, in a one-day analysis on the 3 November 2014, two variables were researched: basic programming characteristics including the day, hour, duration and broadcasting frequency, and the programmes' descriptions as written on the stations' websites, among a set of search terms noting quality, culture, entertainment, identity, language, locality, unknown, youth, unsigned, underthe-radar, upcoming, independent, undiscovered, genre, style, music industry, scenes and authenticity. The population for the first phase is composed of three Spanish music radios and 47 British stations (four music and 43 general). Thus, there are three Spanish programmes and 43 BBC Introducing shows, eight from national radio, 26 from regional stations and nine from local radio.¹⁴ Second, musicians' core characteristics were researched. With regard to Spanish radio, all of the various shows' participants were considered (ten bands and soloists), but with BBC Introducing only those artists who had performed at BBC festival stages in 2014 (107 bands and soloists) were selected. Data were collected on the 3 November 2014, and then again on the same date in 2015. Additionally, in 2014, data on musicians' ages and their genre description on station websites were collected. On the same date in 2015, musicians' profiles on Spotify were checked if they had signed on to a national or international, major or independent record label.

The purpose for semi-structured interviews is to have a genuine understanding of the initiatives implemented for under-the-radar musicians. In particular, the aim is to know more about topics concerning the public service mission development, with special attention to the track selection process, local music scenes and national music industry. In total, there were nine interviews with general managers and producers who were chosen by a non-probability purposive sampling, three of which were via e-mail, four by telephone and two personal interviews that were conducted between October 2014 and August 2015.

As stated in the introduction, the article focuses on case studies of BBC Introducing (BBC, United Kingdom), Sona9 (iCat.cat, Spain), Maketa Lehiaketa (Gaztea Irratia, Spain) and Proyecto Demo (Radio 3, Spain). In order to define the sample four main criteria have been followed:

- 1. Initiatives mainly or completely organized by British and Spanish public radio.
- 2. Initiatives conceived as a non-stop strategy.

- Concretely at the School of Media and Communication, the research was completed in Spain and some data were partially presented at *ECREA Radio Research Conference 2015*. The author acknowledges Ph.D. candidate Andreas Rauh and Dr David Hesmondhalgh and Dr Montse Bonet for their suggestions.
- 14. More information in Annex 1.

- 3. Initiatives that specifically involve under-the-radar musicians. The term under-the-radar has been chosen as it brings together unsigned and undiscovered. Moreover, it was the most used topic for the interviewees.
- 4. Initiatives focused on popular music.

Following these criteria, other radio contests have been discarded, such as BBC Young Folk Award, BBC Young Brass Award and BBC Young Musician Award. Hereinafter, a brief description of the case studies will be detailed.

BBC INTRODUCING (BBC RADIO, UNITED KINGDOM)

Ever since the John Peel sessions, the BBC has been supporting new musicians and in 2007 created BBC Introducing as a way of 'formalizing' this commitment. Since then BBC Introducing has traversed an intensive path and championed successful industry musicians like Florence and the Machine and Two Door Cinema Club. In its infancy, however, part of the music industry accused BBC Introducing of 'copying' a business model (Sweney 2009). By 2014 the success of the corporation's initiative had over 250,000 tracks uploaded and 100,000 artists registered (BBC 2014).

The strategy is based on programming, though it is combined with significant Internet support, as well as social network profiles, online master classes for musicians, and BBC Introducing playlists on Playlister. Despite the fact there is a BBC Introducing Award (BBC 2015), BBC Introducing is not a contest and musicians are encouraged to merely participate. Once the music has been uploaded it starts a three-stage process: first, musicians are given the chance of being broadcast on local programmes; from this point they can go on to reach the national level and finally they are selected for the BBC Introducing festival stages. Indeed, BBC Introducing has forged partnerships with all of the main British festivals. Moreover, the British corporation works in conjunction with PRS for Music Foundation (2014), Britain's copyright association who showcases artists outside of the United Kingdom at the South by Southwest festival in Texas (EE.UU). The table below highlights the involvement of BBC Introducing at festivals in 2014.

SONA9 (CCMA, ICAT.CAT, CATALONIA, SPAIN)

Since 2001, the aim of Sona9 has been to contribute to the Catalan music scene by using the Catalan language. iCat.cat broadcasts in Catalan and, for Sona9, this issue is very important, as there is a stipulation that participants music play at least three songs in Catalan. This point can be better illustrated by looking at the example of Manel, one of the most successful recent artists to come from the Catalan scene who sings in Catalan across Spain. Ultimately, Sona9 is a cross-media strategy that is primarily based on radio, but also has a television (TV3, La Xarxa) and vast press participation (*Enderrock* magazine), and with a remarkable locality commitment, as local Catalan televisions broadcast all the local musicians' shows.

The contest is based on a one-year process with high participation of listeners, music industry events and music festivals. Listeners are involved during the whole process, to the point that they and not the jury choose the three finalists. Among all Spanish talent contests, Sona9 is the most highly involved with the music industry. Barcelona is a beacon for the Catalan music

Festival	P	romoter	-	Location
	BBC	External	United Kingdom	Abroad
BBC Radio 1's Big Weekend Glasgow 2014	Х		Х	
BBC 6 Music Festival	Х		Х	
BBC Radio 2 Live in Hyde Park	Х		Х	
Bestival		Х	Х	
Glastonbury		Х	Х	
T in the Park		Х	Х	
The Great Escape		Х	Х	
SXSW (The South by Southwest)		Х		Texas (EE.UU.)
Reading and Leeds Festival		Х	Х	

Table 3: BBC Introducing festival stages (2014). Source: Compiled by author.

scene; nonetheless the aim is to take musicians outside of the Catalan capital. Thus, during preliminary rounds participants perform on well-known Catalan stages, including Acústica de Figueres or the Mercat de Música Viva de Vic. The content's main award is playing at Canet Rock, a historic festival that is renowned for the *'rock català'* music movement in the 1980s.

MAKETA LEHIAKETA (EITB, GAZTEA IRRATIA, BASQUE COUNTRY, SPAIN)

Created in 1991, Maketa Lehiaketa has since become a prominent talent contest in the Basque Country music scene. Gaztea Irratia broadcasts entirely in the Basque language, and in its early years the contests helped to give rise to the Basque language scene across Spain by showcasing bands such as Berri Txarrak, one of the first Maketa Lehiaketa winners. The station has a young fan listenership, which approaches music through the perspective of entertainment and commerciality from a public service notion. Consequently, listeners' participation is key, as it is the audience who votes for the semi-finalists on the website and it is also them who present the final prizes. Similarly to Sona9, awards generally consist of a recording session and the opportunity to play at BBK Live, a well-known Basque festival.

PROYECTO DEMO (RTVE, RADIO 3, SPAIN)

Since 2001 Proyecto Demo has been a part of Capitán Demo, which is the under-the-radar musicians' programme implemented by the national Spanish station, Radio 3. Although the initiative centred on musicians receiving radio-play in the early days, in the last few years Radio 3 has moved the programme outside of the radio sphere by organizing events such as the Capitán Demo stage at the Monkey Week Festival in 2015: a prestigious Spanish festival for unsigned musicians. Traditionally, Radio 3 has been a regular source of new talent for the independent music industry, and some of these musicians come from Capitán Demo, such as We Are Standard and Triángulo de Amor Bizarro.

With regard to the listeners' participation, it only counts as one vote in the semi-finals. Proyecto Demo is not an amateur contest, though, and one of the conditions of entry is that musicians have a 30-minute repertoire in order to participate. Indeed, the main award is having the chance to play at one of the FIB¹⁵ venues, which is one of the most consolidated and prestigious Spanish festivals. The contest is organized in partnership with FIB, one of the most popular festivals in Spain and part of the EBU Eurosonic project.

RESULTS

Programming under the public service mission umbrella

At first sight, all of the interviewees notice the unequivocal association between the public service mission espoused by national public radio stations and their continued promotion of under-the-radar musicians. Sona9's producer asserts: 'this is a public service initiative insofar as it's a platform to introduce new artists and the country's music' (Gendrau 2015). BBC Introducing general producer suggests that quality is indivisible from the public service mission: 'as a public service broadcaster you should be able to broadcast the best music which often is probably from unsigned musicians' (Yeates 2014). Proyecto Demo's producer points out the initiative constraints and values, saying: 'when artists succeed and they jump over to another Radio 3 programme I can't broadcast them, because my programme is for something else' (Quintana 2015). Even though the Sona9 and Maketa Lehiaketa interviewees stress the radio stations' commitment to Catalan and Basque languages, they highlight the divergent approaches taken. Sona9's station manager recognizes that the relation between the local scenes, local language and the public service mission is primarily about engaging: 'winning is not such as important as being part of the Sona9's generation' (Gendrau 2015). The manager of Maketa Lehiaketa maintains the necessity for impartiality in terms of language when it comes to ensuring quality: 'we do a disservice to Basque language if we air absolutely everything that comes in Basque' (Lamarka 2015).

The audience is an essential part of public service broadcasting. The producer of BBC Introducing in Hereford & Worcester remarks the singularity of the BBC as a public broadcaster: 'BBC Introducing would never be sustainable on commercial radio as advertisers wouldn't pay for minority audience programming' (Marston 2014). According to the director of Gaztea's Irratia, a commercial music-oriented station, finding the right balance between audience and in-and-on musicians is difficult because they have 'an important responsibility towards emerging groups in the Basque Country but the first priority is the listener' (Lamarka 2015). Undeniably, both the British and Spanish public stations are established on the Internet. That said, however, programming strategies are still important. As previously stated, the 'ratings by day, reputation by night' is still the modern ethos of music radio programming alongside the more traditional differentiation between 'hearing' and 'listening'. To a certain extent, British and Spanish public radio persists with this strategy as the majority of key programmes are broadcast during daytime hours. 'Locality' is the key term of BBC Introducing's strategy, which is composed of eight programmes at the national level and 35 local and regional shows across the country. This schedule is exemplified in the programming description, as the majority of BBC Introducing programmes are shows lasting between one or two hours, broadcast once a week either in the evenings or on the weekends. Conversely, all of the programmes of Spanish stations are entirely dedicated to supporting under-the-radar musicians, with the exception of Maketa Lehiaketa, which is endorsed in the long-term evening show B-Aldea.¹⁶ Moreover, all of the Spanish radio programmes are at least one hour in length and broadcast once a week on Mondays.

In order to fully complete this programming outline, programming description on the stations' websites is provided. The main topics relayed by British interviewees were also those it had found in the programming descriptions on radio stations' websites. 'Quality' stands out as the most mentioned term for BBC Introducing programmes, alongside 'under-the-radar', 'undiscovered', 'unsigned' and to a less extent 'local', as observed in the figure below.

It is in stark contrast to Spanish radio, where the only words present in the programme descriptions for Proyecto Demo and Maketa Lehiaketa were 'industry', 'music' and 'style', a curious coincidence as we refer to different audio-visual corporations. The only words that appear in the programme descriptions of Sona9 that coincide with the interviewees' answers were 'industry', 'music', 'style', 'scene' and 'language'. In the ensuing lines musicians' selection criteria will be examined, an important issue given the amount of programmes.

MUSICIANS' SELECTION CRITERIA OR 'THE HEART OF THE MATTER'

All of the interviewees agree the overall strategy appears to combine the listeners' taste with the prescriptive approach, as stated by the presenter of BBC Introducing Humberside and Leeds: 'BBC Introducing doesn't play your favourite band; it plays your next favourite band' (Raw 2014). On balance, the listener's taste is explicitly catered to in order to find the right mix between quality and audience, as remarked by BBC Introducing presenter Mark Forrest (2014): 'the presenters and producers are experienced broadcasters and they want to select acts with potential who they think will appeal to their audience'.

In general terms, words such as 'hard', 'difficult' or 'personal choice' are commonly found within the transcriptions. The term 'localism', however, is the term most noted by interviewees, a view that is shared by the BBC Introducing producer Andrew Marston (2014) who posits that 'it's all about where you're from'. BBC Introducing is a national and centrally managed strategy that is based around a strong locality. The general producer, Kieran Yeates, views this centrality as an opportunity: 'Introducing is nationwide and so ensures that everyone is given the same chance' (Yeates 2014). National show interviewees have noted this dichotomy along with the producer of Jazz on 3, who states that their intention is to 'try to reflect a kind of national range' (Elcombe 2014).

By extension, local show interviewees echo the sentiment, and they believe they are 'an arm of the national programmes' (Raw 2014). In order to explain the mechanism, BBC Introducing general producer describes the coexistence

independent local quality scene style under-theradar undiscovered unsigned upcomes

Figure 3: BBC Introducing website programming description (2014). Source: Compiled by author.

of local and national shows and also a third actor: 'For festivals, I ask the local shows to put forward two artists from their area to be considered. This long list is then sent to a panel of national producers and presenters' (Yeates 2014).

As previously stated, regional language remains a resident fixture in the Catalan and Basque public service media mission. There is a requirement of at least three songs in Catalan for Sona9's participants. Despite language not being a requirement to participate in Maketa Lehiaketa, its manager specifies an aspect: 'If we've two bands with the same quality, we're going to choose those who sing in Basque. Although this year the winners sing in Spanish and it's absolutely fine' (Lamarka 2015).

'Genre' and 'style' are particularly important features for both British and Spanish interviewees. The BBC Introducing interviewees assert that the objective is, which is worth repeating, to introduce genres 'which originate from across our broadcast patch' (Noon 2014). The general producer expands upon the point of range by saying, 'recently we try to extend the range, we've a lot of DJ's coming up, we do the country show in Nashville, we play a lot of hip hop, R&B based music, jazz' (Yeates 2014). On Spanish radio, the producer of Proyecto Demo places genre at the top of his selection process as the contest is organized in conjunction with FIB, whose music genres are those present at the festivals: specifically 'pop, rock and electronic music' (Quintana 2015). Sona9's manager welcomes any music genre in principle; however, 'to a certain point, there is a tendency to standardize; although a metal group will not reach the final phase we will offer them the opportunity' (Gendrau 2015). The manager of Maketa Lehiaketa states the genre needs to connect to commercial orientation of the station: 'obviously, we're subject to a very specific music style, the heavy won't have the same impact on commercial radio like pop does' (Lamarka 2015).

To complete the genre approach, musicians' genre description on the stations' websites is provided. In terms of Spanish radio, it is only Proyecto Demo and Sona9 who offer descriptions of the musicians' genres. In the case of Radio 3's contest, there are two terms –'garage-punk' and'pop-folk' – whereas Sona9 exclusively uses terms like 'pop', 'indie' and 'rock'. The same issues arise with the festival participants of BBC Introducing, with only 33 of the 107 musicians listed having a description that included their genre. While the term 'independent' is not commonly used in BBC Introducing's programme descriptions, and despite it not being a definable genre per se, 'indie' and 'alternative' appear extensively. Thus, 'pop' and 'rock' are the most common terms, and to a less extent other terms such as 'grunge', 'electronic' or 'hip hop'. There are also many less used terms highlighting the divergent genres, including 'fun', 'sweet', 'dark' and 'neon-tinged', as illustrated in the tag cloud below.

acoustic acoustic-electronic alt-indie alternative ambient blues country dark de electro electronic folk fun funk fuzzed garage grunge hip hop house indie indie-pop jazz neon_tinged pop pop rock post-punk prog psych psycheddelic penchy punk one rnb rock roll soul control surf sweet

Figure 4: BBC Introducing website musicians' genre description (2014). Source: Compiled by author.

UNDER-THE-RADAR MUSICIANS: THE SOURCE OF ETERNAL YOUTH FOR THE MUSIC INDUSTRY

In theory, the ultimate objective of a musician is to sign a deal with a record label and have their music heard in as vast an arena as possible. For that reason, the questions about the music industry will appear in the closing results. As stated in the literature review, since the music industry began it has had a deep affiliation with radio. The general producer of BBC Introducing asserts their duty is 'to reflect what's happening in the music industry and the last part of that is unsigned musicians' (Yeates 2014). The producer of Proyecto Demo remarks that supporting the music industry is of paramount importance because the station has 'to ensure or help the Spanish music industry pull forward' (Quintana 2015). Central to this argument are the music festivals, as BBC Introducing producer Andrew Marston (2014) says of tastemakers: 'it's also important to make sure industry experts are regular guests, that way the key movers and shakers are listening to the talent being discovered'.

According to interviewees, radio acts as a great source for finding new talent, which is extremely attractive to the music industry because as Mark Forrest (2014) observes: 'they are the stars of the future'. Sona9's manager remarks that the role of public radio is the confluence of all the actors involved, in that 'we connect musicians with the music industry and musicians' success is somehow a prestige for us' (Gendrau 2015). Maketa Lehiaketa's manager affirms this sentiment by saying that 'the industry always bets on the artists' (Lamarka 2015). BBC Introducing's general producer puts it more emphatically: 'the major labels view BBC Introducing as a great way of sourcing new talent' (Yeates 2014). As a matter of fact, among the BBC Introducing stages, musicians in 2014 and 2015 mainly opted to sign to the glut of British indie labels. Quite the opposite to Spanish musicians, who mainly chose self-publishing, although, and especially in the case of Sona9, with a few of the musicians signing for various Spanish or Catalan independent labels.

Hesmondhalgh (2005: 21) points out that 'it has often been assumed that the study of popular music is intimately connected to the study of youth culture'. Indeed, youth is much related to music radio, as for instance with the BBC Young Folk, Brass or Young Musician shows. Even though the BBC interviewees do not refer precisely to young artists, data suggest that the majority of BBC Introducing festival musicians are relatively youthful, especially on the Radio 1 and Radio 2 stages, with the figures indicating that a large proportion of musicians are aged between 18 and 25. Sona9 and Maketa Lehiaketa interviewees, however, suggested that being young is seen as a plus in order to be selected. In some cases age is associated with originality, as 'between 15 and 20% of the groups have never played live shows' (Gendrau 2015), as is levels of commitment: 'usually young bands are more willing to link their image to the station' (Lamarka 2015).¹⁷ Spanish participants, contrastingly, are usually older and between the ages of 26 and 30, with the exception of Maketa Lehiaketa Lehiaketa entrants who are about 21–25.

By and large the Internet provides more options for musicians, especially in terms of distribution. The producer of Proyecto Demo delineates the changes succinctly by stating, 'the concept of the traditional model is already disappearing' (Quintana 2015). These considerations make it difficult to define which music can be considered as unsigned or under-the-radar, as producer Despite Spanish initiative Sounds of Spain, composed by the economy ministry, copyright associations and the UFI, participates in the SXSW festival (ICEX 2015); Spanish radio is only involved in the event's broadcasting. Alan Raw (2014) points out: 'you can start labelling yourself and you can be the only artist in there and sometimes this can be an advantage'. Maketa Lehiaketa's manager is of the same opinion: 'it's difficult because people self-produced their own records, what we look at is that there is not a major label behind them' (Lamarka 2015). British and Spanish public radio is facing immense changes; however, the future of under-the-radar musicians being given airtime is a certainty.

CONCLUSION

This article has examined how Britain's and Spain's public radios approach under-the-radar musicians from the perspective of public service media. The research, as set out, concludes that there is a solid commitment from the public service media, which places an equal emphasis on discovering new talent as the young local scenes and the national music industries.

The case studies develop a public service media strategy by combining Internet and radio programming, with additional support from the vast array of national music festivals. 'Locality' is the key term that connects programming and scenes within the foretasted selection criteria and this is an immensely difficult term to manage in the case of Spanish radio, where two regional radios coexist with a national station and scenes could be connected at some point. In addition, in the case of Catalan and Basque radio contests, language is a remarkable aspect, as they serve minority languages that need media and music industry support.

Both British and Spanish initiatives support their national music industries, especially BBC Introducing and Proyecto Demo, as they are continuing to support and help push new artists on their regular programming during the year. The emerging young scenes have a future value that is unparalleled, as is the case with BBC Introducing and Maketa Lehiaketa. Nevertheless, and taking categorical decisions, it could be resolved that BBC Introducing has been successful at implementing their initiatives, and that Spanish radio, for whatever reason, ultimately has not. Whereas British musicians signed to independent companies, Spanish artists, with the exception of Sona9 participants, chose mainly to self-publish. Nonetheless, public radio should not be seen as an arm of the national music industry. With regard to under-the-radar artists, its role should, simply stated, be discovering new musicians who, by their own definition, are on the periphery of the industry, and thus support them once they are a part of the music industry machine.

Festivals, too, are vital for the promotion of under-the-radar musicians, as venues provide a platform that enables them to become accessible to the general public and the industry. As part of their public service mission, the cases studied show an existing commitment with local scenes and the national music industry. However, public service radio's aim should be to try and reach the international scene. While BBC Introducing has started this strategy through the SXSW festival in Texas, in Spain public radio is still struggling with this issue.¹⁸

The aim of the article has been to make a small contribution to the evolving situation of under-the-radar musicians in relation to public radio. The lines of research that this paper has tried to open can be extended through listener awareness, especially at festivals and through the Internet. In a crisis environment in which public service broadcasting is in permanent question, it is worth noting the public service mission of radio as a qualified music selector. Public radio has the chance of acting as a catalyst between the national music industry and under-the-radar musicians and local scenes, by acting as a mentor as much as a prescriber. In conclusion, as stated by Barnett and Seaton (2010: 329), 'radio does not just play music-it underpins music making'.

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Country	Audiovisual corporation		Level		Radio	Tipolo	Tipology (programming)	(j	Programme
		National	National Regional	Local		General	Specialist (music)	lsic)	
							Thematic Forn	Formula	
Spain	CCMA		Х		iCat.cat		×		Sona9
4	(Corporació Catalana								
	de Mitjans Audiovisuals)								
Spain	EITB (Euskal Irrati Telebista)		×		Gaztea Irratia			\times	B Aldea
Spain	RTVE (Radiotelevisión Española)	×			Radio 3		×		Capitán Demo
United Kingdom	BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation)	×			BBC Radio 1			×	Huw Stephens
	ı.	×			BBC Radio 1Xtra			\times	DJ Target
		×			BBC Radio 3		×		Jazz on 3
		×			BBC Radio 6 Music		×		The Introducing Mixtape
		×			BBC Radio Asian Network	×			Yasser
			×	×	BBC Radio Berkshire, BBC Radio Bristol, BBC Radio Cambridgeshire, BBC Radio Cornwall, BBC Coventry & Warwickshire, BBC Radio Cumbria, BBC Radio Derby, BBC Radio	×			Mark Forrest

	Across The Line	BBC Introducing	un une cast Midlands			Vic Galloway on BBC Radio
	×	×		×	×	×
BBC Radio Jersey, BBC Radio Kent, BBC Radio Lancashire, BBC Radio Leeds, BBC Radio Leicester, BBC London 94.9, BBC Radio Manchester, BBC Radio Manchester, BBC Radio Merseyside, BBC Newcastle, BBC Radio Northampton, BBC Radio Oxford, BBC Radio Solent, BBC Radio Shropshire, BBC Radio Solent, BBC Somerset, BBC Radio Stoke, BBC Radio Solent, BBC Somerset, BBC Radio Stoke, BBC Radio Suffolk, BBC Somerset, BBC Wiltshire, BBC Radio Pork	Radio Ulster	BBC Derby		BBC Leicester	BBC Lincolnshire	BBC Radio Scotland
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Scotland

BBC Radio Guernsey, BBC Hereford & Worcester, BBC Radio Humberside,

Devon, BBC Essex, BBC Radio Gloucestershire,

	×	BBC Solent	×	BBC Introducing:
	×	BBC Strees	~	
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×	K	BBC Radio Wales	××	Bethan Elfyn on
				BBC Radio Wales
×		BBC Radio Wales	X	Adam Walton on BBC Radio Wales
	×	BBC Radio Bristol	×	BBC Introducing in the West
	×	BBC Gloucestershire	×	
	×	BBC Whiltshire	×	
	×	BBC Somerset	Х	
	×	BBC Three Counties Radio	X	BBC Introducing
				in Beds, Herts and Bucks
	×	BBC Radio Berkshire	×	BBC Introducing
				in Berkshire
	×	BBC Radio Cambridgeshire	×	BBC Introducing
				in Cambridgeshire
	×	BBC Radio Coventry &	×	BBC Introducing
		Warwickshire		in Coventry &
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BBC Introducing in Teesside, County Durham and North Yorkshire	BBC Newcastle Introducing	BBC Introducing in West Midlands	BBC Introducing in West Yorkshire	BBC Introducing in York and North Yorkshire
×	×	×	×	×
BBC Tees	BBC Newcastle	BBC WM	BBC Radio Leeds	BBC Radio York
×	×	×	×	×

Source: Compiled by author.

Annex 1: Under-the-radar musicians' initiatives of iCat.cat, Gaztea Irratia, and Radio 3 (Spain) and BBC (United Kingdom), 2014.

SUGGESTED CITATION

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