The Evolution of British Asian Radio in England: 1960 – 2004

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ABSTRACT

Title: The Evolution of British Asian Radio in England: 1960 – 2004

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This doctoral research examines the evolution of British Asian radio in England from 1960 to 2004. During the post-war period an Asian community started migrating to Britain to seek employment as a result of the industrial labour shortage. The BBC and the independent local radio sector tried to cater to this newly arrived migrant community through its radio output either in their mother tongue or in the English language. Later, this Asian community started its own separate radio services. This research project explores this transformation of Asian radio, from broadcasting radio programmes for the Asian community on existing radio stations, to the creation of independent local and community radio stations, catering to the Asian community exclusively in England.

Existing research concentrates on the stereotype images and lack of representation of Asian community on the British radio; it lacks a comprehensive overview of the role of radio during the settlement period of the newly migrant Asian community. Hence, this research sets out to fill that gap by bringing in the significant facet of the early years' Asian radio programming, mainly on the BBC, and the development of independent British Asian radio broadcasting in England. The main methods used to conduct this research are archives and in-depth semi-structured interviews, which have helped me to understand the relationship between the development of British Asian radio and the ongoing migration of the Asian community in England.

This research provides a fresh and strong dimension of British Asian radio services in England. It confirms that the issues of access, participation, representation, integration, and linguistic expression were identified, discussed and acted upon by British and Asian radio enthusiasts, radio campaigners and Asian community groups since the 1960s, which led to the creation of British Asian radio in England. I believe this research will bring forth the importance and relevance of having British Asian radio services in England.

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I would like to thank my supervisors Professor Hugh Chignell and Dr Kristin Skoog; this thesis could not have been researched and written without the valued guidance, supervision and continuous support from both of them. I would also like to thank the participants of the research who gave me their valuable time and insights through interviews for this thesis. I am also grateful to the BBC's Written Archive Centre as well as the IBA Archive at Bournemouth University to be able to access the valuable archives for this research.

This research could not have been possible without infinite support of my loving husband Amol. Also, this research could not have been possible if my then one-year old and now five-year old son Ruhaan had not been patient in his most playful years over the past four years. I would also like to express my gratitude to my family and friends who have endlessly encouraged me on this journey.

This has been one of the most exciting, as well as challenging, experiences of my life and I look at it as a positive turning point.

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1. Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Background

This doctoral research examines the evolution of British Asian radio in England, covering the time period from 1960 to 2004. During the 1960s, the influx of migrants from the Indian sub-continent began to arrive in England, and the year 2004 saw the creation of third tier radio - Community Radio, which enabled Asian community groups to start independent, small-scale, micro-local, non-profit British Asian radio stations.

Throughout this thesis, I use the term 'Asian' collectively to cover a range of ethnic minorities whose cultural roots emanate from the Indian sub-continent. By 'Asian', I mean mainly the Indian and Pakistani community, which migrated to England from India, Pakistan, East Africa and elsewhere. Although the term 'Asian' refers to the people from the continent of Asia, which comprises of many other countries than just India and Pakistan, I use this term to refer to England's Indian and Pakistani community only. This term has been used in a similar way in industry and by the primary sources of this research. The BBC has used this term with a similar context by renaming its *Immigrants Programme Unit* as the *Asian Programmes Unit* that was initiated by the BBC for the Asian migrants in the 1960s. *The BBC Asian Network* is another example of how the term 'Asian' has been used to refer to England's Indian and Pakistani listener community mainly. Also, this term has been used in a similar context by the primary sources for this research, including the BBC's Written Archives and the key radio people that I interviewed. In the BBC's Written Archives, the terms 'Asian' and 'Asian Programmes Advisory Committee' have been used to refer to the programmes produced for the Indian and Pakistani listener community in England. My interviewees Own Bentley, Don Kotak, Vijay Sharma, Salim Salam, Tony Stoller have used this term in a similar context in their interviews with me. Hence, throughout this thesis, I use the term 'Asian' mainly to refer to the Indian and Pakistani community in England. The religious associations of these Asian migrants comprise mainly Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism and their languages include primarily Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi and Gujarati.

During the post-war period, Asian population started migrating to England for various reasons, including seeking employment as a result of the industrial labour shortage. This phenomenon of migration started to bring in a change to existing British society. This was a unifying experience, bringing different minorities together in relation to exclusion, but also in their becoming part of British society (Hall 1992). The broadcast media sector in England was not an exception to it; it played a major role in helping this Asian migrant community settles in to their new home. This migration movement influenced the conception of radio programming output in the Asian languages. The role of the existing British media at that time, including the BBC and Independent Local Radio sector, has made its contribution in catering to this newly arrived migrant community through its radio output, either in Asian languages or in English. Subsequently, the independent and local Asian radio services exclusively catering to the Asian community in England evolved. Thus, the development of British Asian radio broadcasting in England is a consequence of the migration of Asians to this country during the Post-War period. This research explores this Asian migration, its subsequent repercussions on Race Relations, and as a result the development of radio programmes, which were initially used as a tool for education, information, integration and entertainment, which later evolved into a separate, independent radio platform for the Asian community in England.

1.2 Aims and objectives

The aim of this research is to focus on the aspects of need and demand of the Asian community to have its own Asian radio service in its own languages, especially during the immediate period of its migration during the 1960s and onwards, which has not been covered in previous scholarship. Existing research focuses mainly on British television, which highlights the lack of television output targeted at the Asian migrant community, and the negative representation of the ethnic population on British television (Malik 2002; Husband 1975; Hall 1992). Research has recognized the importance of media use by different migrant communities. There has been research done on the ethnic media with a broader scope. For instance, Tsagarousianou (1999) focused on minority community media in the UK and their position within global diasporic media landscapes as well as in the media landscape of contemporary Britain. Shember-Critchley (2012) discussed ethnic

minority radio and identity in her doctoral research. Moores and Metykova (2010) reviewed the environmental experiences of migrants.

However, I strongly feel that existing research concentrates on the stereotype images and lack of representation of this ethnic community on British television and radio, and hence it lacks a comprehensive overview of the role of media, and in this case radio, during the settlement period of the newly arrived migrant Asian community and its need and demand for having its own radio platform, in its own languages, in the post-war period.

This research sets out to fill that gap by bringing in the significant facet of the radio's contribution in those early years to cater to the Asian migrant community, as well as for the better Race Relations in wider British society. This historical research mainly concentrates on the need and relevance of independent British Asian radio broadcasting in England. In addition to this, this research analyses the social and cultural dimensions of this period to understand the dynamics of migration and thus integration as a whole.

This research critically examines the BBC's role in catering to the newly arrived Asian migrants in England in the early years of migration in the 1960s and 1970s. It explores if there was a need for radio programmes for this community in its own languages during its settlement period, and if so, how did the mainstream English radio sector attempt to fulfill this need. It explores how and why Asian programming started on BBC radio. Furthermore, it reviews the contribution of the English ILR sector to Asian radio programming. Subsequently, this research examines the development of the exclusive British Asian radio sector in England.

1.3 Research Questions

This research examines three specific research questions evolving around the development of the British Asian radio service since the 1960s. It considers the post-war period as a major phase of the migration of the Asian population from the Indian Sub-continent to England to seek employment because of the industrial labour shortage.

The specific research questions that this research examines are:

- How did British Asian radio broadcasting begin and develop in England?
- What was the need and demand of the Asian community for having its own radio platform?
- How did Asian radio services help the Asian community to integrate into English society?

This research examines the historical developments of Asian radio broadcasting starting from the 1960s up to 2004. The main reason to begin it from the 1960s is that during this post-World War period, the Asian population from the Indian Sub-continent migrated to Britain on a larger scale mainly due to the industrial labour shortage. The research period ends at 2004, as this was the beginning of the Community Radio in Britain, which also enabled Asian radio broadcasting in a significant way. This historical time frame is also significant as during this period the BBC initiated special radio programmes for this newly arrived Asian migrant community in England.

1.4 Research Methods

This is primarily historical research. Historical research aims to examine various elements of history and refers conceptually to events of the past (Berg 1995). So, the focus of this research is to reveal the journey of the evolution of Asian radio in England covering the time period from 1960 until 2004. The scope of the research is mainly the BBC, the Incremental local radio initiative and Restricted Service Licences, up to the beginning of Community Radio. The research also reviews the developments of Asian radio programming within the ILR sector to some extent.

Historical research helps to systematically recapture the complex nuances, the people, meanings, events and ideas of the past that have influenced and shaped the present (Berg 1995; McDowell 2013). Thus I have adapted a narrative approach in this historical research, which unfolds documents, milestones and developments to establish the true story. In this way, I focus on the developmental structures of Asian radio broadcasting within the BBC, to some extent in the independent local commercial radio sector, and

local radio initiatives by the Asian community itself. It also reviews Asian migration, Race Relations, and the general trends within existing British radio broadcasting and British society itself. The journey of the Asian radio is presented with each chapter identifying key milestones chronologically. As Cottle (1998) rightly says, in order to understand the evolution of the media industries across time as well as in different settings on the deeper level, researchers require not only historical and contemporary analysis rather than a narrative recitation of events, but also a contextualisation of the emerging ideas. Historical research is not just a collection of incidents, developments, facts and figures, but it is the study of the relationship among issues that have influenced the past, continue to influence and shape the present and the future (Berg 1995; Glass 1989). And therefore, whilst examining the development of Asian radio programmes, I also review the migration and its consequences in terms of Race Relations and integration, in wider British society. The geographical scope of this research is narrowed down to England since the research covers a wide period of 1960 to 2004. The main methods used to conduct this research are Archives and In-depth semi-structured interviews.

1.5 Archives

According to the National Archives Act of 2007, archives or archival material refer to public records…which by their value…nature and characteristics have enduring archival value that have been selected for permanent preservation (R.A. 9470). Archival research methods include a broad range of activities applied to facilitate the investigation of documents and textual materials produced by and about organizations. Archival methods are those that involve the study of historical documents; that is, documents created at some point in the past, providing us access that we might not otherwise have to the organizations, individuals, and events of that earlier time (Ventresca and Mohr 2002).

Due to the emphasis on the historical developments in this research, archives are the backbone of this research. I reviewed the BBC's Written Archives at the BBC's Written Archive Centre in Caversham, Reading, UK and the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) Archive at Bournemouth University, UK extensively. Reports and meeting minutes of the BBC's Asian Programmes Advisory Committee were particularly helpful in

understanding the social and cultural needs of that time of the newly-arrived Asian migrant community, the BBC's stance to cater for this migrant community, differences of opinions regarding the languages of radio programmes for the Asian community - whether to broadcast in mother-tongue and also which specific Asian languages, with reference to the different languages spoken by the Indian and Pakistani community. Greater London Council's (GLC) archives have helped me to understand its Community Radio Unit Project under the leadership of Ken Livingstone to help the local ethnic population including the Asian community to settle and integrate in the wider community. As part of this project, the GLC funded an Asian Radio Studio Project, which was a pioneering project to train the local Asian group members for a community radio platform. In the IBA's archive, I could access the applications made by the Asian community groups in 1989 to start a community radio service, which explain explicitly the need of the Asian community for a community radio platform in mother tongue. Archives have an enduring value because of the information they contain (Pearce-Moses and Baty 2005). They are good source of background and can provide a behind the scenes look that may not be directly visible. They may bring up issues not noted by other means. Thus, they are permanent valuable records of information (Roe 2005). This proved correct in this case as the archives studied for this research were very useful especially in the absence of the programme material for analysis for this research.

However, there were limitations in terms of the availability of the archives relevant to this research area, especially the audio archival material. I could not find Asian radio programmes and its schedule as the BBC local radio did not preserve the programme content. When I contacted the BBC to inquire if the local BBC radio stations have any material of the Asian radio programmes, the Senior Media Manager of the Archive Development Group in the BBC Archives of the BBC Operations informed me that the BBC's local radio stations did not preserve the tapes of the Asian radio programmes broadcast on the BBC local radio stations since the 1960s. There was a similar response to my query from the BBC Asian Network's Media Manager who informed me that there is little to no content available pre-2001. This presented a big challenge for me, as it did not give me a wide variety of options for listening to these programmes. However, I managed to get a digitised copy of the *Six O'Clock Show* from the East Midlands Oral History

Archive in Leicester, which helped me to get a gist of such programmes during that early period.

I also could not find the schedule of these programmes in the *Radio Times* listing. To overcome this challenge, I have used the BBC's Written Archives extensively, which have discussed the general schedule and provision of the Asian language radio programmes by the BBC. The reports and meeting minutes of the BBC's Asian Programmes Advisory Committee were particularly helpful in understanding this provision. I have also used the archives of the Independent Broadcasting Authority, which have discussed the Asian language radio programme provision and its overall schedule on the Independent Local Radio sector.

However, as Berg (1995) states, there is a possibility of archives being biased because of the selective survival of information or also a possibility of its information being incomplete or inaccurate. To overcome this limitation, I applied in-depth semi-structured interview research methods, as a supplement to support the research conducted through examining the archives. I extensively interviewed the key radio people who were involved in the Asian radio programming to understand the content and the format of these programmes. So although, I could not analyse the actual radio programme content, I have discussed the provisions of the Asian language radio programmes on the BBC and Independent Local Radio stations in the 1960s, 70s and 80s by outlining its overall content and general schedule in the Chapter Two and Four.

1.6 In-depth semi-structured interviews

Qualitative researchers greatly rely on in-depth interviewing. Kahn and Cannell (1957) describe interviewing as "a conversation with a purpose" (p.149). This interview research method is very advantageous as it allows individuals to disclose information and opinions, which sometimes are not documented.

For this research, I have conducted a total of 11 in-depth semi-structured interviews. I identified key radio people who were associated with the Asian radio programmes, either in the capacity of a producer, presenter, station manager, campaigner or a member of a

radio regulatory body such as the IBA, the Radio Authority and Ofcom. I contacted them, explained my research topic and the limitations I was facing with regard to the availability and accessibility of the Asian radio programme material and asked for the possible help I could get from them. Most of them responded back to me positively; I had to keep persuading with some of these radio experts for a couple of months due to their busy schedules. Nevertheless, all these radio experts spent a good amount of time helping me with my research through their interviews and some of them also sent me their inputs by emails.

In-depth semi-structured interviewing is best used when you will not get more than one chance to interview someone (Bernard 1988). According to Ritchie and Lewis (2003) and Gillham (2000), interview is a managed verbal exchange. Patton (2002) puts interviews into three general categories as "the informal, conversational interview; the general interview guide approach; and the standardized, open-ended interview" (p.341). In this method, the researcher develops his/her own interview guide to use during the interview. This interview guide is a list of questions, points, themes and topics, which are prepared on the basis of background research, that need to be covered during the conversation. The researcher usually follows this guide in a particular order, however additional sub-questions/points are discussed during the flow of the conversation whenever appropriate. Through this method, the interviewer and respondents engage with each other in a formal interview.

According to Newton (2010), "the success and validity of an interview rests on the extent to which the respondent's opinions are truly reflected; the interviewee's voice, communicating their perspective" (p.4). I followed this structure when conducting my interviews, which proved beneficial. My interviews with the key radio people helped me to understand the context of the various stages and landmarks in the development of Asian radio broadcasting in England, from the introduction of the daily Asian radio show *The Six O'Clock Show,* to the development of *The BBC Asian Network,* from the overwhelming response to the Restricted Service Licences from the Asian community groups to the distinctive Incremental radio stations. For example, the GLC's archives demonstrated that the GLC had funded an Asian Radio Studio Project through its

Community Radio Unit Project in the 1980s, which was a pioneering project to train local Asian group members for a community radio platform. To support and in continuation of this information acquired from GLC's archives, I conducted an in-depth semi-structured interview with Simon Partridge, as he was part of the GLC's Community Radio Unit Project. Thus, this method relies on the inter-personal skills of the interviewer and the ability to establish relationship and rapport (Newton 2010). Its effectiveness heavily depends on the communication skills of the interviewer (Clough and Nutbrown 2007).

According to Newton (2010), these include the ability to clearly structure questions (Cohen et al. 2007); listen attentively (Clough and Nutbrown, 2007); "pause, probe or prompt appropriately" (Ritchie and Lewis, p.141); and encourage the interviewee to talk freely, "make it easy for interviewees to respond" (Clough and Nutbrown 2007, p.134); interpersonal skills (Opie 2004) such as the ability to establish rapport are also important. These interviews can be repeated so as "to build up the rapport between the interviewer and interviewee and enhance the depth and detail of the answers" (Morris 2015, p.10). The key concept of this method is rapport. It is thought, "if the interviewees trust the researchers, they will be honest with him or her" (Alasuutari 1998, p.144). This rapport aspect proved correct for me in this research; I developed a good rapport with many of the interviewees for this research, and they went out of their way to answer my queries and, thus, help me in this research.

According to Jones (1985 in Newton 2010):

> "In order to understand other persons' constructions of reality, we would do well to ask them…and to ask them in such a way that they can tell us in their terms and in a depth which addresses the rich context that is the substance of the meanings" (p.4).

Thus, In-depth semi-structured interviews involve personal interaction, and therefore cooperation is essential. Also, this interview method proves effective mainly when the interviews are conducted face-to-face, as the interviewee feels more comfortable than during a telephone interview. Face-to-face interviewing can be appropriate where "depth of meaning is important and the research is primarily focused in gaining insight and understanding" (Gillham 2000, p.11; Ritchie and Lewis 2003, p.138). Hence, I made sure

that face-to-face interviews were conducted in as many of the interviews as possible and it helped me in understanding the research area in a better manner. A key feature of this method is the partial pre-planning of the questions. Semi-structured interviews are often led by observation, informal and unstructured interviewing in order to allow the researchers to develop a keen understanding of the topic of interest necessary for developing relevant and meaningful semi-structured questions. The partial pre-planned interviews led by on the spot observations helped me in conducting the interviews successfully and as a result, the interviews went well.

For this research, in-depth semi-structured interview method helped me to understand the relevance and significance of the initiatives of the BBC, as well as the Media Regulators across the time span - the IBA, the Radio Authority, Ofcom, and Asian radio campaigners. I used this research method to interview key radio people who have played various roles in the development process of Asian radio broadcasting, for example, former BBC Manager Owen Bentley who initiated a radio programme for the Asian community in Leicester on the BBC Leicester; Tony Stoller, a Former Chief Executive at the Radio Authority, initiated the Access Radio pilot project, which later became the official community radio. Stoller has also worked as a managing director for *Radio 210*[1], Reading. Though I have been referring to his book *Sounds of your life: the history of independent radio in the UK*, I found this interview useful in knowing more specifically about the successful implementation of the Restricted Service Licenses from the Asian community groups. Also this interview helped me to understand the local independent commercial radio stations' contribution to Asian radio programming. To understand the Asian community radio campaign and the social situation during those years of the 1970s and 1980s, I have interviewed Asian community radio campaigner Salim Salam. His interview has helped me to understand the need of the Asian radio platform especially for the older generation of the newly arrived Asian migrant community at that time. To understand the need for the separate independent Asian radio station, I also interviewed Don Kotak who is the Founder and Station Manager of *Sabras* Radio, the Asian commercial radio station in Leicester. *Sabras Radio* is known as the innovators of Asian

[1] *Radio 210* held the commercial radio licence for Reading, UK.

radio in the UK, as the *Sabras Radio* team started broadcasting in 1976 with the BBC Radio Leicester. *Sabras Radio* became a totally independent commercial Asian radio station in September 1994. I thought interviewing Don Kotak could be a good idea to understand the development of Asian radio broadcasting - from Asian radio programming on the local BBC radio station to starting its own radio station for the Asian listener community, and thus, I have brought in those valuable inputs through an in-depth interview with Kotak. Similarly, I interviewed Vijay Sharma to understand the need and the development of Asian radio broadcasting. Sharma started her career in Asian radio broadcasting by working as a Producer and Presenter on BBC Radio Leicester's *The Six O'Clock Show* in the 1970s. Sharma later worked as Head of The Asian Radio Network. I thought her journey of working in the Asian radio sector would contribute immensely to this research, and thus I have interviewed Sharma extensively to get those insights into the need and the development of Asian radio broadcasting in England. These in-depth semi-structured interviews helped me to understand this research subject in depth considering various aspects and angles to it. These interviews helped me to reveal the background and context to this research area, including racial tensions, as well as the concept and relevance of the radio programmes targeted at the Asian community, especially as these radio programmes were not available and accessible for analysis.

1.7 Ethical considerations

While doing this research, firstly, I have considered the issues of confidentiality while using the semi-structured interview research method. Trust is fundamental and must be maintained through professionalism and respect for each person whose perspective through this method should be recognised as unique and valuable (Newton 2010). Informed consent is necessary, so I have obtained an informed consent from all my interviewees. Another issue is related to the confidential archival material I have used for this research, such as the applications made by the Asian community groups in 1989 to start a community radio service or the BBC's written archives on the Immigrants Programme Unit. Confidentiality has been maintained while accessing such important and unique archival material. Extra care has been taken while referring to such material in this thesis. Also, the statements of the interviewees have been evaluated carefully to avoid any personal bias reflecting in the thesis. Lastly, my role as an interviewer has been assessed

cautiously to avoid bringing in my own bias, me being an Asian radio broadcaster and more importantly an Asian listener community member. On the contrary, I have tried to use my background and experience in the Asian radio broadcasting to enhance my research experience positively.

1.8 Limitations

There were limitations while implementing these research methods and approaches. Archival research may seem like a standardized and transparent method of inquiry that is carried out mainly in libraries, special collections rooms and archive centers. But there are limitations while using archives as a source of research. The main limitation while doing this research was to locate and access the relevant archival material. While reviewing the IBA's archive material, some of the possibly relevant files listed in the catalogue could not be located, which could have been a good source of information for this research. So, this was one of the major challenges while doing this research. At the same time, archives can reveal only limited information, as these are the official versions. There are also debates about the genuineness and authenticity of the source material (Berg 1995) and the possible personal bias of the author or creator while writing or creating the archives. So, it can be said that archives can bring limitations in terms of getting the full story.

Similarly, there are challenges in using in-depth semi-structured interviews as a research method. Denscombe (2007 in Newton 2010) discusses research which demonstrates how people respond differently depending on how they perceive the interviewer, the interviewer effect; "in particular, the sex, the age, and the ethnic origins of the interviewer have a bearing on the amount of information people are willing to divulge and their honesty about what they reveal" (p.184). The interviewee's responses are influenced by what s/he thinks the situation requires (Gomm 2004). And therefore, it is important to make clear at the beginning of an interview what the purpose and topics are (Newton 2010). There are two individuals discussing a topic of mutual interest and ideally the discussion is relaxed, open and honest (Mason 1998); and it is important to convey to the interviewee that their views are valuable and useful. In the interview process, interpersonal skills such as the ability to establish rapport and listening skills are important to make the most out of it (Newton 2010). The other aspects that can affect the

interview process are the atmosphere of the interview place, the interviewee's memory, interviewee's bias, and the relevance of the questions asked. I have tried to consider these aspects while reviewing archives and conducting interviews. Arranging interviews with the key radio people was also one of the challenges during this research. It was particularly hard to arrange interviews with radio station managers and community radio campaigners due to their busy schedules or unresponsiveness at times. However I have tried to bring in a balance by selecting a wide range of interviewees to cover various significant aspects associated with Asian radio broadcasting in England.

1.9 Structure of the thesis

In this thesis, *Chapter One* describes the context to the research, its aims and objectives, the research questions it sets out to examine, the research methods used for conducting this research as well as the limitations of this research.

Chapter Two is a reflection on Asian migration and media. It reviews the existing literature discussing the history of Asian migration and media. This literature review will help to understand the previous scholarship in this broad area. It will help to find out the gaps within the existing research work, as a basis of this research to explore the development of Asian radio in England.

Chapter Three analyses the Asian migration and the BBC's initiatives. It reviews the early attempts made by the BBC to cater to this migrant community. It includes the BBC's initiative of the Immigrants Programme Unit (IPU)/Asian Programme Unit[2], BBC local radio's contribution in doing programmes for Asian listeners[3].

[2] The BBC established the Immigrants Programme Unit (IPU), which later was renamed as the Asian Programmes Unit, to help integrate newly arrived Asian immigrants into their new environment through practical advice. It started broadcasting programmes aimed specifically at the Asian community in October 1965 (O. Bentley, see Appendix 1; Malik 2002).

[3] The BBC local radio stations were given the responsibility of responding to the need for Asian programming during mid 1970s. As a result, Bentley initiated Asian radio programming on the BBC Radio Leicester by starting the Asian radio show *Six O'Clock Show* every weekday, which was earlier broadcast once a week (O. Bentley, see Appendix 1).

Chapter Four provides an analysis of the further development of Local BBC Radio programming, the development of the ILR sector, how it contributed to Asian radio programming and how the Asian community started getting involved in its programming. Thus, this chapter will help to understand this shift from representation to participation.

Chapter Five examines the role of the IBA' initiatives of Incremental Radio, how it encouraged Asian community groups to apply for Asian radio services. It discusses the growing need for such radio services for this community by examining further radio initiatives, which was a precursor of separate Asian radio broadcasting.

Chapter Six provides an analysis of the experiment of Restricted Service Licences (RSL), its use by Asian community, and the development of the Asian Incremental radio services showing the need of Asian radio services changing into demands. It examines more experiments towards the beginning of Asian radio broadcasting.

Finally *Chapter Seven* concludes with a discussion on this entire journey of Asian radio broadcasting in England. It discusses the findings and conclusion of this research.

1.10 The Context

Finally, this work does not only have a research value, but it has a much deeper personal connection and meaning to me. I have been volunteering as an Asian radio presenter and producer at Southampton's Asian radio station Unity101.1FM[4] since August 2010. I present and produce a weekly live radio show *Suhaana Safar* (meaning 'A Beautiful Journey'). During my time at this radio station, I have been exposed to a real setup of an Asian community radio station, which has solely been catering to the Asian community in Southampton and surrounding areas since December 2005. A regular interaction with the listeners, other volunteers, presenters and the radio station manager has helped me to understand my research subject rigorously. It has made my judgment even stronger that there was, and still is, a need for radio services in mother-tongue languages for the Asian

[4] *Unity101.1FM* claims to be the South's only Asian community radio station based in Southampton, UK. Its programming output represents Southampton's Asian community and the wide range of its languages such as Hindi, Punjabi, Gujarati and Bengali.

community living in England. In addition to that, it has helped me to understand how such radio stations can help its community in terms of education, information, entertainment and as a whole, for its empowerment.

2. Chapter Two: Reflection on Asian migration and media

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I intend to review the literature exploring the migration and media in England. Asian radio broadcasting is strongly associated with Asian migration in this country, and therefore, it would be crucial to review how migration and media has been explored by the existing scholarship with regard to Asian migration and the role of media.

2.2 Asian migration

Since the 1970s, there have been studies (Ballard 2003; Visram 2002; Peach 2006; Parekh 1998; Spencer 2002) done to understand the Asian migration in Britain, exploring its trends from different parts of the world due to different political, economical and social circumstances. Ballard (2003) examines the rapid growth of South Asian population in Britain, which began mainly during the Post-War period in the 1950s, 60s and early 70s. According to Peach (2006), every period of rapid industrial expansion during the nineteenth century experienced huge shortages of unskilled manual labour, and the gaps were filled by recruiting laborers firstly from the countryside, then from Ireland, and subsequently from Eastern Europe. There are three major categories of immigrants identified by Visram (2002). Firstly, the personal servants of Imperial adventurers and administrators, who accompanied their masters and mistresses on their eventual return home; secondly, seamen, all of whom worked in an equally menial capacity on British merchant ships, since they invariably served in the stokehold; and thirdly, much more affluent travelers who came to Britain in search of a mixture of adventure, excitement and professional qualifications. Thus Asian migration movement from the Indian Subcontinent increased due to the labour shortage during the industrial revolution after the Second World War.

This phenomenon of migration started to bring a change to existing British society. Hall (1992) calls this experience unifying, bringing different minorities together in relation to exclusion, but also in their becoming part of British society. In the process of this social change, media has played a very crucial role.

Thus, these texts have explored the migration, its patterns, its diversity and the multicultural competence within the different migrant communities. However, it does not discuss the strong media aspect related to it, including the ethnic media and its role in catering to the migrant community. So, before we study the impact of this migration on the existing British media, it would be useful to understand the role of ethnic media in multicultural society.

2.3 The role of Ethnic Media

Several authors in recent years have documented the long history of different types of media production by and for people in small-scale geographical, interest-based or virtual communities, indicating a significant shift from merely consuming media to individually or collaboratively producing media. Jankowski and Prehn (2002), for example, argue how the inclusion of community residents, non-professionals and local volunteers in the ownership structure and production process are the key characteristic of community media. The rapid growth and success of ethnic media has also been presented as an expression of increasing worldwide migration patterns. Deuze (2006) discusses the emergence of all kinds of community, alternative, oppositional, participatory and collaborative media practices with a global perspective. He examines how a serious awareness of an increasingly participatory global media culture in multicultural societies has been developed as a necessary tool to explain the impact of ethnic or minority media, as well as to embrace the changing ways in which people use their media. This work significantly gives emphasis to discussing how ethnic media provides its audiences with essential information, helping them to participate as equal citizens of their country of residence, by providing a platform for discussion and exchange within the minority communities as well as between the minority and the majority communities.

There seems to be a twofold development of increasing use and popularity of ethnic media with a strong participatory element. Academic research on ethnic media heralds such media production as “shaping a vigorous public sphere” (Husband 2005, p.461). People all over the world turn their resistance to the mainstream media in acts of independent, collaborative or participatory media making (Hartley 2005). Ethnic media’s role in the everyday life of people is cohesive as well as corrosive depending upon the

ways people use and produce ethnic media. According to Sreberny (2005), keen readers, listeners or viewers of ethnic media expect to find news and information about the country of origin, the place of residence, and "the world of new diasporas" (p.445). Riggins (1992) argues that ethnic minority media promote ethnic cohesion and cultural maintenance and help minorities integrate into the larger society. Ethnic media thus reduce as well as increase cultural complexity in terms of a community's identity-formation process.

Shember-Critchley (2012) examines the role of ethnic minority radio in communicating ethnicity and identity of the ethnic minority population. This work presents an analysis of the programmes broadcast by the ethnic minority stations. It explores how the ethnic minority stations continue to exist, the types of services they provide and how they utilise ideas of ethnicity and identity to communicate with their audiences. This work is more of a contemporary one built on the Case Studies, and thus understandably lacks the historical component.

At times, publications concerning media representation of ethnic minority peoples have tended to be limited in scope and written from outsiders' perspectives. Alia and Bull (2005) provide a range of counter-colonial perspectives by presenting a mix of voices of insiders and outsiders, scholars and media practitioners. One of their main objectives is to deconstruct the myth of passive minority consumption and non-participation in the processes of production, considering media from the mainstream and an array of alternative and ethnic minority locations and sources. Thus ethnic media, whether successful or not, would not by their mere existence contribute to a more fragmented or culturally diverse society. Minority media become part of the media diet of people without necessarily replacing the existing mainstream media on offer.

So, ethnic media are media produced for a particular ethnic community, however not all ethnic media are produced by the ethnic community they serve, and that does make a difference to the overall production as well as consumption of that media. Matsaganis et al. (2010) examine the large diversity of ethnic media and how they vary with regard to who produces them - producers may be members of one ethnic community living in one

place, such as Leicester's Asian radio station, but producers can also be big media organizations whose activities span the globe, such as the BBC. They review the co-presence of ethnic and mainstream media to understand ethnic media, the definition of culture, ethnicity race and ethnic media, and the role of geographic context. Ethnic media are at the heart of the everyday practices that produce and transform ethnic identity, culture, and perceptions of race. Ethnic media act as a mobilizing force, and it provides newly arrived immigrants as well as members of more established ethnic communities a social barometer, by offering an understanding of the relationship between the ethnic community and the broader society. Thus the co-presence of ethnic and mainstream media in our communication environment is critical for individual citizens and society as a whole. Society needs to be able to see itself in its media and reflect on the changes it is undergoing due to globalization and increasing population diversity.

In the report[5] about mapping minorities and their media, Georgiou (2002) has examined the historical, cultural and legislative context of British multiculturalism. This report mainly tries to understand how minorities' ethnic and diasporic identification and status relates to the socio-economic realities of their everyday life in order to understand the complexity of minorities' experience of exclusion and the media in the UK. It summarizes policies and politics of ethnicity and racial relations. While reviewing the British immigration and multicultural policies, it looks at the complexities of ethnic relations and identity that characterises minorities' everyday cultural experience and their insisting sense of belonging in a particular community, while feeling part of the broader society. The discussion of how diasporic people shape their identities and how they construct their tense and multiple sense of belonging in local, national and transnational communities is discussed in this research while mapping diasporic minorities living in the UK.

In a way, multi-ethnic media environment can only function impartially in a society that understands the element of difference and diversity. Husband (2002) reviews how the

[5] This report proposes policy suggestions of, firstly, the possible development of autonomous diasporic media which are capable of enabling a dialogue within the ethnic communities and of reflecting the diversity within them, which means further availability to resources and media education for minorities; and secondly, the development of multi-ethnic and multicultural media that actively promote dialogue across ethnic communities.

informational and cultural needs of minority ethnic consumers of news copy in Britain reflect the hybridity and diasporic connectedness that defines each community. He argues that the role of the media in multi-ethnic societies is strongly shaped by assertive claims of the right to speak, and to control the representation of oneself and one's community; a multi-ethnic public sphere requires both the opportunity for a diversity of voices in the media, *and* a shared disposition to seek to comprehend the experience of others. He claims that language and culture are powerful variables in shaping the selective use of the media for minority ethnic communities; but so too is the specific historical process that has shaped their current identities within Britain. Husband concentrates on the minority ethnic news media, by reviewing how extensive diversity of minority ethnic news media in Britain is a reflection both of the audiences' communication needs, and of their viability as distinct target audiences. Husband has argued that the role of the media in multi-ethnic societies is strongly shaped by assertive claims of the right to speak, and to control the representation of oneself and one's community; a multi-ethnic public sphere requires *both* the opportunity for a diversity of voices in the media, *and* a shared disposition to seek to comprehend the experience of others. In this article, Husband has suggested two complementary principles for a viable media environment in a multi-ethnic society - "an autonomous minority ethnic media that are capable of enabling a dialogue within ethnic communities and complementary media that actively aim to promote dialogue across ethnic boundaries" (Husband 2002, p.166). Thus, Husband mainly discusses the informational and cultural needs of minority ethnic communities, focusing mainly on the diversity of the minority ethnic newspaper and periodical operation in Britain.

In that sense, ethnic media have a capacity to raise awareness about local, community-specific issues, which are not addressed in mainstream media. Therefore, mainstream media have realised the influence of ethnic media as well as ethnic programming output. A very good example of this would be the radio programmes, which were broadcast on the BBC and ILR stations in the 1970s, for example, *Geetmala* on LBC radio and *The Six O'Clock Show* on BBC Radio Leicester. A very recent example would be the experiment of the *Memorandum of Understanding* (2009) to support working arrangements between community media groups and the BBC in England to ensure that these happen in the best

way with the best outcomes, delivering a richer experience for listeners, viewers and online users. So, this is how both mainstream and ethnic media are realizing that they can supplement each other by having collaborations with each other. By doing this, the mainstream media could get a clearer view of aspects of ethnic society that they may not have been able to see otherwise, and the ethnic media producers could get closer to the mainstream media. Lay and Thomas (2012) have examined black and minority ethnic media in London by attempting to seek an understanding of the relationship between producers of black and minority ethnic media products and the communities they seek to serve. They also address the issue of uses, meanings and importance of black and minority ethnic media to black and ethnic minority communities in London.

They map newspapers and periodicals, broadcast media and the Internet, to address the issue of the role and operation of minority ethnic media, by focusing on the consumption practices of black and minority ethnic groups in London, and what ethnic media products meant to these minorities. They try to determine the extent to which these black and minority ethnic groups combined their ethnic media consumption with more mainstream media products. This research covers a broader group of ethnic communities, which includes Black African and Caribbean, Asian, EU European, Non-EU European, Far East and Middle Eastern communities, and thus lacks a detailed overview of the media practice by and for the Asian community.

On the other hand, ethnic media have had difficulty in attracting advertising revenue because of the perceived limited disposable income of the target audiences. And also, there has been tension between expanding the potential audience and meeting the ambitions of owners and management to address the needs and interests of the ethnic population. Husband (2005) examines these current circumstances of minority ethnic media production in his paper about minority ethnic media. He discusses the limitations in the actual community media practice as well as its identity politics, and how commercial obligations undermine the stated programming rationale of minority ethnic media. The tensions that may exist for minority ethnic media workers between their commitment to a professional identity and status, and their negotiation of their own ethnic identity have been particularly addressed here. Through employing a specific model of communities of

practice, this paper provides an analytic frame. It helps to understand some of the challenges that may be particularly present in the institutional dynamics and identity politics operating within minority ethnic media enterprises.

The mainstream media have been representing the issues and images of this ethnic society. Scholars have examined the representation of ethnic minorities on the existing mainstream media, however its main focus is on the stereotype images of the people from the ethnic minorities especially on British television. It concentrates on the lack of representation of this community on British television. It also highlights the lack of television output targeted at the Asian migrant community. The contribution of Sarita Malik (2002) is very significant in this research area. Paul Long (2011) explores the history of black mid-landers' in media representations, especially on television through a focus on Birmingham, UK, which has a significant black and ethnic minority population. It analyses some of the key historical moments in television coverage to explore how black people have been spoken about and how their experiences have been recorded and dramatised. It demonstrates the struggle by black people themselves for adequate recognition, to be heard and ultimately to take up place in a shared space of representation and history. This significant work however lacks the radio aspect while rigorously examining the representation issue. There has been an ongoing debate that increasing the number of black and Asian people working in the broadcasting industries may improve the on-screen representation of non-white groups. However, Saha (2012) argues that the constant production of stereotyped racial images appearing on television in the West cannot be tackled through recruitment measures alone. By adopting a cultural industries approach to television production, the article uses an ethnographic study of British Asians working in the UK broadcasting industry to examine the conditions of production through which minority representations are created. Thus, all of these works concentrate on the lack of representation of the ethnic minority communities mainly on the television, and hence lack the radio aspect. So what was the impact of this migration on the existing British media?

2.4 The impact of migration on the BBC

The post-Second World War period was critical in the history of British broadcasting, as it witnessed the rise of television and subsequently the end of the BBC's monopoly. Briggs (1995) reveals the history of broadcasting in the UK, by examining how and why some of the key decisions affecting broadcasting policy were made and what their effects were; the changing arts and techniques of broadcasting news and views, politics, music, religion and education, and a pattern of broadcasting have been discussed. Though it is a history of British broadcasting in the UK, it concentrates mainly on the history of the BBC. There is no mention of contemporary social and economic circumstances, thus it does not cover the whole story. There have been quite a few texts in which the history of radio has been unfolded quite extensively. Crisell (2002) and Street (2009) present a concise and accessible history of British broadcasting by discussing significant milestones in media history from the first wireless broadcast in 1920, through to recent developments in digital broadcasting. The evolution of broadcasting and the relation of broadcasting in a wider political and social context has been considered in these texts while it also evaluates the way in which audiences have experienced this medium.

Public service radio broadcasting began in the UK with the creation of the BBC. Although the BBC was created without an ideological rationale, its ideology developed along with the growth of the service. Scannell and Cardiff (1991) have produced a detailed study of the BBC, however it covers the inter-war years from 1922 until 1939 to investigate the early days of broadcasting to explore how public service radio broadcasting began in the UK. Scannell and Cardiff seek to "…recover the arguments and ideals that informed the way in which broadcasting was established …and more particularly, to study the ways in which a form and content for broadcasting was discovered in the day-to-day business of programme making" (p.4). This study concentrates on how BBC's programme making policy and practice developed to serve the entire nation. It offers exhaustive analysis of the BBC and its efforts to create programmes that would enlighten and inform the public. However this study covers the stipulated time period from 1922 till 1939, and thus lacks the development of the BBC's programme making strategy of catering to the Asian migrant audience community in England.

However from the 1960s onwards when the Asian population began to migrate to Britain on a bigger scale, the BBC publicly committed itself to enhancing the representation of this Asian migrant audience community both on and behind screen. So the Asian migration was a process of transformation, which the contemporary British media and the society have witnessed. Cottle (1998) claimed that the BBC was perhaps more transparent in terms of programme production and output, and had pledged itself both to the provision of targeted ethnic minority programmes and enhanced mainstream programme representations especially in the 1960s and 70s when there were other options of programming output for the newly arrived Asian migrant community. Cottle (1998) examines the production context and professional aims informing the production of ethnic minority programmes by ethnic minority producers inside the corporation. With the help of producer testimonies, he offers critical insights into the relatively closed world of the BBC, its corporate ethos and programme-making environment during the 1960s, by discussing the BBC's programming initiatives including the programmes produced by its Immigrants Programme Unit (IPU). It can be sensed how producers practically manage and professionally rationalize their programme making activities within the institutional and cultural constraints such as at the BBC. Therefore, the corporate commitment to multicultural programme production could be challenged in practice.

2.5 The idea of BBC's local radio

There was a successful involvement of the BBC local radio and of ILR in their local communities in the 1960s and 70s. During this period, the BBC began to appreciate the potential of a local radio service (Lewis and Booth 1989). Frank Gillard, widely regarded as the founder of BBC Local Radio, identified the vision in the 1960s. The original idea was to bring the BBC closer to the audience, which the Pilkington Committee supported in its 1962 report (ibid). While revealing the history of independent radio in the UK, Stoller (2010) claims that Gillard's plan for BBC local radio represented "more than just a defensive move against the growing commercial lobby in the 1960s and many of the elements of the definition of community radio were present in his concept of local radio" (ibid, p.155). As Briggs (1995) explains, each local station would undertake "a continuous and detailed task in many different forms and through a multitude of local voices, the running serial story of local life in all its aspects" in the 1960s and 70s (p.622). Linfoot

(2011) uncovers the history of BBC local radio in England covering a period from 1960 to 1980, and discusses some of the radio programmes aimed at newly arrived migrants, to help them integrate and understand British life and culture. It had been envisaged initially that "the core functions of BBC local radio would be divided between education and learning and the stimulation of debate about issues affecting local people, and that the public would be allowed direct access to the airwaves" (ibid, p.127).

The BBC decided to produce specific programmes aimed at an Asian audience, and to help this, established an Immigrant Programmes Advisory Committee, which subsequently became the Asian Programmes Advisory Committee in 1974. Thus the radio programmes produced in the 1970s were specifically aimed at the newly arrived Asian migrant community. These programmes included BBC Radio London's *New Londoners* (1970s) aimed at Asians, Caribbean, Africans and those from eastern Europe; BBC Radio London's *London Sounds Eastern* (1976) which was a weekly run programme aimed at Asians; Radio Sheffield's programme by the local Community Relations Officer for Asians produced partly in Urdu and Bengali languages; Radio Nottingham's *Nawrang* (1970s), and on Radio Leicester's *Milan* (1970s), the weekly half hour programme in Hindustani language for Asian migrants and Tony *and his friends* aimed at primary school children; Radio Leeds' *Jacob's Ladder* for its Jewish listeners and the *Jhalak* programme for the Asian Community in Hindustani language.

This was an indication that centrally the BBC was attempting to co-ordinate its provision to make sure it accurately reflected local needs and demands and not just the prejudices of the station managers through its local radio stations in the 1960s and 70s. Thus there was a shift towards more integration across the output within the BBC. This work briefly looks at how BBC local radio tried to cater to the Asian community in the post-war period, however it lacks the extensive overview of the socio-cultural aspects of the settlement of this newly migrant Asian community, and its association to the Asian radio programming output not just on the BBC local radio, but on the ILR as well.

2.6 Contribution from the Independent local radio sector (ILR)

The Sound Broadcasting Act of 1972 allowed for the start of the ILR, which was commercially funded and regulated by the new IBA. The first ILR station to broadcast was significantly an all-speech station, the London Broadcasting Company (LBC), opening in October 1973. It was as though the intention was to demonstrate that UK radio funded by advertising was a legitimate, worthy form, as far removed as possible from the stereotypical American-style music radio, the style of which had typified the approach of the offshore stations of the 1960s (Street 2009).

At the same time, a few ILR stations followed BBC local radio's lead and broadcast some programmes in "one of the Asian languages looking at the need and desire of the Asian community to start its own mother-tongue radio platform during that period" (Anwar 1978, p.75). The London Broadcasting Company (LBC) teamed up with Indian broadcasters to launch a weekly entertainment programme *Geetmala* in the 1970s. It was presented by Chaman Lal Chaman, a well-known Indian broadcaster from Kenya and produced by Suresh Joshi. This programme became successful attracting many Indian listeners (Puri 2010). Some other examples of this could be *Geetmala* on BRMB, *Geetmala* on Radio 210, *Geetmala* on LBC and *Meeting Place* on Pennine Radio in the late 1970s. The local independent commercial radio stations contributed to the Asian radio programming because of their self-imposed obligation to broadcast to ethnic minority communities.

2.7 The beginning of Community Radio

Though many independent radio stations were established during the 1980s, there was a growing sense that the ethnic minority groups were not generally well represented on mainstream radio. Thus there was a frustration growing within the industry and within the listeners, especially amongst the ethnic minorities. As a result the Broadcasting Research Unit (BRU) carried out a research survey[6] in the Greater London Area between January and April 1985. In this survey, geographical, ethnic-based and interest-based communities were recognised and two attitudes towards community radio emerged: exclusive and

[6] The survey report was published by the BRU in 1985 as 'The Audience for Community Radio in London'.

inclusive. The exclusive attitude imagined each group of interest having its own station, the inclusive attitude envisaged integration and the sense of belonging in each community (Scifo 2011).

At the same time, radio broadcasting piracy had a strong increase. Lewis and Booth (1989) reveals how some of the biggest ethnic minorities such as Asians, Greeks and West Indians managed to start successful radio stations that attracted funding from their own ethnic group's businesses in the mid-1980s. This successful involvement of these smaller stations in their local communities in the early years of BBC local radio and of ILR was one of the reasons for the slow recognition of the case for community radio in the minds of the authorities. However, the abandonment of this involvement by mainstream radio later provided a strong part of the rationale for the campaigners for a community radio sector (ibid).

The year 1983 was an important year in British radio broadcasting as it marked the start of Special Event Licences from the Home Office, the precursor of Restricted Service Licences (RSL). In 1991 the Radio Authority developed short-term Restricted Service Licences (Stoller 2010, p.160). These licences permitted local groups to broadcast to a very small geographical area, through low power transmitters, for a short period of time, and were used by students, groups of ethnic minority communities, or by the arts or religious groups to run the stations usually for four weeks or so, often coinciding with a local event or festival (Street 2009). The RSL experience provided important ground to many stations that were granted a full-time Community Radio licence from 2005 onwards. According to Stoller, the terms of the long, and often wearisome debate over community radio were determined by the arrival of ILR. Once advertising-funded local radio was established in 1973, the radical left took up the cause in terms of opposition to "local radio, private profit" (Stoller 2010, p.154). After receiving many representations calling for a community service in 1985, the Home Secretary Leon Brittan announced his intention "to enable community radio to develop as soon as possible" (ibid, p.158). Lewis and Booth (1989) claim this success was a result of the four years of lobbying instigated by the Community Communications Group (COMCOM), which was later joined by hospital and student broadcasters, and the experimental cable radio stations.

Subsequently, the Radio Authority introduced the Access Radio project in its pilot phase, which later became an official community radio sector. The agreed-upon definition of a community service was that of a station run as a small-scale neighborhood project, either as a community of geography or interest. It received a massive response of nearly 200 submissions to its invitation for licence applications. Out of those, 16 groups were chosen as the Access Radio Pilot group covering the whole of the UK (Lewis 2012; Street 2009). Anthony Everitt evaluated this project positively and his recommendations became the basis for the 2004 Community Radio Order and its implementation by the current regulatory body, Ofcom. In 2004, after over 25 years of campaigning by grassroots and specialist interest groups, Ofcom advertised the first full time licenses (Lewis 2012).

This was the beginning of the community radio wave in Britain. Ofcom (Office of Communications) has since licensed more than 200 radio stations, including the Asian radio stations catering specifically for the Asian community in this country (Ofcom 2014). Lewis and Booth (1989), Gordon (2012), Partridge (1982), Scifo (2011), Stoller (2010), Chignell (2009), Starkey (2011), Linfoot (2011) and Browne (2012) have discussed the role of community radio extensively. Chignell (2009) claims "community radio stations place a priority on their relationship with an identified community and attempt to satisfy the perceived social and cultural needs of that group" (p.119). This text also discusses the shift in the "monopoly of the BBC after the Second World War when British society was undergoing transformation, and traditional values were losing their grip and a more liberal climate prevailed" (p.138), with the emergence of the unregulated radio stations. Browne (2012) claims that community radio exists to serve listeners for whom certain types of radio programming and certain viewpoints are otherwise unavailable - in other words, it is an "alternative" (p.154). Scifo (2011) extensively examines this development of community radio in Britain, which also considers the audience of the ethnic minorities briefly. Though many independent radio stations were established during the 1980s, there was a frustration growing within the industry and within the listeners, especially amongst the ethnic minorities.

2.8 Conclusion

This overview suggests that initially there was a need of mother-tongue radio to get advice on the issues related to the daily lives of the Asian migrant community, after its arrival during the post-war industrial labour shortage period in the 1960s and 70s. However, later in the 1980s, this community subsequently realised that the existing radio programming output catered to them was (a) not sufficient and (b) not representing the Asian community. Thus, this need of a radio platform in its own languages converted into a demand for separate Asian radio services. As a result, Asian community groups started their own radio services to fill this gap.

Thus, the existing scholarship does explore ethnic minorities and media to some extent, however it is more of a contemporary work, and not historical. It also focuses mainly on British television, which also highlights mainly the lack of television output targeted at the Asian migrant community, and not much looking at radio. It concentrates on the stereotype images and lack of representation of this community on the British television, and hence it lacks a comprehensive overview of the role of television and radio during the settlement period of the newly migrant Asian community and its need and demand for having its own radio platform in its own languages in the post-war period. Therefore, the existing scholarship does not examine the significant historical aspects of Asian migration and its impact on the BBC radio's programming output, and the need, demand, struggle and campaign behind the creation of the independent Asian radio services in England, which is the foundation of today's Asian radio services.

Therefore this research sets out to fill that gap by focusing on the need and demand aspect which was predominant for the Asian community in England to have its own Asian radio platform during the immediate period of its migration during the 1960s and onwards. This research explores three aspects evolved around the development of Asian radio service since the 1960s: how did Asian radio broadcasting begin and develop in England during this period; it explores the need and demand of the Asian community of that time to have its own radio platform; and it analyses how did the radio service in its own language help the Asian community integrate to wider English society during its settlement period after migration.

3. Chapter Three: 1960 – 1970: Asian migration and the BBC's initiatives

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will review the migration movement of the Asian community to England. There have been various patterns of this Asian migration from different parts of the world for several reasons. This migration movement ultimately initiated Asian programmes on the BBC television and radio. Therefore, it would be crucial to know the development of this Asian migration. Here I have mainly concentrated on the migration movement from the Indian-subcontinent and East Africa during the 1960s and 1970s. Then I have reviewed the BBC's initiatives of producing television and radio programmes through its Immigrants Programme Unit (IPU) established in October 1965 in Birmingham, to cater to this newly arrived Asian migrant community to give them information and advice they needed in their daily life while settling down in their new country during these early years of the 1960s and 1970s, which was a consequence of this migration movement.

3.2 Post-war migration to Britain - historical context

When we look at post-war migration to Britain, the large-scale migration was from the Commonwealth countries after 1945, which was closely linked to Britain's past as an imperial power. The status of being citizens of colonial territories helped Asian communities migrate to Britain, especially after the British Nationality Act of 1948, as it conferred British citizenship on all who lived in the British Empire and Commonwealth (Castles 2009). Also, World War II and the post-war European economic boom was the major factor, stimulating migration in most West European countries. As Layton-Henry (1985) explains, the mobilisation of people in the armed forces, the expansion of the Merchant Navy and the harnessing of industry and agriculture for the war quickly caused serious labour shortages in Britain. These were only partly met by the recruitment of women, young people and Irish workers. Therefore Colonial workers were recruited in Britain, though others came voluntarily. These colonial servicemen saw opportunities for work in Britain as "they were well-received by the British public who regarded them as allies in the struggle for the national survival" (ibid, p.27). It is important to understand that post-1945 immigration to Britain has always been diverse, including Irish, Europeans

and people from all over the world - as well as people from the Commonwealth. Immigration of workers from the New Commonwealth (former British colonies in the Caribbean, the Indian subcontinent and Africa) started after 1945. Some workers came as a result of recruitment by London Transport, but most migrated spontaneously in response to labour demand and were able to enter freely as British citizens. In the late 1940s most migrants came from the Caribbean islands, while migration from India and Pakistan started after 1950 and peaked in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Castles 2009). So how did the Asian migration movement take place?

3.3 Asian migration to Britain

Migration from Asian countries was not a novel phenomenon. There has been a flow of students, lawyers, cricketers, housemaids, entertainers, governesses, peddlers and seamen stretching back to the seventeenth century and earlier (Arnold 2012; Ballard 2003; Parekh 1997; Peach 2006). This migration was associated with different political, economical and social circumstances in different parts of the world. According to Castles (2009), India being the most valuable part of the Empire had a profound effect on British politics, economics and society. Visram (2002) has explained the three major categories of immigrants: the personal servants of Imperial adventurers and administrators who accompanied their masters and mistresses on their eventual return home, secondly seamen who worked on British merchant ships and thirdly much more affluent travelers who came to Britain in search of a mixture of adventure, excitement and professional qualifications. However, the number of these migrants was very small.

This scenario changed drastically after the Second World War. In 1947 the British Empire in India split into India and Pakistan. This partition of India at the end of the British Raj led to the immigration movement. The areas of the "Indian and Pakistani Punjab and Pakistan-administered Kashmir greatly disturbed by Partition led to major immigration to Britain" (ibid, p.134). It is noticeable that in the early years after Indian independence in 1947, Britain was the main destination country for migrants (Arnold 2012). One of the

main reasons behind this was the British Nationality Act of 1948[7], "which conferred British citizenship to all who lived in the then British Empire and Commonwealth; irrespective of whether they had citizenship of now independent states" (Peach 2006, p.135).

However, their migration was essentially related to the "British post-war labour shortage, as during this period, Britain was experiencing a shortage of unskilled labour" (Arnold 2012, p.213). The expansion of the British economy in the 1950s and 1960s created substantial shortages of labour, particularly in the relatively stagnant sectors of the economy, for example, metal manufacture and transport, where low pay, long hours and shift work made the jobs unattractive to British workers. These industries were "unable to compete with expanding sectors for workers in short supply" (Layton-Henry 1985, p.29). Therefore, employers in Britain had no alternative but to explore other sources outside the country to recruit labour because of the post-war economic boom, and thus turned to the Asian countries to recruit labour particularly in England's industrial cities (Arnold 2012; Ballard 2003; Peach 2006). British employers such as the National Health Service, London Transport and British Rail began to explore sources to recruit labour (Ballard 2003). Because of that, many "unskilled, semi-skilled and professional Indians" (Arnold 2012, p.213) migrated to Britain. As a result of this, the migration movement mainly from India and Pakistan increased in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Ballard 2003).

In addition to that, because of the political pressures during this period, Indians already settled in East Africa were "forced to move because they were seen as a bar to African advancement" (Arnold 2012, p.210). In the case of Uganda in 1973, President Idi Amin gave the whole Asian community 90 days to leave, in which time 30,000 relocated to Britain (ibid). Thus the flow of the Indian population was greatly increased by the migration of East African Asians during the 1970s. However, the 'Oil Crisis of 1973'[8] brought the labour immigration movement to an end, "causing the return migration of

[7] The British Nationality Act 1948 was an Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom that created the status of 'Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies' (CUKC) as the national citizenship of the United Kingdom and its colonies.

[8] Recession following the Oil Crisis of 1973, when the OPEC states (Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries) rapidly increased oil prices, had enormous consequences for migration.

some migrant workers to their homelands as a reaction to unemployment or lower earnings" (Peach 2006, p.69).

Thus it can be seen that Britain's multi-ethnicity was primarily shaped when populations from the former colonies, especially the Asian migrant community, moved mainly to the cities of Britain "to seek employment primarily in the industrial sector in the early 1950s" (Peach 2006, p.133), and then because of political pressures in East African countries in the 1970s. Thus, the majority of these new Commonwealth immigrants came to Britain "in search of work, a higher standard of living and better prospects for their children" (Layton-Henry 1985, p.29).

3.4 Patterns of Asian migration and settlement

So, who were these migrants? The majority of settlers were drawn from a few specific areas in the Indian Subcontinent. In community-specific terms, the vast majority of the Asian migrant population can be placed in these broad categories: Gujarati Hindus from the Western Indian state of Gujarat; Punjabi Sikhs and Hindus from the Northern Indian region of Punjab; Punjabi Muslims mainly from Pakistan; and the Bangladeshis (Ballard 2003; Spencer 2002). Each of these migrant groups had its own specific reasons and situations behind migrating to Britain. The Indian state of Gujarat was a major manufacturing hub of cotton textiles. A large proportion of cotton textiles used to get exported by Gujarati merchants to Europe (Chaudhuri 1990). The peddler communities, who provided the foundation for mass migration after the end of the Second World War, were largely composed of Punjabi Sikhs and Muslims. This is because the British Indian regiments posted to France during the First World War were largely recruited in the Punjab. Thus, the Second World War, "the violent and disruptive partition of India at independence, and (in the early 1960s) the construction of the Mangla Dam uprooted hundreds of thousands of Punjabis and made them more willing to migrate" (Layton-Henry 1985, p.29). Finally, the reason behind the Bangladeshi community migrating to the UK was their recruitment as lascars[9] in the British merchant navy. In this way, these

[9] Lascars were sailors or militiamen from South Asia who were employed on European ships from the 16th century until the mid-20th century.

four communities gained almost "a monopoly of migratory opportunities within the British labour market" (Ballard 2003, p.5).

Once a tradition of migration is established, it tends to gain a momentum of its own and people become drawn in through patronage and sponsorship by the early settlers and by invitation of and persuasion by friends. When migration from the Indian Subcontinent began, it was not long before "migration chains were established with earlier migrants sponsoring friends and relatives" (Layton-Henry 1985, p.29). However, the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962[10] re-shaped the migration movement, by tightening the regulations, permitting only those with government-issued employment vouchers, limited in number, to settle. This Act "made entry more difficult" (Arnold 2012, p.213). Because of this Act, South Asian single male migrants were faced with the decision of whether to bring their families to join them or to return to their homeland. Sikhs and Hindus were the first to bring their families, beginning in the 1960s. At the same time, the Indians forced out of East Africa in the 1970s came as family units. Pakistani Muslims were more reluctant to expose their womenfolk to British morality, and did not begin large-scale family reunification until the 1970s (Peach 2006).

The destinations in Britain for these Asian migrants during this period were largely confined to the large metropolitan cities. Thus, the Asian groups were not only segregated from the white population, but also from each other. For example, "Indian Hindu and Sikh communities were concentrated in London, Leicester, Birmingham and Wolverhampton; and Pakistani communities in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Bradford, Leeds and Luton" (ibid, p.136). These migrants were "often non-English speaking, lived in multi-occupied housing group, and were employed in groups rather than as individuals, working in the metal-bashing industries of the West Midlands, the woolen textile mills of West Yorkshire, and the cotton mills of Lancashire" (ibid, p.136).

These communities shared many common things. Almost all of them were of rural origin, either peasant-farmers or craftsmen by trade, and very few of them had any significant

[10] Before the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962 was passed, citizens of British Commonwealth countries had extensive rights to migrate to the UK.

educational or professional qualifications. Yet despite the shared socio-economic background, members of each group followed differing routes of adaptation and upward mobility as the years passed. For example, as Ballard (2003) describes, the Gujarati Hindu community who made its way to Britain via East Africa, led the way upwards and outwards from the amateur positions from which they all began, and most members of the older generation used business enterprise as their stepping stone to success, usually starting with the corner shop, before moving on to establish much larger enterprises in either wholesaling, services or manufacturing.

So if we look at the pattern of settlement of the Asian migrants in Leicester, the majority of Asians who moved to Leicester came from the East African countries following the expulsions from Uganda, but a lot from Kenya. As these Asians had already migrated from India to East Africa, they are often referred to as "twice migrants" (Bhachu 1985). Many of these migrants were educated with entrepreneurial skills. They were mainly Gujarati speaking, well-educated, entrepreneurs who settled in Leicester along the Belgrave Road, and adapted easily to the local economy by establishing a successful Asian business sector (Buda 1986; Vertovec 1994).

3.5 Race Relations and early integration measures

The long history of migration to Britain has a crucial consequence of resentment, discrimination and racism being generated within the indigenous population. The migration from the Caribbean from the early 1950s to Britain following the restriction of entry into America, and migrant labour from the Indian Subcontinent in the 1960s increased. This "coloured migration" as it was universally called became the focus of growing grassroots racism and political unrest (Husband and Chouhan 1985, p.272). The question of what to do to counter racial discrimination emerged as a major dilemma in debates about immigration and race relations. Even at the early period of this migration in the 1960s, there was awareness that the question of racial discrimination was likely to become a significant political issue in the longer term (Solomos 1989). This Post-War mass immigration made an immediate impact and it evoked a need to control the immigration. The influx of immigration generated the political debates about this immigration and the control measures, which led to the introduction of the

Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1962, to control the flow of these migrants into Britain. However there was an underlying concern about the question of the future of race relations in British society (ibid). Although attempts were made to restrict the influx, this had to be balanced with the continuing need for labour and the need to keep faith with the people from the colonies that had been provided the right to enter and live in Britain. Thus, the first response of the British Government was to try to institute controls on the numbers of immigrants (Cantle 2008). The notion that the influx of these migrants would lead to problems in relations to housing, employment and social services was already widely articulated (Patterson 1969; Freeman 1979; Solomos 1989). As a result, the ongoing immigration of colonial migrants started to create tensions in terms of race relations between these migrants and British society. The race riots in Nottingham and London's Notting Hill in 1958 had "exhibited these tensions, and as a result, legislation was all but inevitable" (Cantle 2008, p.35).

Racist attitudes in Britain were not uncommon. They were part of the "national characteristics of insularity" and a continuation of attitudes from Britain's colonial rule, which carved a belief within the British society that they were "superior" to the people they colonised (Jones 1982, p.7). The famous provocative Rivers of Blood speech delivered by the Conservative MP Enoch Powell in April 1968 in Birmingham added to these racial tensions. Powell believed that the Commonwealth immigrants would not integrate into British society (Bleich 2003). In the 1960s, England was searching for a new post-imperial identity. Powell's "nationalism and outright racism" (Rich 1968, p.207 in Tomlinson 2008) provided a basis for this. Although Powell was sacked from the shadow cabinet, his "long-term legacy was an encouragement of a narrow white nationalism and suspicion of migrant communities" (Tomlinson 2008, p.24). Therefore, "in this hostile atmosphere the possibility of supporting immigrants, helping them to integrate and to develop positive interactions with the host community was extremely difficult" (Cantle 2008, p.35). There were two dimensions to this issue. Firstly, the negative response of the majority white population to the competition of black migrant workers in the labour and housing markets; and secondly, the frustration of black migrant workers who felt themselves excluded from equal participation in British society by the development of a colour bar in the labour and housing markets, along with related

processes of discrimination. Both these issues were perceived as potential sources of conflict, which the government had to manage and control (Solomos 1989).

Husband (1975) questions British self-perception of Britain as a tolerant society with a particular tolerance of immigrants, as the shallowness of British tolerance was clearly demonstrated in the popular uproar against the entry of East African Asians in 1968, when the number of UK passport holders from East Africa escalated massively following the dual pressures of Africanisation in East Africa and fear amongst East Africans, following the campaigns of Enoch Powell and Duncan Sandys, that Britain was about to exclude them. These fears proved well founded when the government rushed through the 1968 Commonwealth Immigrants Act "an act specifically designed to discriminate against the entry of black individuals into Britain" (ibid, p.17).

Tomlinson (2008) states that there was no recognition that the national life was in fact made up of a complex class system with a plurality of values. In particular, there was no official recognition that while white workers were happy to see black workers take jobs they did not want, there was disquiet that these workers should live amongst them, or that the middle classes had little intention of welcoming black and Asian neighbours into their suburbs. But by the 1960s the realities of colour and cultural difference had penetrated official thinking and a language of integration and pluralism had superseded assimilation. A large-scale study of race relations in Britain in the 1960s (Rose et al. 1969 in Tomlinson 2008) defined integration and cultural pluralism together as "a process whereby a minority group, while retaining its own culture and religion, adapts itself to and is accepted as a permanent member of the majority society; its members enjoy full political, civil and social rights and perform their obligations to society as equal citizens but may remain members of separate communities, preserving their own language within the home" (ibid, p.24).

Also at this time, the educational responses to immigrants were closely associated to the political views of the relationship of minorities to broader British society. As Schaffer (2014) states, at this point the government realised that those good race relations needed to be supported by measures of both restriction and integration. The decision of the Home

Secretary, Mr Carr to establish the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council (CIAC) in 1962 to address the "welfare of Commonwealth immigrants in this country and their integration into the community" highlights this developing governmental approach (ibid, p.18).

In 1963 the Ministry of Education launched the *English for Immigrants* pamphlet campaign to help with adult language education (HC Deb 1963, c130W). Furthermore, The CIAC produced a series of reports that recommended various means by which the welfare of immigrants might be improved, for example, in respect of education and housing. Its report called for innovative approaches to adult education, suggestions included language lessons that could take place in cinemas at the end of Indian films and the possibility of instruction through television. This suggestion began to focus the minds of government officials on the possibility of broadcasting educational programmes for immigrants on British television and radio. They also envisaged broadcasting provision for immigrants, which included more than just language training (Schaffer 2014).

During this period, the National Advisory Council for Commonwealth Immigrants (NACCI) was established in 1964, and later in 1965, a new National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants (NCCI) superseded both CIAC and NACCI. The NCCI supported a local voluntary network, providing information and support, as well as finance for professional staff working with the local committees (Cantle 2008, p.36). This funding was provided for extra staff in local authorities to cope with cross-cultural or multilingual issues. It intended "to encourage integration by providing extra resources to classrooms with substantial numbers of nonnative English speakers" (Bleich 2003, p.66). Thus, this was the beginning of efforts to address the social needs of immigrants and promote goodwill and integration.

During this period, the Race Relations Act of 1968 introduced new measures to improve community relations through the establishment of the Community Relations Commission (CRC), with a network of local Community Relations Councils, replacing the NCCI. The new Commission widened the scope of the 1965 Act, but its significance in terms of cohesion was in its aim to promote good relations between racial groups and help more

tolerance towards black and minority ethnic communities. This 1968 Act had at least begun to recognise that Britain had become "a multicultural community and that, as a consequence, the host community and the minority communities had to establish a rapport" (Cantle 2008, p.36). This was largely seen as the "integration of the immigrant" into the host community, rather than "an acceptance of, and respect for, separate cultures" (ibid, p.37). The CRC was now in a position to pull together the practical measures in order to aim for integration. These measures included special arrangements for the teaching of English to immigrants, which was the subject of a report by the CIAC and various government circulars.

Later, the concern for tolerance towards migrants was once again voiced in 1972 when Britain struggled to accommodate Ugandan Asians who were expelled by Idi Amin (Cantle 2008). In January 1973, Carr said in a speech that when Asians resident in Uganda were summarily expelled last year the Government immediately accepted its obligations to our passport-holders who had nowhere else to go and the people of this country responded with characteristic generosity to the plight of the refugees (Humphry and Ward 1974). But the mass expulsion from Uganda and the necessity to cope with it has regrettably created a new situation. Therefore, according to Carr, the government considered that "having a similar burden on it again would impose unacceptable stresses in British society" (Husband 1975, p.19). Carr also said that the government therefore thought it right at that time, when it had just swiftly and honourably accepted the Ugandan Asian refugees and when there was no threat to UK passport-holders elsewhere. It also wanted to make it clear that "we shall continue to accept our responsibility to UK passport-holders by admitting them in a controlled and orderly manner, and that this is reasonable and realistic reason for us to do if good community relations are to be maintained in Britain" (Humphry and Ward 1974, p.144). Therefore according to Husband (1975), with an overstated account of government's "honourable behaviour towards the Ugandan Asians and with a reaffirmation of our commitment to the welfare of our immigrants, Carr in effect washed his hands of responsibility for the many Asian UK passport-holders still resident in East Africa" (ibid, p.20). So during the 1960s, there was not much recognition that "the national life was in fact made up of a complex class system with a plurality of values" (Tomlinson 2008, p.25). Thus, a general consensus

developed throughout all levels in England, which regarded "further coloured immigration as anathema and viewed the current coloured population as representing a problem" (Husband 1975, p.18). By the late 1960s, the realities of colour and cultural differences had penetrated official thinking and a language of "integration and pluralism had superseded assimilation" (Tomlinson 2008, p.25).

At this point, the British government began to put pressure on British broadcasters to create output that could help reduce this tension and help with immigrant assimilation. This soon succeeded in yielding a particular type of programming, which, at least in the beginning, incorporated, an "underlying tendency…to encourage immigrants to conform to white British cultural norms, which involved abandoning or adjusting their traditional values" (Williams 2004 in Schaffer 2014).

3.6 Asian migration and British media

In multi-ethnic societies media plays a key role in educating both the minority and the majority population; it could also "manipulate and, indeed, generate conflict between ethnic minorities and the indigenous population and in this way either encourage the integration of ethnic minorities into society or force them to isolate themselves" (Anwar 1978, p.9). The issue of race, which caused conflict and argument over news media, would probably never had become acute if the news media had played a more positive role. According to Jones (1982), it was not unreasonable that "many ordinary insular-minded people in certain areas saw the continued arrival of many immigrants, strangers with strange habits as a threat to their insularity and to the security which that insularity brought them" (p.7). During the 1960s, the migrants and their children were known as "dark strangers" (Patterson 1963 in Tomlinson 2008). A fear-based stereotype was created, especially by the news media, identifying the Asian migrants, as a "coloured migration" (Husband and Chouhan 1985, p.272) with different colours, strong ethnic, cultural and religious differences. The general ignorance of news media and of ordinary people about these migrants was very obvious and the predominant attitude was that "if they come here then they must accept our customs completely…and the media had done nothing to dispel" (Jones 1982, p.7).

In Britain, a variety of mass media operations have been dominated by white interest through ownership, staffing and the product they produce (Husband 1975). In a modern industrial society like Britain the mass media play a significant part in sustaining the values and defining the immediate concerns of the society. This mass media provide a perspective from which the society views the world. According to Morrison (1975) the British national press has been a significant vehicle for maintaining an essentially white British discourse, it has predominantly reflected white racism, and white liberal values; it has an essentially white labour force. News media coverage at that time did focus on youth violence and therefore the identification of racial problems. Many of the earlier social problems such as housing and welfare services, which were associated with migration had always featured in the news media, but violence had always been "major news, and when it had added dimension of colour, it was not surprising that a pattern and stereotype was created", which caused huge damage to the pleasant race relations (Jones 1982, p.8).

According to Husband (1975):

> "If the news media provide a definition of events in Britain in which the black population are presented as threat whilst the realities of racial discrimination and the distribution of the vital social resources…receive only superficial coverage, then the British society should not be complacent about the future welfare of what is already a multiracial society; and similarly if the entertainment media…are still dominated by an image of Britain as a white society, then this should be of concern about the implications this must have for contemporary Britain" (ibid, p.15).

So throughout the 1960s, social and community workers could see the "two-fold damage that was being done; the self-respect of ethnic minorities was being attacked and increasingly they felt adversely discriminated against by the news media" (Jones 1982, p.8). Many social and community relations workers protested against this to the press. They also expressed their concerns to the Press Council. The news media in turn reacted by accusing the social and community relations workers of trying to influence them

improperly and retreated solidly behind the "gatekeeper" role (ibid, p.8). Stuart Hall[11] (1978) in *Five Views of Multi-Racial Britain*[12] says that the popular press was fond of saying that we had been subjected to a tidal wave and to suggest that if we cut off the flow of immigrants, then racism would subside (Jones 1982). This was a kind of extremism to look at the migration with a negative attitude. On the other hand, Lord Devlin (1971), the Chairman of the Press Council in his foreword to *Race and the Press*[13] says that "the classical view of the function of the Press is that it should present all the facts, which the public ought to know as fully and impartially as possible, and then should offer independent and unfettered comment" (Jones 1982, p.14). However this attitude of objectivity suggested by Lord Devlin led to an "increasing polarisation between the news media and those working for racial harmony" (ibid, p.15).

So it can be said that there are different aspects of the relationship between ethnic minorities and the mass media. The first concerns "the way ethnic minorities are projected by the institutions of the mass media", and the second concerns "the extent to which these minorities are given the opportunity of using the mass media to obtain information about social institutions in the host country in order to assist their members to adjust to their new environment" (Anwar 1978, p.10). According to Husband (1975), studies of television content indicate that the white ownership and control reflects itself in white content. Therefore, the representation of black and Asian people on television has been very much in the hands of white programme-makers (Pieterse 1995). It is not merely the absolute number of appearances of black actors in drama and comedy series, but also the fact that they have been offered only the minor supporting roles, and thus, television entertainment frequently fails to reflect Britain's multi-racialism. This has led to a strengthening of racial classification and the institutionalisation via mass media of specific images and representations of race (Hooks 1992).

[11] Stuart Hall was the former Director of the Centre for Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham.
[12] *Five Views of Multi-Racial Britain* was published by the Commission for Racial Equality by special arrangement with the British Broadcasting Corporation Television Further Education Unit in 1978. The contributors were 'Race in the Inner City', Professor John Rex; 'Racism and Reaction', Dr Stuart Hall; 'Asian in Britain: Problem or Opportunity?', Dr Bhikhu Parekh; 'Schools and Race', Professor Alan Little; 'Third World Perspective', Bishop Trevor Huddleston.
[13] *Race and the Press* is a compilation of four essays by Clement Jones, Peter Harland, Hugo Young and Harold Evans.

However the above concerns expressed by Anwar (1978) could be negated to some extent through the actual participation of ethnic minorities in broadcasting. When ethnic minority communities become active working members of the mass media, they themselves are in control, more or less, in portraying the real - and not stereotyped - image of ethnic minority communities. These communities, by becoming part of the mass media institutions, help in obtaining and disseminating information about the host country to their community members. In this way, ethnic minority audiences get connected with, rather than isolate themselves from, the mass media. And therefore, the Post-World War II period was critical in the history of British broadcasting with the rise in migration from all over the world to Britain, as this migration movement subsequently started reflecting in the broadcasting output. So what was the impact of this migration on British radio?

3.7 The role of the BBC as a Public Service Broadcaster

The BBC was the monopoly broadcaster in the 1930s up to 1955 in Britain. Pre-war British society was a highly traditional and hierarchical society (Chignell 2009). John Reith, the first Director-General of the British Broadcasting Corporation, introduced the public service tradition of British Broadcasting through the BBC. So what constitutes public service in the public service broadcasting (PSB)?

The term PSB was originally used to describe the state supported broadcasting corporations set up in Europe in the 1920s and 1930s, of which the BBC is the most well known example. So, the definition of broadcasting "as a public utility, and the mandate to develop it as a national service in the public interest" came from the state in the UK (Scannell 1990, p.13). Reith developed his ideas about radio as "an agent of public enlightenment and vehicle for the distribution of high culture" (Syvertsen 1999, p.7). Reith's idea of public service broadcasting was that "the BBC did not aim for profit, it strove to extend its service to the whole population, unified control was the guiding principle - not sectional pressure or regional initiative, and there was an emphasis on the public or the series of publics which together constituted the great audience" (Lewis and Booth 1989, p.58). It had "an educative role and the broadcasters had developed contacts with the great educational movements and institutions of the day in order to develop the use of the medium of radio to foster the spread of knowledge" (Scannell 1990, p.13).

Thus, Outside Broadcasts were used for the "reinforcement of national identity in the early BBC; these included religious services, opera, plays, dance music, speeches by public figures and sports" (Chignell 2009, p.83). People were treated with respect "as living audiences capable of growth and development" (Briggs 1961, p.236).

In Reith's idea of a public service broadcasting system, there was "an overriding concern for the maintenance of high standards and a unified policy towards the whole of the service supplied" (Scannell 1990, p.13). It ensured that the service must not be used for entertainment purposes alone, as it considered that the public service broadcasting had a huge responsibility towards the society. The protection of a "high moral tone - the avoidance of the vulgar and the hurtful - was of paramount importance" (ibid, p.13). From the earliest days, regular items in the schedules had included "talks, drama, religion, music, variety and special programmes for women, for farmers and fishing communities, for schools and adult education listening groups, and for children" (Lewis and Booth 1989, p.60). Thus, the interpretation of the definition of PSB, "the effort to realize its meaning in the development of a broadcasting service guided by considerations of a national service and the public interest" (Scannell 1990, p.13) originated from Reith's idea of public service broadcasting. However, another argument could be that the BBC's public service tradition began because of Reith's high-minded approach to the broadcasting. It began because "the wants and desires of the audience were largely ignored in favour of programming that would educate and inform" (Chignell 2009, p.63).

Although the origins of PSB can be found in the 1920s, a more recent interpretation emanates from the European Union. The role for PSB in Europe has been based upon the agreement by the Member States and certain European Council institutions that PSB has "social, cultural and democratic functions" (Council 1999b, para B). According to Briggs (1979), early supporters of PSB feared that local service would "split up the public into reduced, isolated groups, without insuring that any of these groups has access to real pluralism of information" (p.142). However, PSB is directly related to the "democratic, social and cultural needs of each society and to the need to preserve media pluralism" (Harrison and Woods 2001, p.480); and it is expected that PSB will ensure "broad public access, without discrimination and on the basis of equal opportunities" (Council 1999b,

note 4). Hence, PSB is considered as an instrumental in the development of an information society for all.

One of the roles identified for public service broadcasters as facilitators of PSB was that "they must seek to foster diversity by serving minority tastes and catering for all different sectors of the population" (Harrison and Woods 2001, p.481) and that "broadcasters produce programs deemed valuable to society" (Syvertsen, 2003, p.156). As the BBC was the only British broadcaster at that time, it believed, it had the responsibility of introducing the public service ethos to its diverse target audience. At the same time, the phenomenon of migration and integration obviously started to bring in a change in the existing media including the BBC.

In Britain, the mainstream media had been dominated, initially by the monopoly of the BBC, and after 1955, by the BBC/Independent Television Authority (ITA - later Independent Broadcasting Authority - IBA) duopoly. Apart from *Asian Club*, a live studio discussion programme on BBCTV from 1953 till 1961, for people of the Commonwealth, set up to commemorate 21 years of *the* BBC's General Overseas Service on which the radio version of *Asian Club* had been broadcast for ten years, British television had no targeted multicultural programmes until the 1960s (Malik 2001, p.56). These discussions included the topics such as the problems of living in Britain, Customs - East and West, The English: Are they human?, Britain and World Affairs. The BBC transmitted this programme each week to every part of the world (Genome BBC 1959). However, the BBC, through the Empire Service and the Overseas Service, did broadcast to people living in Asian countries. So there was a tradition of Asian language radio, but it was for Asians living in the Asian countries.

Thus, there were no programmes targeted at the Asian migrant community living in England. But, as this community settled in England, this migration movement influenced BBC's programming policy. C. A. Lewis, BBC's organiser of programmes, translates John Reith's high-minded principles into programming policy. Lewis indicates that one of the major criteria governing BBC programme making was to cater for the majority of the time to the majority of the public, though without forgetting the needs of minorities

(McDonnell 1991). As a result, the BBC started its Immigrants Programmes Unit (IPU) to produce programmes catering specifically to this migrant community to help them in their integration process. This demonstrates that it had been accepted in Britain that the public service institutions should provide a comprehensive range of programmes, serving both "majority and minority interests" (Hoggart 1985, p.4). Although the important question could be the amount of programming offered by the broadcaster to the various communities having diverse interests. We will discuss this aspect later in this thesis, when we discuss the insufficient radio programming output produced by the BBC and the ILR, and thus the need for having a separate platform for the Asian community. So how did the BBC realise this need of catering to the more diverse listener population in general and to the newly arrived migrants in particular?

The BBC, having the monopoly and being enriched with tremendous resources, was enjoying its status of public service broadcaster until the 1960s. It was also free from commercial pressures. Its public service ethos of informing, educating and entertaining the society gave it "a reputation for intelligent, accurate and unbiased reporting which won it respect among the most influential people in the country" during this period (Newby 1997, p.16). However at the same time, it saw a threat from the unregulated radio broadcasters that was a phenomenon of Britain in the 1960s. The unregulated radio broadcasters were broadcasting illegally in Britain because the British government was strictly limiting the airwaves by only allowing the BBC to broadcast. During that period, what the British audiences, especially the younger generation wanted was a pop music station, as "pop music had become an essential element of youth culture not only in the UK and America but in many parts of the world too" (ibid, p.16). As the BBC would not provide it, the unregulated radio broadcasters decided to broadcast from ships anchored outside the three-mile distance limit from the UK coast to protect them from the breach of the UK civil law. Needless to say, neither government nor the BBC was particularly fond of the unregulated radio broadcasters, and therefore they were pardoned. But at the same time, the BBC started thinking about its own programming ethos. Though the central aim of the BBC's public service broadcasting was to provide programmes of wide range and diversity, over a reasonable span of time for practically all kinds of taste, for large groupings and small. The BBC recognised that its audience was part of "majority and

minority groupings, belonging to overlapping constituencies of tastes and interests" (Hoggart 1985, p.3). And therefore, the BBC tried to avoid rigid preconceptions in the way provision was made.

Schaffer (2014) explains that in February 1965, Tony Benn, the newly appointed Postmaster General, wrote to the Director General of the BBC, Hugh Greene, about an article Integrating Britain's Immigrants published in *The Guardian* newspaper earlier that year. A journalist and India specialist Taya Zinkin wrote the article (Zinkin 1965). Zinkin fiercely attacked government inaction on race relations, warning that every wasted day made integration more difficult. A key part of Zinkin's proposed solution was a service for Indian and Pakistani immigrants on British television. She wrote that the BBC found time once a fortnight for a television programme for the deaf and dumb; it should find time, at least once a week, for a programme in Hindustani understood by both Indians and Pakistanis (Zinkin 1965 in Schaffer 2014). Benn was clearly impressed with Zinkin's argument. He suggested to Greene that the article opens up a most interesting possibility. Further to this, Greene referred the matter to Philip Mason at the NCCI, who suggested that "there should be special programmes for immigrant wives, and these should be in an Asian language, but mixed with English, in order to teach English and English ways" (Schaffer 2014, p.23).

Being a Public Service Broadcaster, the BBC had a particular duty to represent and serve Britain's ethnic minorities. According to Cottle (1998), this is not just because it has a responsibility to meet the needs of all the licence payers, but because the BBC is one of the key institutions through which people form a picture of the kind of society Britain is: whether it is inclusive or exclusive; whether it recognises and celebrates the value of cultural and ethnic diversity or falls back on old stereotypes and prejudice; whether it strives to increase mutual understanding and equality of opportunity or is content to allow hostility and disadvantage to persist (ibid 1998). However the BBC was not convinced having programmes specifically for migrants assuming such programmes on television

could aggravate racial tensions[14]. But in the early 1960s, government continued to lobby for immigrant programmes, particularly through the persistence of one minister in the newly formed Department of Economic Affairs, Maurice Foley who has an interest in immigrants and immigration. Foley was engaged in substantial research with race relations experts particularly at the NCCI. In particular, Foley shared two of the NCCI's key beliefs: the idea that immigrants needed to make the effort to integrate and that more innovative effort in language and cultural education was needed to facilitate this integration. He believed that immigrants needed to be given significant help to conform to British standards. And especially, Foley wanted "high-quality English language training to be available both to immigrant children and adults" (Schaffer 2014, p.24). It was not only the immigrants that Foley wanted to educate. He also called for television that would teach the white community about their black and Asian neighbours, programmes which presented coloured people as ordinary members of the community and explained sympathetically, the background of those Commonwealth immigrants who are now settled here (ibid). John Rex[15] (1978) in *Five Views of Multi-Racial Britain* clarifies the need for a programme of multi-cultural education, both of adults through the news media and of children through the schools. He states, "it is important in Britain today that all people and particularly people in all-white areas and those who occupy prestigious and powerful positions, should achieve a better and more sympathetic understanding of the minorities" (Rex 1978 in Jones 1982, p.18). Thus, such programmes were not just for educating migrants, but they were required for white people as well.

Foley's agenda can be explained as a desire to use the broadcasting media as a tool for social cohesion and integration, as he also wrote to Lord Hill, Chairman of the Independent Television Authority (ITA) requesting special programmes to be broadcast which would help immigrants to adapt themselves to the British way of life[16]. At the same time, Foley also initiated a similar dialogue with the BBC. In May 1965, Greene informed the Board of Management that he had met with Foley, who had "emphasised the urgency

[14] BBC WAC, File M2/37/2 - 1969 to 1973 – A report of the BBC's Asian Programmes Advisory Committee: Local radio for immigrant communities.
[15] John Rex, Professor of Sociology at the University of Warwick, has written on 'Race in the Inner City' in *Five Views of Multi-Racial Britain.*
[16] BBC WAC, File R78/1647/1, 'BBC Memorandum: Broadcasting and Racial Minorities'.

of the need for programmes in connection with language teaching in the case of Indians and Pakistanis and advice to immigrants about many aspects of life in Britain" (Schaffer 2014, p.26). Still, both Hill and Greene were not fully convinced about such television programmes. The BBC's objections to programmes for migrants ranged between principle and practicality. The BBC felt that the immigrants would not respond to such programmes, assuming that the migrants would not be interested in engaging with the output. It also assumed that the migrants were showing a lack of initiative towards familiarising with British life. The BBC was under the impression that the main intension of these migrants being in Britain was "to make money and return home" (ibid, p.27). However looking at these requests, although there was no question of a government demand for immigrant programming, there was similarly little wriggle-room for the broadcasters to dismiss Foley's approach out of hand. The BBC Board of Management minutes noted Greene's feeling that "in these circumstances…the BBC as a public service organisation could not resist such an appeal" (ibid, p.26). Thus, the government decided to provide some cultural and recreational facilities to the immigrant communities. In this respect, the government invited the views of MPs and leaders of the immigrant communities on setting up community activities. In view of the cultural background, the leaders put forward suggestions that cultural programmes should be provided through national radio and television[17].

As a result, in July 1965, Greene called two conferences in London. These conferences were organised with the Caribbean and Asian migrant community members and race relations experts. The aim of these conferences was to discuss what help the BBC might give in the task of integration to these migrant communities[18]. The first conference was with Caribbean representatives. Their advice was that the BBC should not provide separate programmes for West Indians, which would only tend to isolate them further; but rather that we should "educate the host community", particularly by using West Indians in programmes in contexts which reflected their present participation in everyday life[19]. The second conference was with representatives of communities from the Asian subcontinent,

[17] The Listener (London, England). Immigrant programmes, June 15, 1978; p.779; Issue 2564.
[18] BBC WAC, File R31/105/3, Greene to Learie Constantine, 21st June 1965.
[19] BBC WAC, File M2/37/1/ GAC/292, General Advisory Council, 3rd January 1968, p.1.

predominantly Indians and Pakistanis. This conference was organised to discuss with Asian migrant community representatives whether special programmes designed to assist these migrants with the problems of integration into their adoptive country would be welcomed. By reason of their separate, ancient culture and the fact that English is not their mother tongue, they welcomed the idea of special programmes, which, by reaching into homes, would help to overcome isolation, especially if language teaching could be included. They thought that it could help them "to overcome the problems of language and cultural and environmental differences"[20].

According to Anwar (1978) this proposal was readily accepted as the Asian representatives thought that the special programmes could help to break down feelings of alienation, particularly among Asian women, which resulted from differences of religion, culture and language. As a result, although Greene came to the meeting prepared to allocate a space on radio, the conference strongly advocated the need for a television programme also. And therefore, this was eventually agreed "despite the stringency of the financial climate at the time"[21] and the BBC's Immigrants Programme Unit (IPU) was an outcome of this.

3.8 The BBC's Immigrants Programme Unit (IPU)

Thus, the BBC established its Immigrants Programme Unit (IPU) on 10th October 1965 at Pebble Mill in Birmingham, UK under the leadership of the former Assistant Head of the Region, Indian-born David Gretton. It was decided to set up this unit in Birmingham, considering the large immigrant population in this area[22]. This Unit was set up to provide radio and television programmes specifically catering to the new migrants, including the Asian migrants[23].

This unit had separate Asian and African-Caribbean Units, to produce television programmes for the newly arrived migrant community. Later, the Multicultural

[20] ibid.
[21] ibid.
[22] ibid.
[23] BBC WAC, File R165/54/1, Report on the contribution made by broadcasting to meeting the educational needs of immigrant workers and their families in Great Britain, November 1977.

Programmes Department was set up in 1991, bringing together the previously separate Asian and African-Caribbean Units at the BBC Pebble Mill Centre in Birmingham (Cottle 1998; Morar 1995). Gretton outlined that his goal was to help Indian and Pakistani immigrants "to reduce preventable ill health by helping them to understand the language, the people, the institutions and the physical resources of life in English towns"[24]. The Birmingham location had been chosen, he explained, "because the main concentrations of these immigrants are in London, the West Midlands and the West Riding of Yorkshire" (Schaffer 2014, p.36).

Foley appeared in the Unit's first programme's introduction and said:

> "I hope you will find them entertaining and useful… so that you can settle happily amongst us. In the world of today we all need to know a great deal more about each other. This is one small contribution towards showing you something of ourselves and the society in which you live" (BBC 1965).

This unit began producing weekly-networked radio and television programmes aimed specifically at the Asian community[25] every Sunday on radio on the BBC's Home Service and on television on BBC1. This inclusion of Black faces and characters, the exploration of "Black Issues", the training and recruitment of Black programme-makers, and the designation of Asian and African-Caribbean Units stemmed, to a large degree, from the debates around access and public service broadcasting during the 1970s and 1980s (Malik 2001, p.56). Thereafter, the BBC has been publicly committed to serve its ethnic minority audiences, both through targeted programmes and services and through fair representation in mainstream radio and television output (Cottle 1998). As the former Managing Editor of the Multicultural Programmes Department, Narendhra Morar has stated that this area of programme making has had a "long, chequered and sometimes, controversial history" (Morar 1995, p.2). Cottle (1998) explains that according to Morar these were designed to help integrate newly arrived Asian immigrants into their new environment through practical advice; and act as a link with the Indian sub-continent through performances and

[24] BBC WAC, File M2/37/1/ GAC/292, General Advisory Council, 3rd January 1968, p.1.
[25] BBC WAC, File M2/37/1, A report of the BBC's Asian Programmes Advisory Committee, 1965 to 1968, p.1.

interviews. They were presented in "Hindustani - a hybrid of Hindi and Urdu, the official languages of India and Pakistan respectively" (ibid, p.299). The Immigrants Programme Unit also appointed two Production Assistants – one Indian and one Pakistani[26] – to represent both the countries for both the radio and television programmes. Mahendra Kaul was appointed to represent India and Saleem Shahed was appointed to represent Pakistan, Kaul and Shahed having previously worked in Indian and Pakistani radio respectively[27] (Genome BBC 1970; Schaffer 2014; Salam[28]). Thus, this Immigrants Programme Unit service began in October 1965, three months after the conference.

It was intended that the programme content of the Immigrants Programme Unit should include advice and information on various topics relevant to the immigrants' daily life. For example, discussion of immigrants' problems and status, success stories of immigrants, interviews with celebrities, and teaching of the English language. It was also apparent that an educational programme would be more appealing if it were mixed with entertainment, which could attract an even larger audience. Thus, attempts were made to meet all these demands and this intention is summed up in the title chosen *Make Yourself at Home*[29]. The guests on this programme discussed carrying out essential domestic routines such as taking children to school or finding their way on the bus. The emphasis of this programme was placed on serving recently arrived wives and school-age children joining their Asian husbands and fathers. Its task was to answer questions, and to sweeten the jaw-breaking complexities of housing or nationality with a little traditional song and dance. Contributors spoke in a combination of Hindu, Urdu and English. The radio programme was broadcast on the Home Service from 8.10am to 8.40am on Sunday mornings (BBC 1965). This programme included record requests, general information and a simple lesson in English. The television programme was transmitted on BBC 1 on Sundays from 9am to 9.25am with a repeat on Wednesdays from 12.30pm to 12.55pm. This programme included '*Can I help you*' items, interviews, discussions, music, dancing

[26] BBC WAC, File M2/37/1/ GAC/292, General Advisory Council, 3rd January 1968, p.1.
[27] ibid.
[28] S. Salam, see Appendix 1; Salim Salam worked as a community radio campaigner for the Asian community in this country during the 1980s; he was also part of the short-lived Asian Radio Studio Project funded by the Greater London Council (GLC) in 1985.
[29] BBC WAC, File M2/37/1/ GAC/292, General Advisory Council, 3rd January 1968, p.1.

and clips from Indian films[30]. As these programmes were mainly designed to help integrate newly arrived Asian migrants into their new environment through practical advice (Malik 2002), the assimilationist philosophy informing these programmes was clear in the Immigrants Programme Unit's programme titles such as *Make Yourself at Home*, *Nayi Zindagee Naye Jeevan* meaning (New Life) and *Can I help?*[31] (Cottle 1998; Anwar 1978).

To help the BBC and the IPU in steering the right course, an Immigrant Programmes Advisory Committee was set up. It met for the first time in November 1965, and continued to hold meetings regularly two or three times a year. This committee was set up under the Chairmanship of Philip Mason who was then Director of the Institute of Race Relations[32]. There were about fifteen members including representatives of the Indian and Pakistan High Commissions and of the previously mentioned Community Relations Commission (then the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants - NCCI), and the various sections of the communities concerned. This committee and the Asian community welcomed and enjoyed these initiatives by the BBC and recongnised the BBC's sense of public service[33].

From the beginning, all broadcasting was done in Hindi and Urdu languages, which was known as a Hindustani language, this being the language most generally comprehended by the various immigrant communities. Urdu being the official language of Pakistan and Hindi being the official language of India, these were the two literary forms of a common vernacular language, which were widely spoken and understood by Indian and Pakistani communities. Urdu draws on Persian, Hindi draws on Sanskrit, however the intention was to use simple language with a minimum of Persian and Sanskrit words[34]. As discussed earlier, there was an issue of the choice of the language of the programmes. This issue was fundamental considering the diversity in terms of regions and languages these

[30] ibid, p.2.
[31] BBC WAC, File M2/37/1/ GAC/292, General Advisory Council, 3rd January 1968, p.1.
[32] BBC WAC, File M2/37/2 - 1969 to 1973 – A report of the BBC's Asian Programmes Advisory Committee.
[33] BBC WAC, File M2/37/1 - 1965 to 1968 – A report of the BBC's Asian Programmes Advisory Committee.
[34] BBC WAC, File M2/37/1/ GAC/292, General Advisory Council, 3rd January 1968, p.2.

immigrants brought with them. According to Gretton[35], Hindustani was the correct choice for programmes for immigrants to reach the maximum possible target with Hindi/Urdu and maximum possible communication is the object of the exercise. However, this language choice and its description as Hindustani was highly controversial considering the India (also knows as Hindustan) - Pakistan relations in the climate of the Indo-Pakistani war. The decision drew immediate criticism from the Commonwealth Relations Office (CRO) prior to the first broadcast amid concerns that it was "unacceptable to Pakistan" (Schaffer 2014, p.37). At this time, the BBC needed to be diplomatic, and therefore, Gretton assured the CRO that the term basic Urdu would be used alongside Hindustani to maintain impartiality.

The programme also offered informal language lessons in everyday English and music from Indian and Pakistani films. According to Gretton[36], who organised and produced the series, the English lessons would provide an opportunity for people who had recently moved to Britain from India and Pakistan to cope with everyday situations. These lessons would teach the words and phrases needed, and convey a reassurance that these situations were not too difficult to be faced (BBC 1965).

However, after around six months the Immigrants Programme Unit started these programmes, the Advisory Committee recommended that the English teaching element should be switched from radio to television. It also suggested that an accompanying booklet should be prepared. This advice was accepted and the programmes were redesigned[37]. The radio programme broadcast on the Home Service included twenty minutes of record requests of a popular nature, and eight minutes of answers to questions asking for general information, read by an anchor and answered by a visiting expert and occasional light topical items. The television programme transmitted on BBC 1 included general information and entertainment items as before, plus one eleven-minute English lesson aimed at the total beginner, particularly the women in the home. The idea was to use the direct method of teaching by using spoken English only. The teaching method also

[35] ibid, p.1.
[36] ibid, p.1.
[37] ibid, p.2.

included actions and films to point out the meaning. Some written captions were used, however it did not overlook the fact that a large proportion of the audience was illiterate even in its own language.

The BBC also published booklets to cover English lessons with word lists and vocabulary in Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi, Bengali and Gujarati scripts. It was a success as the first booklet sold 12000 copies. As a result of this success, it was planned that, by the autumn of 1968, BBC television would have broadcast four courses of thirteen English language lessons. The Advisory Committee took the view that these were sufficient to provide any beginner with a start, which would enable him not only to communicate in everyday terms with those around him, but also to take advantage of the many other forms of instruction provided locally by Local Authorities and others. Thus, the province of these programmes was not beyond this preliminary stage[38]. However, it was recognised that there was a continuing influx of new immigrants who could still benefit together with those who had never joined the original courses. Therefore, from the autumn of 1968, it was proposed to turn the Sunday morning session on television wholly into a magazine programme, and to use the Wednesday morning space, previously used to repeat the Sunday programme, for re-running the 52 language lessons, together with some music or film clips, so that the immigrants will get two programmes a week instead of one[39].

A volume of letters received, which in some weeks reached the 300 mark, demonstrated the huge response from the audience, and it was evidence that there was a sizeable audience for these programmes. The majority of these letters were record requests in a flood beyond the power of the Unit to stem or satisfy. But there was also a continual flow of questions about immigration, education, careers, employment, medical services, income tax, housing, and marriage laws - in fact all those complexities of life in a highly urbanised Western state which prove most baffling to an Indian or Pakistani villager. Many of the letters showed that the programmes had won the confidence of viewers and listeners who regarded the Unit as "we" and not "they"[40]. These letters, though on

[38] BBC WAC, File M2/37/1/ GAC/292, General Advisory Council, 3rd January 1968.
[39] ibid, p.3.
[40] ibid, p.4.

individual problems, provided a wide application of material for broadcasts. The Unit also tried to answer all letters by post. This represented an extra social service job for the Unit, which was fully occupied with broadcasting. But the letters and answers were regarded as an important link with the Unit's audience. This Unit also gave advice and information not just in response to the letters received, but also on its own initiatives or at the suggestion of Departments, Local Authorities etc. While dealing with questions, the Unit got advice from Ministries, Local Authorities, NCCI, and local liaison officers, voluntary bodies, and public and private organisations[41].

Thus, the aim of this Immigrants Programme Unit was to assist integration of the newly arrived Asian migrant community in England. It offered new migrants help in understanding the ways and customs of their hosts, a forum for the discussion of their own special problems and prospects, and some sustenance for their own culture and tradition, and it tried with its English lessons to provide a bridge to help to breakdown the isolation of the migrants from the community with whom they were unable to communicate.

However, the volume of such multicultural programmes produced by the Immigrants Programme Unit was very low compared to the volume of the Asian migrant population in England at the time. Although the Immigrants Programme Unit appointed two Production Assistants of Indian and Pakistani origin to represent these countries for both the radio and television programmes[42], it still was not in proportion with the existing Asian population in the country. However, it can be argued that although the production of multicultural programming had undoubtedly undergone a process of evolution and development reflecting "assimilationist, race-relations, multicultural and anti-racist agendas" (Cottle 1998, p.300), the fact still remained the same, that how much multicultural programming output was produced, how much airtime was allocated for it, and very importantly what time of the day the programmes were broadcast, how frequently and on what channel.

[41] BBC WAC, File M2/37/1/ GAC/292, General Advisory Council, 3rd January 1968, p.4.
[42] ibid, p.1.

3.9 The BBC's plans for local radio - background

During the 1960s, radio technology advanced and the Post Office, which was the government department responsible for the broadcasting, became less worried about how its lines were being used. Thus, the BBC prepared an overall plan for local broadcasting and began to discuss it with the Post Office. Then the Government put this idea to the Pilkington Committee, which was set up to look into the future of broadcasting, and in 1962, the Pilkington Committee recommended the introduction of the BBC local radio (Partridge 1982), and a new chapter of the BBC local radio began.

The localness of local radio had always been part of its appeal, and therefore, "local radio brought the BBC closer to the people, and helped justify the claim serving neighbourhood and nation" (Lewis and Booth 1989, p.90). The Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Social Insurance and Allied Services, which is commonly known as the Beveridge Report of 1951 "raised the issue of a local authority or a voluntary agency being charged with introducing local radio for a greater diversity and independence of programmes" (Lewis 2012, p.9). The Beveridge Report considered the uses of VHF - Very High Frequency - broadcasting. It suggested that "the use of VHF could make it possible not merely to give the existing BBC programmes to people who now fail to get them, but to establish local stations with independent programmes of their own, making possible a greater diversity" (Partridge 1982, p.10). Thus, it recommended local radio experiments on the new VHF (FM) frequencies. The BBC's Director of Radio, Frank Gillard, who is also called the architect of BBC Local, made investigative visits to small American stations and later initiated a number of experimental local services, which received a favourable listener response, but the Conservative Government was not convinced that there was public demand for local radio (Lewis 2012; Partridge 1982).

The 1960s saw two linked issues influencing the development of radio in the UK. First, when home-grown talent, spearheaded by the Mersey Sound and the rise of the Beatles, created a demand for a media other than television that could be owned by this rising audience, as a growing youth audience was influenced by popular music. Secondly, the development of the transistor enabled a new portability in receiver equipment. Thus what was lacking for the youth audience was the appropriate radio content. The BBC Light

Programme broadcast a small number of popular music programmes, but Radio Luxembourg's evening output was still the only source of a genuine record-based music radio. During this period, movements began among certain independent radio production companies, which had made programs for Radio Luxembourg, toward the concept of a legal framework for commercial radio within the United Kingdom. But it met with a consistently negative response from the Labour government of the time, and the idea of a true competitor for audiences against a BBC that virtually retained its monopoly of radio broadcasting seemed as far away as ever (Street 2009).

The year 1964 saw a significant development with the first broadcast of Radio Caroline, started by a young Irish entrepreneur, Ronan O'Rahilly. It had the "all-day music format" (Partridge 1982, p.6). The sound was radically different from anything heard on UK radio before, the BBC had to face a tough time and once again found itself off-sink with its audience. As Chignell (2009) states, unregulated radio was important "as an example of how liberation from regulatory control, and the restrictive practices of the BBC, made a new and innovative style of music radio, and a whole raft of new music, a possibility" (p.139). The Labour Government, which returned to power in 1964, was unwilling to take decisive action against popular unregulated radio stations. However, the movement created by the activism of the offshore stations made change inevitable; history has shown that BBC policy is often responsive to outside influence, and such was the case in the media climate of the late 1960s. The popularity of unregulated radio became one of the reasons behind the creation of the BBC Local Radio experiment. The BBC prepared an overall plan for local broadcasting and began to discuss it with the Post Office. The government put this idea to the Pilkington Committee, which was set up to look into the future of broadcasting. The Pilkington Committee found no evidence of great public demand for local radio, however it added, "if people do not know what they are missing, they cannot be said not to want it" (Pilkington 1962, para.811). The Committee recommended the introduction of BBC local radio in 1962 (Partridge 1982). As a result, the government considered authorising a two-tear experiment of local radio to be run by the BBC, by giving the go-ahead for the BBC to launch eight local radio stations.

During this time, a parliamentary act was devised to silence the stations, making it illegal not only for them to broadcast, but to be supplied from British shores. When the "Labour party's Government came into power after the victory in the 1964 election, the Marine Offences Bill was passed" (Lewis 2012, p.10). Thus in June 1967, the Marine Broadcasting (Offences) Act came into effect, which effectively prevented the unregulated radio stations operating. Soon after that illegal radio stations were closed down (Partridge 1982). Within two weeks of the ship-based stations coming off the air, many of the stations' presenters were broadcasting on Radio 1, the BBC's first pop-music station aimed exclusively at a youth market. Thus the start of a generic broadcasting along cultural strands led to the creation of networks, such as BBC Radios 1 to 4 in 1967. It was the 1967 Marine Offences Act, which effectively "prevented the unregulated radio stations operating and gave the go-ahead for the BBC to launch eight local radio stations" (Lewis 2012, p.10).

At the same time, the BBC's director of radio, Frank Gillard created BBC local radio. During the early 1960s, there had been a major development in transmitter technology, with the expansion of very high frequency - VHF (FM) to cover 97 percent of the UK population. At this time, the majority of UK radio listening was carried out on either medium wave (MW) or long wave (LW). The high-quality, low-power capability of VHF made it possible for the same or similar frequencies to be used by various broadcasters in different parts of the country. Thus VHF was the ideal carrier for Gillard's experiment in local radio (Street 2009). In Christmas 1966, the Government considered to authorising a two-tier experiment of local radio to be run by the BBC. In November 1967, these local radio stations were opened at Leicester, Sheffield, Liverpool, Nottingham, Stroke-on-Trent, Brighton, Leeds and Durham (Partridge 1982; Street 2009; Lewis 2012; Linfoot 2011). These radio stations were "different than the present BBC radio stations with respect to finances, programming schedules and broadcasting frequency" (Lewis 2012, p.10). These stations were different in three respects: "they were largely financed by their local authorities, they had Local Broadcasting Councils appointed directly by the Postmaster General, who were closely involved in policy making on programme schedules, content and finances; and they broadcast only on VHF - Very High Frequency" (Partridge 1982, p.4). A BBC policy pamphlet *Local Radio in the Public Interest* was

published a year before their launch. It predicted that "the opportunity to speak on air would come to great numbers of people who had never broadcast before, and many new programme forms and techniques would emerge based on community participation" (Lewis 2012, p.11).

Initially these local stations had to be co-funded by the BBC and local authorities. Leicester was the first one, because its council had volunteered not only to fund the running costs, but also the capital investment. Though the experiment was successful, the government concluded that "the local authority financial support was not enough to sustain a permanent service and therefore local radio would need to be financed out of an increased licence fee" (ibid, p.4). The BBC was then given the go-ahead to further expand. By the early 1970s, the requirement of the local authority funding was dropped, and stations spread across the country. Thus, the trial was deemed to have proven a case for local radio, and other stations began to roll out, remaining a part of the Britain's radio map ever since. Also, many city-based stations later expand their remit to cover an entire county (ibid).

During this period, the BBC began to appreciate the potential for "specialisation, decentralisation and democratisation" (Lewis and Booth 1989, p.89) with a local radio service. The then Managing Director of the BBC radio Frank Gillard, widely regarded as the founder of BBC Local Radio, identified early on the vision. Michael Barton was the first Manager of BBC Radio Sheffield during 1967-1975, and later became the Controller of BBC Local Radio during 1975-1988. According to Barton[43], "Gillard's brainchild was to give the communities of England their own localised services". Thus the original idea was "to bring the BBC closer to the audience, which the Pilkington Committee supported in its 1962 report" (Stoller 2010, p.211).

As Briggs (1995) explains, each station would undertake a continuous and detailed task in many different forms and through a multitude of local voices, the running serial story of local life in all its aspects. Frank Gillard's challenge was to ensure that his local radio

[43] M. Barton, see Appendix 1.

stations were there to be used by the local community. The BBC also used its local radio stations for the educational purpose of its local community. Therefore, each BBC local radio station in England had an Education Producer. The job of the Education Producer involved identifying and meeting the educational needs of the community that the station was serving. Keith Yeomans was an Education Producer at BBC Radio London in the 1970s. Yeomans (1977)[44] worked across a very broad field, everything from pre-school education through to higher education. His work included adult education and broadcasting to schools. According to Yeomans (1977)[45], BBC Radio London broadcast specific educational programmes aimed at the ethnic minorities. The station had programmes called *Black Londoners* aimed at the West Indian and African listener community, and *London Sounds Eastern* aimed at the Asian listener community. These programmes included a variety of elements such as music, interviews, news bulletins, traffic reports etc.[46].

3.10 BBC local radio for the Asian community

At this time, the BBC started considering local radio as a better platform for Asian broadcasting (Barton)[47]. Owen Bentley worked as the Station Manager at BBC Radio Leicester from 1975 to 1982. According to Bentley[48], the BBC always thought that local broadcasting was a better position for Asian broadcasting. After the introduction of the BBC's Immigrants Programme Unit's programmes, for the Asian migrant community informing and advising them about their daily life in Britain, "the Asian community was very willing to seek these programmes out; though there were a few cinemas around, there was nothing like the choice of Asian media that anybody living today can access" (ibid)[49]. So these local stations were given the responsibility of responding to the Asian need for programming during the mid-1970s. Therefore, BBC Radio Leicester, with a large Gujarati-speaking population, started taking steps to satisfy the demands of its Asian

[44] Keith Yeomans's interview by Dick Fletcher published in *Educational broadcasting international*, September 1977.
[45] ibid.
[46] ibid.
[47] M. Barton, see Appendix 1.
[48] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[49] ibid.

listeners who represented about 10% of the population (Barton)[50]. Thus, the BBC introduced Asian radio programming output through its local radio station in Leicester in the 1970s.

The idea was that the BBC's professional broadcasters would provide a framework and training, but the flesh on the bone had to be provided by the community; the community would come forward and actually make their own programmes. There were obvious opportunities for extending the service for immigrants from local radio stations where appropriate. Radio Leicester has a regular fifteen minutes programme called *Getting Together*, which was introduced by a mature student from the University of Leicester and included interviews, and a course of English lessons[51]. There were programmes that were clearly educational or informative. Some of the examples of these Asian radio programmes are *Milan*, *The Six O'Clock Show*, *Good Morning Leicester* and *Tony and his friends* on BBC Radio Leicester; *Nawrang* on Radio Nottingham; and *Black Londoners* and *London Sounds Eastern* on BBC Radio London. Thus, what was important to these stations was "being able to target output to the needs of their respective audiences" (Linfoot 2011, p.286). As these local radio stations developed, Asian migrant community members started getting involved in such programmes.

Yeomans (1977)[52] explains that BBC Radio London started using different networks of local government and national agencies, which were working with the migrant communities "to use them as a sounding board for getting information" (ibid, p.2). The idea was that the member of this migrant community would come on board as a presenter of the programme who would be directly accountable to the community they were serving. It was expected that the presenter – who was also a community member – "must spend a great deal of time talking to people informally, moving around, meeting new people in order that the programme can be seen to be fulfilling their needs… as meeting people was probably the greatest source of new ideas"[53].

[50] M. Barton, see Appendix 1.
[51] BBC WAC, File M2/37/1/ GAC/292, General Advisory Council, 3rd January 1968, p.5.
[52] Keith Yeomans interview by Dick Fletcher published in *Educational broadcasting international*, September 1977.
[53] ibid.

3.11 Conclusion

So, this was the beginning of BBC local radio's involvement in their local communities including the Asian migrant community. However, as Salam[54]; Sharma[55]; Kotak[56] argue, this provision was not necessarily sufficient in proportion to the amount of the Asian population living in different parts of England. Everitt (2003) argues that the BBC has not played a leading role in the development of radio run by the communities, despite being the Public service Broadcaster. However, it can also be argued that this was at least a beginning of community-oriented radio broadcasting for the Asian community. Frank Gillard considered this new local service similar in terms to the later experiment of Access Radio by stating "local radio will provide a running serial of local life in all its aspects, involving a multitude of local voices; what one might call the people's radio" (Everitt 2003, p.16).

The next Chapter will look at the contribution made by BBC local radio in catering to the Asian migrant community through its programming output during the 1970s. It will also look at the contribution from the Independent Local Radio (ILR) services. The chapter will further explore the need of having programming output not only to inform and educate, but also to entertain this Asian migrant community while settling down in the new country.

[54] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.
[55] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[56] D. Kotak, see Appendix 1.

4. Chapter Four: 1971 – 1980: From representation to participation

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we looked at the migration movement of the Asian community to England, and how it influenced the BBC's programming output by initiating Asian programmes on the BBC television and radio through its Immigrants Programme Unit (IPU) since the mid-1960s. The BBC decided to produce specific programmes aimed at an Asian audience through this unit. The aim of this unit was to provide the newly arrived immigrants help in understanding the ways and customs of their new country of settlement, and to offer a platform to discuss the issues they were facing and to assist them in integrating into British society. To help this, the BBC also established an Immigrant Programmes Advisory Committee, which subsequently became the Asian Programmes Advisory Committee in 1974. At the same time, with the introduction of the Broadcasting Act of 1972, commercially funded Independent Local Radio (ILR) services, regulated by the new IBA, were introduced and approved in the Broadcasting Act of 1972. This was another possible avenue for the British as well as Asian radio enthusiasts to try to use it for serving the Asian listener community, again for entertainment, information and education.

Also, during the 1970s, there was a shift from reorientation or getting used to the environment of the country of settlement to the issues related to community relations and integration, after the racial conflicts aroused earlier with reference to the riots and political issues such as Enoch Powell's provocative speech. With the introduction of the Race Relations Act of 1968 there was a beginning of promoting good race relations and more tolerance and acceptance towards immigrants. As mentioned in the previous chapter, this act introduced new measures to improve community relations by establishing the Community Relations Commission (CRC), with a network of local Community Relations Councils. The CRC's efforts in helping the migrant community to integrate in the host society and in building good race relations included special arrangements for the teaching of English to migrants. As at this point, the British government began to put pressure on British broadcasters to create output that could help with migrant assimilation, the BBC thought that its local radio service could be a good platform for migrant community

integration. This chapter closely reviews the further migration of Asians to Britain. It also reviews the subsequent efforts of the BBC in catering to this migrant community, through its local radio service during the 1970s. This chapter also explores the need of having programming output not only for information and education purposes, but also for entertainment purpose for this Asian migrant community while settling down in the new country.

4.2 The continued migration

As discussed in chapter two, there has been a flow of migrants from various walks of life since the seventeenth century and earlier (Arnold 2012; Ballard 2003; Parekh 1997; Peach 2006). The migration rate increased radically after the Second World War when the Indian and Pakistani migrants targeted Britain as their country of settlement. During the 1960s, the huge numbers of Indians and Pakistanis were arriving almost daily in Britain. It had started to cause worry among certain conservative politicians, who feared that the uncontrolled influx of so many Asians of completely different social, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds would have a weakening effect upon British society. The most notable of these politicians was Enoch Powell, whose courage to bring up this subject in the House of Commons brought criticism. Powell and his associates campaigned for tighter controls. According to Buda (1986), the Conservative Party Government of the time refused to acknowledge that any problem existed. But after much political pressure, it finally released immigration figures, which supported this argument of potential problems due to this migration. These figures were immediately called into question, not only by the immigration officials, but also by the Government. Therefore, the Home Secretary Richard 'Rab' Butler pressed for legislation, and the Cabinet appointed a committee in 1960. Butler oversaw the production of the Bill that became the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962[57]. Thus, government applied immigration restrictions in 1962.

[57] The Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962 provided that, with effect from 1 July 1962, citizens of Commonwealth countries, with certain exceptions, became subject to immigration control.

Thus, in response to a perceived heavy influx of immigrants, the government tightened the regulations, permitting only those with government-issued employment vouchers, limited in number, to settle (Buda 1986; Katznelson 1973). In this way, it controlled the immigration of all Commonwealth passport holders, except those who held UK passports. A fear that even this exception to the restrictions might soon be removed prompted most of these relatives to apply for permission to join their kin in Britain. Coming for the most part from rural areas with no systematic family registers, they found it difficult to prove their identity or relationship, and many genuine relatives and dependents were refused entry by overzealous immigration officials (Buda 1986). This created a chaotic situation with many hopeful immigrants arriving in Belgium, Holland, and Germany, and then paying smugglers enormous sums of their entire life savings to carry them by boat or light aircraft across the North Sea to England. Many of these illegal immigrants promptly fell into the hands of Asian gangsters, who offered protection from the immigration authorities in return for wretched overcrowded accommodation and virtual slave labour in secret factories and workshops (ibid).

Labour had fiercely opposed Commonwealth immigration controls but was later forced to reconsider. The experience of the 1964 elections, in which prominent opponents of immigration control lost seats, indicated the act had widespread support. Around this time, two developments happened which forced further Asian migration to Britain. In 1968, the Africanisation in East Africa escalated the arrival of UK passport holder Asians from East Africa, when "the shallowness of British tolerance was clearly demonstrated in the popular uproar against the entry of East African Asians" (Husband 1975, p.17). The government was "panicked by reports predicting a mass expulsion of Asians from East Africa and began to make contingency plans for legislation" (ibid, p.18). These fears of Britain getting flooded with the Asian migration forced the government to rush through the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1968[58]. This Act was "specifically designed to discriminate against the entry of black individuals into Britain" (Husband 1975, p.17).

[58] The Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968 widened the control to include persons who were citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies either by birth in a colony or by registration in a Commonwealth country before it became independent.

This concern for tolerance was once again being raised in 1972 when Idi Amin expelled large numbers of Asians from Uganda. Idi Amin's decision left hundreds of thousands of African Asians stateless. Britain was forced to accept most of them on humanitarian grounds and the second great wave of Asian immigration hit the Britain. Most of these East African Asians were the descendants of Punjabi and Gujarati settlers who left India at the beginning of this century to take part in the opening up of the African interior, either as merchants and businessmen, or as labourers on the new railroads being constructed (Buda 1986; Arnold 2012). It was again treated as the Asian migration "problem which revolved around the reluctance to accept responsibility towards UK passport holders who were being expelled from Uganda" (Husband 1975, p.17). Since the majority of migrants were of Asian origin, there was a concern that migrants who are already settled here would stand to suffer more than anyone else from the rate of new immigration (ibid). Amongst such controversy, the government permitted the immigration of around 28,000 Asians through a specially constituted Uganda Resettlement Board[59].

Most of the Asians from Uganda settled in Leicester. For example, Mala Kotecha from Leicestershire was born and grew up in a town called Jinja in Uganda. She had to leave Uganda when she was 15 because of the expulsions of Asians from Uganda. She recalls that Leicester had actually put an ad in the newspaper saying, please do not come to Leicester, that's how most of the Asian Ugandan population got to know about Leicester, and thus arrived in Leicester[60]. The Immigration Act of 1971 made these restrictions formal. It tightened the immigration control administration and made some provision for assisting voluntary repatriation. As a result of these measures, Commonwealth citizenship no longer gave automatic right of entry to Britain. However, an exception was made on humanitarian grounds to relatives and dependents of immigrants already resident in Britain. As a result, thousands of Asian residents in Britain suddenly and miraculously acquired enormous families of wives, children, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, and cousins living in India and Pakistan (ibid).

[59] In its Interim Report 1972, the Uganda Resettlement Board described the arrangements made by the Board for receiving the main influx of Uganda Asians between September and November 1972.
[60] The National Archives (web archive) - *Moving Here* Stories.

In January 1973, the Home Secretary Mr Carr said in a speech that when Asians resident in Uganda were suddenly expelled in 1972, the government immediately accepted "its obligations to the UK passport holders who had nowhere to go and the people of this country responded with generosity to the plight of the refugees" (Humphry and Ward 1974 in Husband 1975, p.17). But the mass expulsion from Uganda and East Africa created a new situation for Britain, in which the government started considering that to have a similar burden again would impose strains and stresses on British society. However, Asian migration to Britain continued to be a constant phenomenon and it had its own repercussions on British society and particularly the BBC. Here we will see how the BBC considered its local radio service as the best platform to cater to the Asian migrant community.

4.3 The BBC's local radio service

So, the late 1960s and early 1970s saw transformation in terms of BBC's radio programming output. The government had beaten the unregulated radio stations. The launch of Radio 1, 2, 3 and 4 demonstrated "the start of the modernisation of the BBC" (Newby 1997, p.17). As discussed in the last chapter, during this period, the BBC began to appreciate the potential of a local radio service due to its "decentralisation and democratisation" qualities (Lewis and Booth 1989, p.89). Frank Gillard, the Managing Director of the BBC radio at the time, envisaged the potential of having local radio service to bring the BBC closer to the audience for the betterment of the local community. The plan was that each station would undertake a continuous and detailed task in many different forms and through a multitude of local voices, the running serial story of local life in all its aspects (Briggs 1995). The local radio Station Managers were encouraged to reflect local life as closely as possible in programming output, by addressing the issues of the local community, as well as involving members of the community in the broadcasting process. Michael Barton was the first Manager of BBC Radio Sheffield during 1967-1975, who later became the Controller of BBC Local Radio during 1975-1988.

According to Barton[61], this meant the inclusion of a range of voices:

> "As fledgling managers, we were encouraged to reflect local life - in all its forms - as closely as possible and that we should involve members of the public in the whole broadcasting process; we were about to 'democratise' the microphone".

Gillard's brainchild was to give the communities of England their own localised services. His challenge was to ensure that the local radio stations were there to be used by the community. The original idea was "to bring the BBC closer to the audience", which the Pilkington Committee supported in its "On The Future of Broadcasting" published in June 1962 (Lewis and Booth 1989, p.211). The Pilkington Committee report recommended that the BBC should provide "local sound broadcasting on the basis of one service in some 250 localities, and these stations would have a typical range of five miles" (Partridge 1982, p.11).

This was a period of debate within the BBC whose proposals for change were put forward in a report entitled *Broadcasting in the Seventies*. The debate did result in big changes in the early 1970s which included abolition of the radio-only licence resulting in the television licence financing all BBC operations from then onwards, the ending of the Post Office's control of broadcasting hours and the passing of responsibility for broadcasting in the UK from the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications to the Home Office (Newby 1997). One effect of *Broadcasting in the Seventies* was the growing number of local radio stations. The report stated that the local radio experiment, which started in 1967, had proved that there was a demand for local radio and that the BBC should put forward to the Postmaster General a provisional scheme for expanding the BBC's local network to about forty stations. It emphasised that there was a need to redefine public service broadcasting, if decisions were to be made as to what type of programme was suited to public service broadcasting. It also suggested that minimum requirements would be, first, the provision of programmes for minorities at times and on frequencies, which made them generally available and, second, a deliberate policy aimed, to some extent, at raising the level of public taste.

[61] M. Barton, see Appendix 1.

As per the recommendations of the Beveridge Report, the BBC local radio stations experimented using VHF (FM) Frequencies for broadcasting. It was believed that this technology would encourage a better diversity (Lewis 2012; Partridge 1982); however, most portable radios at the time could not receive these frequencies (Hendy 2007). Originally, the concept behind introducing the BBC local radio was to provide a local community-orientated radio service covering specific local areas. However, gradually, the BBC local radio structure became more regional in nature, covering wider geographical areas, adopting a countywide approach, whereas ILR expansion focused on cities and towns (Wray 2009). Therefore, it would be interesting to understand the introduction of the Independent Local Radio (ILR) sector apart from this positive move of BBC local radio services.

4.4 The Independent Local Radio (ILR) sector

At this time during the 1970s, there was a General Election in Britain and the Conservative Party came to power. The radio industry is "shaped by the political and cultural values of governments" (Hendy 2000, p.12). Unlike the Labour Party of the time, the Conservatives stood for free enterprise rather than state-supported industry, by placing the introduction of commercial or independent radio in its manifesto (Street 2009). It published a White paper on commercial radio in March 1971, which required it to offer "a truly public service and not be simply a vehicle for carrying advertisements" (Partridge 1982, p.6). This was the time of the introduction of commercial local radio, which was "privately owned local radio financed from advertising" (ibid, p.5). This commercial market-based model of radio broadcasting was framed around "the needs, wants, and desires of the audience…the audience, in fact, the product of a radio business which is sold to advertisers" (McCain and Lowe 1990).

Thus, the plans for the legal establishment of independent, land-based commercial radio were approved in the Broadcasting Act of 1972. The Sound Broadcasting Act allowed for the start of commercial independent local radio to be regulated by the new Independent Broadcasting Authority. This was the beginning of the independent commercial local radio against a backdrop of political change (Wray 2009).

Thus, the Conservative government introduced commercial local radio, which was owned privately and financed from advertising. The Annan Committee, which was set up to look into the future of local radio and the funding of broadcasting, proposed the Local Broadcasting Authority (LBA) to break the rigidity of the present duopoly of BBC and IBA and to give local services the chance to develop in a variety of ways. The first ILR station to broadcast was significantly an all-speech station, the London Broadcasting Company (LBC), opening in October 1973 (Partridge 1982). The intention behind being a speech-based station was to demonstrate that UK radio funded by advertising, was a legal and genuine form of radio, unlike the American-style music based unregulated radio stations of the 1960s. Just eight days later, Capital Radio began broadcasting, again in London. It was mainly a popular music station. As other stations came on air over the coming months and years, the IBA requirement for a balanced output led to blandness in the radio broadcasting. A Programme Sharing Scheme was established to allow participating stations to exchange material that went beyond purely local content. It was done to demonstrate that ILR could produce quality programs to rival its BBC counterparts (Street 2009).

There was a difference between independent and commercial radio in the context of the UK radio scenario. This new radio service followed Independent Television as its model. ITV had been conceived as a public service, and so independent radio was following the same path, together with a responsibility to answer to listeners rather than to shareholders in the first instance. It was also very heavily regulated, with specific weekly targets for speech content, including prescribed religious programming durations and the requirement to spend a proportion of profits on the development of live music and community events. Many unexpected and remarkable programs resulted in this over-structuring and regulation, but within the uncertain and volatile political climate of the 1970s in Britain, the first legitimate radio competition to the BBC found it hard to survive, while at the same time compromising its identity; this was not the concept of commercial radio that the advocates would have envisaged (Street 2009).

The IBA established a separate radio division to oversee ILR. John Thompson, the Head of the IBA's Radio Division, outlined his vision[62] for ILR (Thompson 1976). Barnard (1989) explains Thompson's four distinctive themes. The first was that ILR should be distinctly local; it was to be of its area as well as for its area; though no single shareholder was allowed to own more than 20 percent, typically around 80 percent of each company's shares were locally owned to ensure a high level of local involvement (Allen 2011). In a way, it was expected that ILR station staff would draw advice and knowledge from locally-based directors and shareholders. The second theme was that ILR stations would be part of the community, which they served. This was to be achieved by encouraging community participation, via phone-ins, outside broadcasts and coverage of local politics, religion and sport. In this way, ILR stations would serve the whole community through the use of mixed programming - music interweaved with news, local, national, international, information slots and phone-ins (ibid). The third theme was that ILR would be seen as "an alternative radio service in addition to what was provided by the BBC, nationally and locally, through the information, education and entertainment that it provided for its listeners" (ibid, p.62). The fourth theme was quality, as it was important to demonstrate that ILR was not simply a land-based version of the off-shore unregulated radio stations, who had only been taken off the air a few years beforehand. Each ILR station was obliged to spend three percent of its net advertising revenue on live music, to show that ILR would not be a radio juke-box, and also to satisfy those involved in the music industry such as writers and the Musician's Union. Many local pop and rock groups, orchestras, and even big bands benefited from this policy (ibid).

David Vick worked at the IBA from 1975 until 2003. Vick[63] explains that throughout the first phase of ILR development, undertaken under the aegis of the IBA, the procedure for the advertisement and award of franchises and the regulation of programming was determined by the requirements of the Broadcasting Act 1973. The IBA in the 1970s and 1980s had much less freedom to decide its priorities than the Radio Authority would later be given. Crucially, it was the government, through the Broadcasting Department of the

[62] John Thompson, the Head of the IBA's Radio Division, outlined his vision for ILR while speaking to Music Week in October 1976.
[63] D. Vick, see Appendix 1.

Home Office, which decided how many areas could have ILR stations, which areas they were, and at what speed the ILR system could develop. There was, for example, a gap of over almost four years from 1976 till 1980, when no new stations came on air while the government reviewed its broadcasting strategy. Under the 1973 Act, the programming on ILR had to be provided by programme companies who were awarded contracts, sometimes also referred to as "franchises", by the IBA. The IBA owned and operated the transmitters, for which the programme contractors paid an annual rent (Vick)[64]. Thus, the IBA was regarded as the broadcaster, and was accountable to the government for everything that was broadcast.

So the period of the early 1970s saw a growth in the number of BBC local radio stations as well as the introduction of the Sound Broadcasting Act of 1972, which initiated ILR stations (Newby 1997). So how did these localised radio services benefit England's Asian community during this decade and what was the BBC's role in catering to this listener community? As discussed earlier, the BBC started catering to the Asian target audience through its Immigrants Programme Unit (IPU) since 1965, and it had received a positive response. As a result, the BBC started considering local radio as a better platform for Asian broadcasting (Barton)[65]. Before we further discuss the BBC's contribution in the Asian radio programming, let us understand the concept of ethnicity, ethnic media and multicultural broadcasting.

4.5 Ethnic media and multicultural broadcasting

So what does ethnicity mean? According to Spencer (2006), the concept of ethnicity is derived from ethnikos, the Greek word for heathen, which broadly means someone who does not belong to a widely held religion. According to Hall (1996), the term ethnicity acknowledges "the place of history, language and culture in the construction of subjectivity and identity" (p.447). In the modern era, ethnicity has come to be generally used as a term for collective cultural identity, highlighting that a community or ethnic group are created in relation to others. The others become a mirror from where awareness of the difference of ethnicity arises (Nguyen 2008). According to Hall (1996), "the

[64] D. Vick, see Appendix 1.
[65] M. Barton, see Appendix 1.

concept of ethnicity, in the form of a culturally constructed sense of Englishness and a particularly closed, exclusive and regressive form of English national identity, is one of the core characteristics of British racism" (p.447). However, in comparison with the term race, "ethnicity is generally taken to be a more inclusive and less objectifying concept" (Spencer 2006, p.45). So what is ethnic media? Ethnic media can be defined as the media by and for an ethnic community in their own languages including in English, especially for the next young generation. It can be any sort of media platform like television, radio, online, print, magazine catering to a specific ethnic community. It could be in one language or it could be bilingual that reaches a very specific community.

The relevance of ethnic-minority media in maintaining the language and culture of the population has been adequately discussed in academic literature (Browne 1996, 2005; Husband 1994; Riggins 1992). Ethnic media are media that are produced by and for a particular ethnic community. Ethnic media vary with regard to who produces them. Producers may be members of one ethnic community living in one city or town, but producers can also be big media organizations whose activities span the globe. The audience of ethnic media can be different from ethnicity living in a neighborhood of a huge metropolis, but it may also be comprised of people with the same ethnic background living in various countries around the world. The content of ethnic media may be focused on the life of a particular ethnic community, the news from a home country, or both. This applies to ethnic radio too. As defined by Riggins (1992), ethnic minority radio aims to promote the development of the cultural identity and expression of a country or area, to be an instrument of participation for the population in the development of local life, to increase the flow of information between the population and its institutions and to facilitate learning techniques and methods of communication. Ethnic radio helps its listener community to actively participate in their own radio station even more easily compared to other forms of ethnic media. This is possible due to the less complicated nature of the radio medium, whether that is an audio recording or radio presentation. Ethnic community who may be facing educational, social and cultural boundaries and barriers, can get on to their ethnic radio station more easily due to radio's incomparable characteristic of an intimate invisible friend. Ethnic radio helps the ethnic community to be part of their own community as well as to integrate within the wider society of their

country of residence where they have migrated - Leicester's Sabras Radio station and Southampton's Unity101 Community Radio station are some of the examples of ethnic radio in England.

And, what is multicultural broadcasting? There is no specific definition of multicultural broadcasting. However, it can broadly be defined as the programming that reflects the multicultural nature of society - reflecting diversity of cultures and communities throughout all programmes; programming with a specific perspective, but with appeal to a wider audience; and the specialist programming (Hargrave 2002). Multicultural programming needs to pay attention to the relevance for the particular audiences being served; the variety of voices and opinions being presented through that particular medium; the manner in which portrayals are presented in the media, with an understanding of the cultural and ethnic background of characters (ibid).

According to Deuze (2006), the attention paid to diversity issues in general and ethnic minority issues in particular in European mainstream media has gone down in recent years, prompting a network of multicultural and media organizations, representatives of ethnic minorities, politicians and individuals in 49 different countries to draw up a European Manifesto of Minority Community Media in 2004, calling for recognition of minority community media as a basic public service. Ethnic minorities in Britain now have a wide choice of media sources, including domestic and overseas-based ones including major television and web based sources (Eatwell 2006). It can be seen that these communities are transforming from merely consuming media to collaboratively producing different types of media as per their needs. It can either be produced by and for people in small-scale geographical, interest-based communities or virtual communities. Community media has become a platform to inform their audience communities with useful information and entertain them in their own language. It is a platform for discussion and exchanges of ideas within the minority communities as well as between the minority and the majority communities. However, it does seem that the most inspiring way to understand the success of all kinds of media is to look at the ways in which such media act to include people's voices as participants, next to, and perhaps more so, than trying to represent their voices as audiences (Deuze 2006). Ethnic media can help its community to

integrate within the non-ethnic, indigenous society; but it can also keep it aloof as ethnic communities often tend to use and produce such media to find news and information not only about their current place of settlement, but also of their country of origin. Ethnic media provides news and information in their own languages, as well as it helps in fostering and maintaining cultural unity and identity. As Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada (2002) state, the radio station is a platform for identifying and analysing problems and their solutions, thereby determining development inputs that truly meet local needs. Thus, ethnic minority media becomes part of the media diet of people without necessarily replacing other, existing mass media on offer (Deuze 2006).

Also, ethnic media do support ethnic cohesion and also help minorities to integrate into the larger society. Riggins (1992) argues that ethnic media reduce as well as increase cultural complexity in terms of a community's identity-formation process. Whatever representation ethnic media generate, at the same time it reproduces the content of the mainstream mass media. Lay and Thomas (2012) state that ethnic media are seen to facilitate a sense of community cohesion. Media producers and community leaders highlight the role that ethnic media play in fostering this cohesion, believing that they not only play a role in bringing people together, and creating harmony between different communities, but are seen as being at the heart of the community. It seems clear that ethnic groups use media in various ways to simultaneously become parts of and to distance themselves from other groups (Deuze 2006). The BBC being a Public Service Broadcaster identified the need to cater to its ethnic minority community audience.

4.6 The BBC's multicultural broadcasting for the Asian community

The BBC considered that it had a particular duty to represent and serve England's ethnic minority community audience. This was not just because it had a responsibility to meet the needs of all licence payers, but because the BBC was one of the key institutions that reflects the kind of society it is (Cottle 1998). In a 1975 memorandum on the subject of race relations, prepared for the Annan Committee on the Future of Broadcasting, it was noted that the BBC shared the basic moral attitude, which supported the Race Relations

Act[66] through its programming output. But what proportion of these special programmes catering to the ethnic minorities with the minority population? The report *Broadcasting in the seventies* criticised the BBC's new proposals to cut down on educational and cultural services appealing to minorities which a commercial broadcasting system was unlikely to supply. It argued that Radio One was a replication of Radio Caroline; Radio Two was all about music; Radio Three was mostly serious music and Radio Four was largely a speech programme. So if the BBC was successful in implementing its new plans, the listeners would be left with little more than a facade of public service broadcasting, and thus the policy of trying to improve public taste would be completely abandoned.

However, it cannot be overlooked that since the 1960s, the BBC had quite successfully achieved being publicly committed to serve its ethnic minority audiences, both through targeted programmes and services and through fair representation in mainstream radio and television output. According to Cottle (1998), the BBC publicly declared itself to be committed to enhancing the representation of Britain's ethnic minorities, both on and behind screen. In terms of programme production and output the BBC was perhaps more transparent, and has pledged itself both to the provision of targeted ethnic minority programmes and enhanced mainstream programme representations. The report *Broadcasting in the Seventies* suggested that the medium should not be dominated by professional broadcasters, because there was an inherent danger that their professionalism and their specialisation could lead to an isolation from new ideas emerging in the free society. There was also a danger that the professionals could exercise an arrogance that could curb innovation and bend the public to preconceived ideas of their own, rather than allowing ideas to emerge, as they would do through free communication. Therefore, it was necessary for the medium to give minorities not only the opportunity of hearing the programmes that they wanted to hear, but also of participating in the production of those programmes.

[66] BBC WAC, File R78/1647/1, 'BBC Memorandum: Broadcasting and Racial Minorities'.

According to Bentley[67], the BBC always thought that it should cater to the ethnic community audience. After receiving a positive response from the Asian migrant community to the initiative of the Immigrants Programme Unit (IPU), the BBC considered that local broadcasting was a better position for Asian broadcasting. According to Cottle (1998), the examination of the corporate context of BBC programme production helps explain how programme representations of ethnic minority communities and interests all often fail to give robust expression to those contending inter-and intra-community differences, agendas and identities. The report *Broadcasting in the Seventies* stated that local audiences had a right to the public service broadcasting; local minorities had a right to be catered for, and they would not be catered for at all if commercial broadcasting companies were doing it. After the introduction of the BBC's Immigrants Programme Unit's programmes about language teaching and on the *Make Yourself at Home* idea, "the Asian community was very willing to seek these programmes out; though there were a few cinemas around, there was nothing like the choice of Asian media that anybody living today can access" (ibid)[68].

As a public institution the BBC had a responsibility for catering for majorities as well as minorities. It was the responsibility of the broadcasting institutions to ensure that the public got value for the money, which they were investing, and this should include the minorities as well as the majority. So the BBC local stations were given the responsibility of responding to the Asian need for programming, and "what the staff felt themselves to be was midwives to the community" (ibid)[69]. The idea of the local radio stations was to provide a framework and training to the community members who were interested in exploiting this medium. As a result, one of the first tasks for Barton, as Manager of Radio Sheffield, was to set up a Radio Advisory council, the chair of which was appointed by the Postmaster General. This Council agreed that minorities should be represented on radio. Since Sheffield had a considerable Asian population, one of its members was appointed on the board, which helped the committee in getting a better spread of ideas and opinions from the ethnic community which represented around 8% of the population

[67] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[68] ibid.
[69] ibid.

at that time (Barton)[70]. The idea was that under the guidance of the BBC's professional broadcasters, community members would start creating radio content for the community. There were obvious opportunities for extending the service for immigrants from local radio stations where appropriate.

Thus, what was important to these stations was "being able to target output to the needs of their respective audiences" (Linfoot 2011, p.286), and also making the Asian community members involved in such programmes. Local radio could be successful only when the community members ran it for non-commercial benefit. The intentions of local community radio lay close to the heart of that contemporary desire, shared by so many, for a less centralized, less commercialized but more personal and participatory structure (Partridge 1982). At this time, according to the Commission for Racial Equality's report, the BBC decided that provision of minority broadcasting, particularly in mother-tongues, "could be most effectively carried out by local radio stations, which were considered to be more flexible in responding to specific audience needs" (p.118). So now focus was being shifted from just representation to the actual participation of the Asian migrant community in radio programming output.

4.7 From representation to participation

Thus, the BBC's local stations were given the responsibility of responding to the need of the Asian community of having specific radio programmes targeted at them. As the local radio stations developed, areas with a significant Asian population who wished to make programmes found themselves on the air (Bentley)[71]. By December 1970, around 12 BBC Local Radio stations were producing programmes for the local migrant communities in their areas[72]. Radio Birmingham had a programme called *East in West* specifically aimed at the Pakistani and Indian listeners. It was broadcast "twice a week on Sunday 4pm and Monday 7pm for an hour each, and was presented alternately by Saeed Zafar and Mohamed Ayuub. The programme consisted of Asian records" (ibid, p.1).

[70] M. Barton, see Appendix 1.
[71] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[72] BBC WAC, File RWMM/AAC HQ Unit, Summary of BBC Local Radio Programmes for immigrants, August 1972.

In the report[73] about Local radio for immigrant communities, the station manager of Radio Birmingham said, "I feel we ought to do everything we can to get immigrants to contribute to the whole range of programme output" (ibid). Radio Blackburn had a weekly 40-min programme *Mehfil*[74] on Fridays at 6.45pm and repeated on Sundays at 9.30am. A Pakistani community member Nasim Bajwa presented it in Urdu and Gujarati presented it. It consisted mainly of "local news and record requests, and was produced by the station's Education Producer" (ibid, p.1). Radio Derby had a weekly half hour programme for the Asian community called *Sangam*[75], which was presented by an Asian national from Nottingham University and the programme included an *English by Radio* lesson provided by Bush House, together with record requests and topical interviews. This programme was broadcast on "Mondays at 6.40pm and was repeated on Tuesdays at 4.55pm" (ibid, p.1). Leeds being the major destination for the re-settlement of the Asian migrant community, Radio Leeds has a half hour programme of music and information called *For the Asian community – Jhalak*[76]. This was a "weekly programme presented by an Asian national in Hindustani language every Sunday at 7.30pm" (ibid, p.2).

London was a significant destination for the Asian migrant community, BBC Radio London also started an Asian radio programme *Jharoka*[77] in Hindustani using two presenters, a Pakistani and an Indian. This 20-minute programme broadcast every Friday night included a summary of the week's London news as well as the Indo-Pakistani news prepared by Bush House. Also there were interviews with prominent visitors from the Indian sub-continent and a limited number of record requests. There was another programme *Darpan*, which was broadcast on Friday nights. This programme has the same format as *Jharoka* but "was in Bengali - one of the regional languages of India - and having an Indian presenter" (ibid, p.2). The station manager of BBC Radio London supported the idea of having language programming by saying, "a member of my

[73] BBC WAC, File M2/37/2 - 1969 to 1973 – A report of the BBC's Asian Programmes Advisory Committee – Local radio for immigrant communities, p.2.
[74] BBC WAC, File RWMM/AAC HQ Unit, Summary of BBC Local Radio Programmes for immigrants, August 1972.
[75] BBC WAC, File RWMM/AAC HQ Unit, Summary of BBC Local Radio Programmes for immigrants, August 1972.
[76] ibid.
[77] ibid.

Advisory Council has put forward a strong case for programmes in Punjabi, Hindi, Bengali or Urdu – I agree that he has a good case"[78]. Both of these radio programmes were popular among the Asian immigrant listener population from the Indian subcontinent living in England, however later around the mid-1970s, BBC Radio London encouraged English programming for London's multicultural community, and started broadcasting an English programme *London Sounds Eastern* which was a combination of entertainment, and information by replacing it with the existing Asian language programmes *Darpan* and *Jharoka*[79].

BBC Radio Manchester had a programme called *Eastward Northwestwards*[80], which was a request programme mostly of Indian film music presented in English and Urdu by the station's Education Producer, and by Iqbal Ahmed, the Editor of the Mercurian Indian Newspaper. The object of this programme was mainly educational, aimed at mothers and children at home, to explain to them the meanings of spoken English in their own language. This programme was broadcast on Thursday night and repeated on Friday afternoon (ibid, p.2). However, the station manager of BBC Radio Manchester had a different point of view that "language programmes could be done better at a national level"[81], and the station manager of BBC Radio Medway said, "I do not consider it a good idea to do these programmes in the immigrants' own language; our job should be to help integrate them into our society, and not keep them as a separate community"[82].

Despite this, after consulting the local Community Relations Officer, BBC Radio Medway discontinued the existing *Link*[83] programme, which was broadly, aimed at all the immigrants, and decided to broadcast a programme specifically aimed at the Indian and Pakistani audience in Punjabi - one of the regional languages in India and Pakistan – and to include music by local groups as well as Indian film music and 'what's on' information

[78] BBC WAC, File M2/37/2 - 1969 to 1973 – A report of the BBC's Asian Programmes Advisory Committee – Local radio for immigrant communities, p.2.
[79] The Listener (London, England). Immigrant programmes. Thursday, June 15, 1978; p.779; Issue 2564.
[80] BBC WAC, File M2/37/2 - 1969 to 1973 – A report of the BBC's Asian Programmes Advisory Committee – Local radio for immigrant communities, p.2.
[81] ibid.
[82] ibid, p.1.
[83] BBC WAC, File RWMM/AAC HQ Unit, Summary of BBC Local Radio Programmes for immigrants, August 1972, p.3.

(ibid, p.3). BBC Radio Merseyside had a programme policy, which did not cater for minorities in specific time slots preferring instead to include such topics within the existing programming output. However there was a "weekly 5-minute bulletin of *Community News*[84] on Monday evening produced in cooperation with the Liverpool Community Relations Council" (ibid, p.3). BBC Radio Nottingham had a weekly 40-minute informative and entertainment programme called *Nawrang*[85] for the Indian and Pakistani community. "Ray Rahmann from Pakistan presented this programme in Urdu on Friday evenings, and it included a mixture of local news and record requests; because of the popularity of this programme, it was extended to one hour" (ibid, p.3). Radio Oxford broadcast the *English by Radio*[86] series every Saturday evening, which was repeated on Monday afternoons. Sheffield being another major destination for the Asian migrant community, Radio Sheffield had a 40-minute programme called *Majlis*[87] alternatively in Urdu and Bengali languages. This programme consisted of a local news bulletin, a talk or interview, an English lesson, and music. The "Sheffield Community Relations Officer Ali Rasul, together with Pakistani and Bangladeshi colleagues, presented this programme on Saturday evening" (ibid, p.3). Similarly, Radio Leicester with a large Gujarati-speaking population started taking steps to satisfy the demands of its Asian listeners who represented about 10% of the population (Barton)[88]. It had a regular fifteen minute programme called *Getting Together*, which was introduced by a mature student from the University of Leicester and included interviews, and a course of English lessons[89].

By the early 1970s, there was quite a large radio programming output servicing local Asian community on a range of BBC local radio stations across England. In addition to these regular series of programmes, local stations produced 'one-off' programmes, often to reflect special festivals, such as Ramadan or locally significant events organised by the immigrant community. As (Page 1983) claims, by providing special programmes for ethnic minorities, whether in teaching language skills, improving knowledge of rights and

[84] ibid.
[85] ibid.
[86] BBC WAC, File RWMM/AAC HQ Unit, Summary of BBC Local Radio Programmes for immigrants, August 1972, p.3.
[87] ibid.
[88] M. Barton, see Appendix 1.
[89] BBC WAC, File M2/37/1/ GAC/292, General Advisory Council, 3rd January 1968, p.5.

services or in providing cultural entertainment, the radio can "help to create a sense of belonging for the new communities who have settled in Britain" (ibid, p.163). What was important to the local stations was being able to target output to the needs of their respective audiences. The intention was to help them understand the society they were living in, and ultimately integrate in to that society.

Radio firstly has an obligation to make sure that the society, which is being portrayed in programmes, whether fiction or non-fiction, is an accurate reflection of contemporary multi-racial Britain, and secondly, radio has a role to play in catering to the special needs of the new communities who face problems in getting adjusted in British society. Both are crucial tests because unless they take these tasks seriously, they are not only failing to play a positive role in the process of integration, but they are also in danger of losing the confidence of the minority communities, and of adding to the barriers which already exist between different communities. Therefore, radio's position is an extremely sensitive one, and particularly so when race relations is in the forefront (Page 1983; Kotak[90]; Sharma[91]; Bentley[92]).

This is not an easy task because ignorance of the culture of the minorities, and sometimes prejudice against it, is as common among the British as ignorance of the British way of life is common among many of the immigrants. However if the broadcasters can do this, then they can strengthen their ability to act as a mediating influence in the multi-racial society which is being created (Page 1983).

At the same time, there was an on-going debate within BBC Local Radio concerning programmes for immigrant groups. It was related to whether it is desirable to segregate matters of immigrant interest into a specific time slot or whether their culture should find its way into the whole range of the stations' output[93]. The most important factor considered in making a decision in this matter was the size and nature of the target

[90] D. Kotak, see Appendix 1.
[91] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[92] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[93] BBC WAC, File RWMM/AAC HQ Unit, Summary of BBC Local Radio Programmes for immigrants, August 1972.

immigrant audience in any particular area. For this reason, the programme policy relating to immigrant programmes "was left to the individual station to organise its own output to serve and reflect the immigrant groups within its audience to meet local requirements appropriately"[94].

However some of the BBC local radio station managers were not convinced about having separate programmes mainly produced for the migrant communities, fearing that it may not help them integrate, on the contrary it would increase the gap in society by keeping the migrant community isolated from the rest of society.

The station manager of BBC Radio Bristol said:

> "We are very anxious that we should not give the impression that we are setting immigrants apart from the rest of the population"[95].

The station manager of BBC Radio Stoke said:

> "I have serious doubts – about programmes which divide off one section of the community. In the long run this might well be more divisive than integrative"[96].

There were also issues about provisions for multiple minority languages. Some of the local radio production staff began to report tensions they were experiencing as they worked with their local communities, in terms of allocation of time slots to various communities within the locality.

Despite the programming innovations for the Asian migrant community, local programme organisers were facing some issues as they worked with their local communities. For example in Nottingham, there was jealousy between the West Indian group and the Asian one, each making their own programmes. The latter had some wealthy supporters who managed to pay their presenter a fee. By contrast, the West Indian programme just had

[94] ibid, p.1.
[95] BBC WAC, File M2/37/2 - 1969 to 1973 – A report of the BBC's Asian Programmes Advisory Committee – Local radio for immigrant communities, p.1.
[96] ibid.

free use of the facilities (Linfoot 2011). The station manager of Radio Nottingham considered the language programme on Radio Nottingham as a failure because communities could never agree. They failed to offer ideas and frequently failed to turn up for recordings or broadcasts'[97].

BBC Radio London encouraged English programmes for London's multicultural community. According to its Education Producer Keith Yeomans[98], the station's Asian programme *London Sounds Eastern* was an ideal combination of entertainment, and information. It was a music-based programme, and each week, the presenter Vernon Corea, who had spent more than 20 years broadcasting over the whole Indian subcontinent, carefully chose a range of music reflecting the rich variety of languages, nationality and religion shared by Asians living in London. It also catered to the wider needs of this community. A weekly bulletin from the Minority Arts Advisory Service, plus letters and telephone calls from community groups, kept the audience in touch with the increasing range of music, dance and drama available in London. The programme included shows of leading performers to keep listeners in touch often in their own language. Education was also a key element in the programme; the programme covered topics such as English classes for Asians, which received overwhelming response by receiving a few hundred inquiries in one week[99].

Although the BBC was producing Asian language programmes on its local radio stations, a feeling of insecurity in not understanding what was being said in foreign languages was a frequent concern for the local station managers and programme organisers. For these reasons, a number of local radio stations had set up immigrants advisory panels, which proved extremely useful in providing both publicity and feedback in relation to Asian programmes[100]. This was an indication that centrally the BBC was trying to organise its provision "to make sure it accurately reflected local needs and demands and not just the

[97] ibid, p.2.
[98] The Listener (London, England). Immigrant programmes. Thursday, June 15, 1978; p.779; Issue 2564.
[99] The Listener (London, England). Immigrant programmes. Thursday, June 15, 1978; p.779; Issue 2564.
[100] BBC WAC File RWMM/AAC HQ Unit - 1972 - Summary of BBC Local Radio Programmes for immigrants, p.4.

prejudices of the station managers" (Linfoot 2011, p.288), and thus, there was a shift towards more integration across the output within the BBC.

BBC Director-General Charles John Curran delivered an address[101] for the 7th anniversary of immigrants' programmes. In his address, Curran commented on the BBC's programmes for Hindustani speaking migrants. He said that all the arguments about what the BBC should do - what language the BBC should use, how much time should be given to programmes, how the BBC should keep in touch with the audience, and what the BBC should do to meet their needs and interests - were already being put forward and the same questions have continued to be discussed ever since. However, in this address[102] Curran also emphasied that the BBC had chosen to broadcast in simple Hindustani language, as that was the language known to most of the potential Asian listener audience. Also, the BBC was not interested in special claims and demands that the different groups were making regarding regional Asian language programmes. Curran justified that what matters most to the BBC was that as many people as possible should understand the information which the BBC was trying to give to the Asian audience, and in that respect, the BBC finds that Hindi and Urdu satisfies the biggest demand (ibid, p.1). Although the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) on broadcasting to minority ethnic groups strongly supported and encouraged mother tongue programming and its significant role in the integration process, it also recognised the importance of English language programmes for Asians[103].

Salim Salam is from an Asian background, and has worked as a community radio campaigner for the Asian community in England mainly during the 1980s. He was also part of the short-lived Asian Radio Studio Project funded by the Greater London Council in 1985. Salam[104] expresses his strong resentment about the limited radio programming output available for the newly arrived Asian migrant community during those early years

[101] BBC WAC File M2/37/2 - 1969 to 1973 - A report of the BBC's Asian Programmes Advisory Committee - Director-General's address for 7th anniversary of immigrant programmes, October 1972, p.1.
[102] ibid.
[103] The Listener (London, England). Immigrant programmes. Thursday, June 15, 1978; p.779; Issue 2564.
[104] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.

of 1970s on the mainstream media, and thus the need of the Asian radio services for this community in such situation:

> "BBC national radio, BBC local radio and the commercial independent local radio - all these stations serve white people. People who are not served by existing services are Asian and Afro–Caribbean. These communities should be the priority because we are the biggest sector who is underserved, covering all classes, covering all economic and social classes and categories. We have nothing, maybe one hour here, one hour there, but basically we have nothing" (Salam)[105].

Charles Curran in his address[106] also stated that when someone is offered something useful or something enjoyable, there is a tendency to ask for more. There is a limit to what any minority can claim from the majority and this is especially true when there are differences of culture, tradition and race. Any immigrant community must hope to make itself acceptable to the host community, while at the same time claiming, with every justice, the right to tolerance and acceptance by the host community. He further explains that what the BBC now offers to the immigrant community is just about as much as the BBC believes is acceptable to the general community (ibid).

The former Managing Editor of the Multicultural Programmes Department, Narendhra Morar, has stated that multicultural programme making has had a "long and controversial history" (Morar 1995, p.2). The BBC first broadcast programmes in Hindustani, the official languages of India and Pakistan respectively - aimed specifically at the Asian community in 1965; and as discussed earlier, these were designed to help integrate newly arrived Asian immigrants into their new environment through practical advice; and act as a link with the Indian sub-continent through performances and interviews (Morar 1995). However, across the years, programmes for Asian minority community have evolved "in line with a four-prong strategy involving broadcasts at prime time, an arts and entertainment magazine which is more culturally specific, documentaries detailing the Asian experience both at home and abroad and purchased drama serials" (Cottle 1998,

[105] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.
[106] BBC WAC File M2/37/2 - 1969 to 1973 – A report of the BBC's Asian Programmes Advisory Committee - Director-General's address for 7th anniversary of immigrant programmes, October 1972.

p.299). This change of programming philosophy subsequently led to the demise of the specifically targeted programmes for the Asian migrant community.

Despite these radio programming output initiatives in the 1970s, there was a demand for more entertainment and for more programmes delivered in regional languages, beyond Hindustani languages (Kotak[107]; Sharma[108]). According to Salam[109], radio model catering to the general ethnic community is inappropriate when there is a diverse community with different languages and religions:

> "The multicultural model will not work because if you look at the size and diversity of these communities… in terms of languages… and religions… it's not going to work. And also, if you look at how people listen to radio, people identify with their station… their station plays their kind of music, or their station broadcasts in their language, or their station is culturally identifiable as a black station or what - that's how people listen… and they are loyal to that. People are not going to say, "Eleven o'clock on a Wednesday, that's my station" (Salam)[110].

Bentley, who worked as a Station Manager at the BBC Radio Leicester in 1976, supports Salam's viewpoint strongly. Bentley[111] states that radio broadcasting and listening is a habit business, and thus, just a single programme broadcast daily, clearly wasn't enough, especially in places such as Leicester where there was a large Asian population. Bentley[112] emphasises that people tend to listen much more if it is a daily programme rather than just once a week, as it is much easier to remember.

[107] D. Kotak, see Appendix 1.
[108] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[109] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.
[110] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.
[111] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[112] ibid.

Salam[113] supports it by questioning the quantity of the BBC's radio programmes for the Asian community:

> "Even if the BBC local radio took an initiative in producing a programme for the local Asian community in the 1960s, how much programming was aimed at this Asian community. For example, how much programming was there on the BBC Radio Leicester in the ratio of the Asian population in Leicester? It was a very patronising attitude. And even though there was not much representation of Asian community inside the BBC as programme makers and producers, it should not stop anyone as a white producer to produce programmes for the Asian audience… a white producer could produce great programmes about, by and for Asian communities… so there were no radio programmes for the Asian listeners, and the BBC had no understanding of this at all" (Salam)[114].

Also, it was not just about the frequency and representation of the Asian community on the BBC's radio programmes, but about getting the Asian community members participating in these programmes and as a whole within the BBC. Curran[115] claims that many communities have been represented in BBC programmes, and that the BBC had been very happy to have the help of the Immigrants' Programmes Advisory Committee throughout the period of producing these programmes for Asian immigrants.

However, Salam[116] reiterates that radio service for the Asian community should have been the priority:

> "I look at the mainstream media, what's called mainstream - I look at BBC, I look at ITV, I listen to BBC radio, I listen to commercial radio… I can't relate to this… I don't see myself represented. I don't hear my point of view represented. I don't hear people like me talking on there. I don't see people like me presenting on there… I'm excluded, effectively" (Salam)[117].

[113] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.
[114] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.
[115] BBC WAC File M2/37/2 - 1969 to 1973 - A report of the BBC's Asian Programmes Advisory Committee - Director-General's address for 7th anniversary of immigrant programmes, October 1972, p.1.
[116] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.
[117] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.

At the same time, there was a view within the Immigrants' Programmes Advisory Committee that the focus of these programmes should be shifted from reorientation or getting used to the new environment, to the current problems particularly related to community relations and integration. One of the committee members A.F.A Sayeed (1972) in his report[118] stated that until now the BBC Radio and TV programmes for the Asian settlers in England have been a mixture of reorientation and entertainment, and these programmes have served the Asian settlers reasonably well for the last seven years since the establishment of the Immigrants Programmes Unit. Thus by this time, this community has considerably reoriented, and therefore, the emphasis now should be on integration, and on helping to build a multicultural society.

Curran[119] also stated that regarding the content of the programmes, after seven years of producing immigrants programmes, the BBC will need to be emphasising less on reorientation and settlement and telling the migrants about their host community, as many of the migrants must have been in this country for some considerable time, and it may be that the BBC should be speaking to these migrants more as though they were already taking an active part in the life of the host community, than "as people who have newly arrived and need everything explained in very simple terms" (ibid, p.2). However Sayeed[120] claims that the mass medium is the most effective organ, which can educate the public to accept people from different cultural background or different skin colour. And it is not an easy task to change the attitude of the people to accept the facts, so one of the best instruments would be to project the Asian settlers as a normal part of the community, and that should be the pattern in projecting this community in BBC programmes.

A couple of changes in the BBC's programmes were proposed in this report[121]. It was suggested that the facts and statistics about Asian settlers be propagated through the BBC's programmes. Some of the facts, for example, "the number of doctors, teachers and

[118] BBC WAC File M2/37/2 - 1969 to 1973 - A report of the BBC's Asian Programmes Advisory Committee - Paper by Dr A. F. A. Sayeed, October 1972.
[119] BBC WAC File M2/37/2 - 1969 to 1973 - A report of the BBC's Asian Programmes Advisory Committee - Director-General's address for 7th anniversary of immigrant programmes, October 1972.
[120] BBC WAC File M2/37/2 - 1969 to 1973 - A report of the BBC's Asian Programmes Advisory Committee - Paper by Dr A. F. A. Sayeed, October 1972, p.1.
[121] ibid.

other professional people of Asian origin would be very helpful to break the stereotype image of an Asian settler in the host community - these facts are better propagated in features and discussions rather than statistical data" (ibid, p.1). It was also suggested that the "local talent should be given priority over the well-known internationally famous talent from the Indian sub-continent; efforts should be made to tap feature writers and other experts from amongst the Asian settlers, and there should be adequate arrangements to project them to the viewers" (ibid, p.1). The emphasis was that the focus should be shifted from mere representation to the full participation to reflect the Asian migrant community within the BBC's programming output. BBC Radio Leicester's *The Six O'Clock Show* is considered as a good example of this shift.

4.8 BBC Radio Leicester's pioneering contribution to Asian programming

During this time, in the mid-1970s, BBC Radio Leicester embarked on something more ambitious. BBC Radio Leicester's *The Six O'Clock Show* played a significant - indeed pioneering - role in the evolution of Asian broadcasting in England, by increasing the overall volume of the radio programming output for the Asian migrant community and having members of the Asian community on board in participating and producing the radio programmes for the Asian migrant community. To understand this significant development, it would be useful to see how this programme evolved.

Leicester had a similar pattern of Asian migration to the other parts of England. A survey commissioned in the early 1980s by the City of Leicester estimated the number of Asians at 63,200 within the total population of 286,000 (Shaw 1987). As discussed in the earlier chapter, these Asian migrants had come largely from East Africa following the expulsions from Uganda, but a lot from Kenya. As these Asians had already migrated from India to East Africa, they are often referred to as "twice migrants" (Bhachu 1990, p.1). Many of these migrants were educated and possessed entrepreneurial skills; for example, many Gujarati speaking, well-educated entrepreneurs settled in Leicester along the Belgrave Road, and adapted easily to the local economy by establishing a successful Asian business sector (Buda 1986; Vertovec 1994). This Gujarati community led the way upwards and outwards, and most members of the older generation used business enterprise as their stepping stone to success, usually starting with the corner shop, before moving on to

establish much larger enterprises in either wholesaling, services, or in manufacturing (Ballard 2003).

Milan was a weekly half-hour programme broadcast every Wednesday at 7.02pm, for Asian migrants in Hindustani language. Manju Mahindro presented it. This programme included an English lesson, record requests, local news summary prepared by the newsroom and then translated into Hindustani language. Also there used to be a "what's on" bulletin specifically aimed at the target audience, e.g., notice of Indian films showing locally[122].

When Bentley[123] joined BBC Radio Leicester in 1976 as Station Manager, he thought of starting a radio programme every day for Leicester's Asian listener community.

Bentley[124] explains:

> "The local stations normally had one programme a week at the beginning, and one programme a week clearly wasn't enough for the Asian population of Leicester, as radio broadcasting is a habit business…if it's there every night, people will listen much more than if you've got to remember, it's a Thursday evening at 8:15pm, as it's much more difficult" (Bentley)[125].

Therefore, BBC Radio Leicester was the first to have this strip across the week. There was surprisingly little opposition from the host English community. According to Bentley[126], there were complaints, but there weren't huge numbers. One of the reasons for that was that the host community was used to listening to radio in the mornings, whereas, the Asian community was prepared to listen in the evening, when the host community would have largely migrated to television, so 6 O'Clock was a good time, and therefore, the show was called *The Six O'Clock Show*. When the programme continued, BBC Radio

[122] BBC WAC File M2/37/2 - 1969 to 1973 - A report of the BBC's Asian Programmes Advisory Committee - Paper by Dr A. F. A. Sayeed, October 1972, p.2.
[123] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[124] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[125] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[126] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.

Leicester thought that was about the right time to put it on. Over the years the programme got longer and longer, it went on for a couple of hours, then the weekends were added. This was the beginning of what later became the BBC Asian Network in the 1980s, when BBC Radio Leicester joined forces with Birmingham and established the BBC Midlands Asian Network. We will be discussing about the formation of the BBC Asian Network later in chapter 5.

So, this was how *The Six O'Clock Show* (later called *The Six 30 Show*) began broadcasting every day on the BBC Radio Leicester in 1976. Bentley[127] recalls:

> "I came to Leicester (as the Station Manager of the BBC Radio Leicester) from working two years in Africa and I listened to Radio Leicester. I said to myself, this station does not reflect the community I'm seeing outside there. I saw there was just one programme that we were doing, *Milan*, and thought, no, we've got to be bold here, we should try and get this audience on board" (Bentley)[128].

Hence, Bentley[129] initiated the idea of having an Asian radio programme, and as a result, BBC Radio Leicester started a programme called *The Six O'Clock Show*, three nights of the week in English, one night in Hindi-Urdu, and one night in Gujarati, initially from Monday to Friday from 6pm until midnight, and later, also on Saturdays from 8pm till 10pm (Bentley[130]; Graham 1991).

The local Asian community members of Leicester presented this radio programme. Don Kotak, who later established Leicester's Asian radio station *Sabras Radio,* was one of the presenters. He became a presenter for this programme when the BBC Radio Leicester advertised for presenters, just over the air for *The Six O'Clock Show*. He worked at the station for several years and became very popular (Bentley 2013[131]).

[127] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[128] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[129] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[130] ibid.
[131] ibid.

Kotak[132] explains how his involvement in *The Six O'Clock Show* started:

> "I was at university in Leicester in the '70s. I was doing some media work for the Students' Union at that time, and I got involved with Radio Leicester, who at that time had thought about creating some programming output for the large number of Asian refugees who were settling in Leicester following the Amin exodus - Owen Bentley was very instrumental in all that. It was during that period that I myself along with another presenter started a radio programme - we called it *The Six O'Clock Show*" (Kotak)[133].

The earlier BBC's national radio and television programmes for the Asians were really about education and information only. As Page (1983) claims, the match between a national network and widely differentiated local communities, each with its own cultural interests, can never be perfect. Although the emergence of BBC 2 and Channel 4 increased the scope for catering for minority interests, they also remained essentially national services. Therefore, both the BBC and the independent commercial local broadcasting sector have seen local radio "as the best means of responding to local community needs" (ibid, p.165). That included the Asian community.

It was perceived at that time that it would be good to provide something for as many ethnic communities as there were in Leicester. The *Six O'Clock Show* was being broadcast two hours a week at that time to the ethnic communities, and not just for the Asian community; there was also a Caribbean spot with reggae music and Caribbean news. However, very soon the Asian population became most responsive to this programme, and therefore the programme just automatically became an Asian-directed programme. Thus the Asian programming output developed from two just hours a week to a great deal more hours, which meant that eventually quite an extensive team was built up for ethnic broadcasting. That was in fact the start of what is today known as the BBC Asian Network, according to Kotak[134].

Kotak was not the only one whose radio career began at BBC Radio Leicester in the 1970s. Vijay Sharma, former Head of The BBC Asian network, was also one of the

[132] D. Kotak, see Appendix 1.
[133] ibid.
[134] D. Kotak, see Appendix 1.

presenters on *The Six O'Clock Show* in Leicester. Sharma[135] explains that when she came to Leicester in 1976, she felt that there was a lot of need for information and things that we take for granted now that people know. This was against the backdrop of Ugandan Asians having come to Leicester in 1972. People needed to know about housing, benefits, employment and about health matters.

Sharma[136] further recalls:

> "The Asian programmes were targeting that particular immigrant community and that community had certain needs. However at the beginning, these programmes could have been used more constructively to try and reach out to that community and to talk to them about things, which mattered to them in their everyday life. If you were in Leicester at that time, it was evident that there were newly arrived Asian migrants in significant numbers, they needed help, they needed support" (Sharma)[137].

The Six O'Clock Show played a major role in this. Unlike other areas of the Asian population in England, Leicester's Asian population was different. The Asian community living in Leicester was educated and many of them were originally businessmen and continued to establish their businesses in Leicester after migrating here. So Sharma[138] claims:

> "As *The Six O'Clock Show* was broadcast in English, it was trying to make it mainstream, so people could listen what's going on and it wasn't just solely targeting the newly arrived immigrants. A lot of information and advice and things you wanted to talk about were available in English. It made perfect sense" (Sharma)[139].

[135] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[136] ibid.
[137] ibid.
[138] ibid.
[139] ibid.

This programme was eventually designed as a radio magazine programme, which included Asian news - local, domestic as well as from the Indian sub-continent, discussions, music and requests (Shaw 1987; Bentley[140]; Sharma[141]; Kotak[142]).

According to Sharma[143]:

> "Though there were issues these migrants were facing, they weren't out of control. There was racism, there was reaction, but then there were a lot of positives as well. There was a lot of reception and people were receptive and supportive of the new immigrants. But although Leicester's Asian population could speak English language, it didn't mean that they necessarily knew where to go and access housing advice, employment advice, health advice, benefits advice, education, any range of information-type subjects" (Sharma)[144].

In addition to this, this Asian community was in need of musical entertainment as well. As a result, Radio Leicester made all possible efforts to get the most recent discs of Bollywood music; people bought them in India or had them sent out. That was part of the success. The success was built on a few of things - reasonably good presenters, local news and information from that community, lots of interviews; but entertainment was important too. What happened to the Asian programme on Radio Leicester was that entertainment was a key feature of it as well as information. That was part of the success (Bentley)[145]. Kotak[146] suggests that evening entertainment, such as music, played an important part in migrants' daily life:

> "…Because the Asian migrant community obviously had just settled in this country, economic survival was the priority for this community, everybody was working during the day, and in the evenings we were providing some entertainment for them" (Kotak)[147].

[140] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[141] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[142] D. Kotak, see Appendix 1.
[143] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[144] ibid.
[145] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[146] D. Kotak, see Appendix 1.
[147] ibid.

It was a huge success, which is well documented. In 1986, the Special Projects section of the BBC's Broadcasting Research Department was commissioned to undertake a survey to establish the radio listening patterns amongst the Asian community in Leicester. It included the listenership survey of *The Six O'Clock Show*. This survey indicated that "65% of the Asian population in Leicester claimed to listen to radio nearly every day and one of its reasons was the BBC Radio Leicester's Asian programme, which had a listenership of about 82%" (Shaw 1987, p.113). The Special Projects section of the BBC's Broadcasting Research Department conducted a similar survey in 1991, which reported, "the BBC Radio Leicester's Asian programme appealed across the Asian community and thus was a great success" (Graham 1991, p.73). *The Six O'Clock Show* was the successful Asian programme produced by BBC Radio Leicester during the 1970s. It can be asserted that BBC Radio Leicester, and particularly *The Six O'Clock Show*, played a significant – indeed pioneering - role in the evolution of Asian broadcasting in the UK.

As explained in the report[148] about local radio for immigrant communities, one point needs to be borne in mind in considering any BBC local radio station's output, that each station had been given virtual autonomy. A Station Manager had a liberty to make his own decisions as to what programmes that station would or would not transmit. A Station Manager could receive advice from his BBC superiors and from his Local Radio Council. Except in particular circumstances, he cannot be compelled to carry a Network Programme, or required to make a specific programme for local transmission. As mentioned in this report[149], the station manager of Radio Leeds said:

> "We feel it better to broadcast to particular culture groups of immigrants rather than to immigrants in general"[150].

Most stations originate six or seven hours of local programming per day, and the average output is about fifty hours a week, compared with five or six hours a week of local programming from the old English Regional Headquarters at Birmingham, Bristol and

[148] BBC WAC File M2/37/2 - 1969 to 1973 - A report of the BBC's Asian Programmes Advisory Committee - Local radio for immigrant communities.
[149] ibid.
[150] ibid, p.2.

Manchester. This gave station managers the opportunity to make programmes to serve the needs and interests of particular sections of their stations' potential audience including the Asian migrant listener community[151]. The provision of output for ethnic minorities was the example of how the local radio structure was flexible enough, through individual autonomy, to allow a range of interpretations of responsibility.

The local radio concept of greater service to the community enabled radio stations to take account of the composition of the immigrant populations in particular areas in much greater detail than a nationally transmitted programme can do. For instance, according to the BBC's Asian Programmes Advisory Committee[152], the coverage of the various religious festivals could be given at local level, whereas nationally it could be inflammatory (ibid).

While commenting on the role of the media in Britain's new multi-racial society, the Committee on the Future Of Broadcasting, chaired by Lord Annan, which reported to Parliament in June 1977, said:

> "Our society's culture is now multi-racial and pluralist: people adhere to different views of the nature and purpose of life and expect their own view to be expressed in some form or other. Broadcasting should reflect this variety... The broadcasters must consider how best they can meet the varied needs of different cultures, while continuing to provide a service of programmes which can be accepted and appreciated by most people in the country" (Page 1983, p.162).

By providing programmes about ethnic minorities for mainstream audience, they can help to increase an understanding of their way of life, among the rest of the British, because as the Annan Committee wrote: "It is not just the ethnic minorities who are learning to live with different cultures" (ibid, p.163), but British society too. The Community Communications Group (COMCOM), which was formally constituted in February 1977 decided to produce a comprehensive written response to the Annan Report; it strongly endorsed the Local Broadcasting Authority (LBA) which was proposed by Annan "as one

[151] ibid, p.1.
[152] ibid.

means of breaking the rigidity of the present duopoly of the BBC and the IBA, and of giving local services the chance to develop in a variety of ways" (Partridge 1982, p.13). COMCOM proposed that one of the main objectives of the LBA should be to initiate and encourage the development of a "third force in British Broadcasting, which should consist of highly individual and genuinely local stations" (ibid, p.14). Unfortunately the Labour Government remained deaf to these proposals and merely gave the go-ahead for further expansion of BBC and IBA local stations. Although it encouraged the IBA "to experiment with the Annan Committee's ideas that non-profit trusts should be awarded franchises and that local authorities might be given some role in its local radio stations" (ibid, p.14).

Though during the 1970s, the BBC was going through all sorts of convolutions about whether it would or would not carry any Asian language programming (Stoller 2013), from 1976 onwards, there was an annual conference to discuss racial minorities, with representatives from BBC local radio stations and from the BBC's Asian Programmes Advisory Council. This was an indication that the BBC was trying to make sure that it was catering to the needs and demands of the local community and not just following the preconceptions of the local radio station managers (Linfoot 2011). Thus, there was a shift towards more integration across the output within the BBC. During this decade, with the introduction of the Sound Broadcasting Act of 1972, ILR stations started to cater to the ethnic and Asian migrant listener community because of, as Stoller[153] calls it, their "self-imposed obligation" to serve the ethnic minority communities to help with social integration.

At the same time, a new Race Relations Act was introduced to tackle racial discrimination and promote racial equality in 1976. The Act established the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), which operated to help enforce the Race Relations Act. The CRE's main objectives were to encourage greater integration and better relations between people from different ethnic groups, and to support local and regional organisations and employers in all sectors, in their efforts to ensure equality of opportunity and good race relations. In

[153] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.

1978, Professor Muhammad Anwar published a report[154] for the CRE on ethnic minority broadcasting. This report was based on a study undertaken to determine how the press and broadcasting media report issues pertaining to ethnic minorities and race relations, and the extent to which ethnic minorities are given the opportunity to use these channels for information, entertainment, and cultural satisfaction. For this study, the Asians living in the Leicester City District area were interviewed concerning their radio listening and television viewing patterns. Specific needs of Asians living in England were identified, and the possible role media could play in meeting these needs was discussed. Though in this report, the CRE praised BBC local radio for its strategy on minority programmes, especially in reaching the Asian listeners, it made recommendations for improving and expanding existing programmes for the Asian listener community by paying special attention to it (Anwar 1978). Through its consistent efforts to promote and foster good race relations and equal opportunity in multicultural Britain by making a positive use of radio, the CRE again published a report[155] in which it recommended that a greater diversity of representation was needed on the local radio advisory councils, and that the location of any new stations should reflect the concentration of ethnic populations.

As Page (1983) states, the development of local radio was the major development of the 1960s and 70s in the British broadcasting, which embraced the idea of radio for the total community. Their emergence has enabled broadcasters to greatly extend their services to the Asian community. Radio stations in the large conurbations where Asians settled were able to make special programmes for particular communities in a way, which was not possible on the national networks. Whether the local community was largely Mirpuri, Gujarati, Bengali or Punjab, the local radio stations could responded accordingly by having the broadcasts in the language of the predominant communities, feature their activities, provide relevant local information, and play the music they most enjoy. However, as the Asian migrant community consisted of various regional communities especially from India and Pakistan, there was a feeling amongst the Asian community that

[154] The Commission for Racial Equality had published a report *Who tunes in to what: a report on ethnic minority broadcasting* on ethnic minority broadcasting in 1978.
[155] In 1990, the Commission for Racial Equality organised the conference *Radio for ethnic and linguistic minorities*, and published a report of this conference, which is *Radio for ethnic and linguistic minorities – prospects in the 1990s.*

the amount of programmes produced for them by the BBC and the independent commercial local radio stations was not sufficient, and that there was a need for more varied timeslots to reach a wider audience (Kotak[156]; Sharma[157]).

One of the Asian community members from London Hakim Alkamal, who also worked as a correspondent for Banga Barta news wrote his views very strongly to BBC Radio London in 'Letters to the Editor'[158] – he emphasised that the BBC was not providing a satisfactory programme for immigrants of the Indian subcontinent.

The letter[159] further notes:

> "The immigrants came and settled in this country at the invitation of the government, in order to supplement the huge shortage of labour. Most of these immigrants came in the fifties and worked in the various industries and commerce, etc., thus contributing towards British economy. Recognising this fact, the government decided to provide some cultural and recreational facilities… and initiated programmes for the immigrant community on radio and television. From the middle of Sixties, there were Indian language programmes on radio and television on Sundays. These programmes were directed and produced largely by the immigrant staff of the BBC radio and television…but these programmes were arbitrarily removed around mid-1970s by the BBC authorities, without reference to the immigrant leaders…The immigrant community would prefer the reintroduction of these popular programmes".

4.9 Contribution from the ILR sector to Asian programming

During this time, a few ILR stations "followed BBC local radio's lead and started broadcasting programmes for the Asian migrant listeners in Asian languages" (Anwar 1978, p.75). The radio stations such as BRMB, Beacon Radio, Centre Radio, Radio 210, Pennine Radio had provisions of few hours a week of Asian language radio programmes in the 1970s and 80s[160]. BRMB radio had a weekly one and half hour-long programme in Hindustani and also in Bengali languages. The programme consisted of song requests, dedications of mainly film music, occasional items of information and coverage of events

[156] D. Kotak, see Appendix 1.
[157] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[158] The Listener (London, England). Immigrant programmes. Thursday, June 15, 1978; p.779; Issue 2564.
[159] ibid.
[160] IBA Archive File R8036 - Ethnic Minorities: July 1982.

of special relevance to Asians and mainly the Bengali community. Beacon Radio had a monthly one-hour and 45-min long music programme, which was multi-lingual but mainly in Punjabi language. Centre Radio had a weekly three-hour long programme in Hindi and Gujarati, which consisted of music, dedications, interviews and competitions. Mercia Sound had a weekly two-hour long music magazine programme. Radio 210 had a weekly hour-long programme in Hindustani language, which consisted of music, dedications, what's on and film information. Pennine Radio had an hour-long programme on weekdays in Urdu, Hindi, Bengali and Gujarati languages, which consisted of News bulletins, music, interviews, features on home safety, health and legal advice[161].

As the BBC provided production facilities and training "to enable those involved to improve their production skills, the ILR stations followed almost the same pattern, though in their case advertising space was also available for Asian businesses" (Page 1983, p.166). This encouraged these stations to adopt an even more exclusive musical formula than their BBC counterparts. One of the most popular of these programmes was *Geetmala*, broadcast by LBC Radio - London's Biggest Conversation, which was then known as the London Broadcasting Company. LBC Radio teamed up with Indian broadcasters to launch this weekly entertainment programme. It was presented by Chaman Lal Chaman, an Indian broadcaster from Kenya and produced by Suresh Joshi. This programme became successful, attracting many Indian listeners (Puri 2010). Some other examples include *Geetmala* on BRMB (now called Free Radio), *Geetmala* on Radio 210 and *Meeting Place* on Pennine Radio[162]. Richard Horsman who worked as a senior producer at Pennine Radio with oversight of *Meeting Place* in the 1980s recalls that this programme was broadcast five days a week in the evenings in different languages, by Pennine Radio - a station serving the Leeds and Bradford areas (Horsman 2013). Don Kotak, who was one of the presenters for *The Six O'Clock Show* on BBC Radio Leicester, was invited by Leicester's commercial radio station Centre Radio to produce an Asian radio programme on their station. Centre Radio was an independent company made up of

[161] IBA Archive File R8036 - Ethnic Minorities: July 1982.
[162] IBA Archive File R8036 - Ethnic Minorities: July 1982.

a local group of people. They recruited Kotak first to write their application, the Asian part of their application, to the Radio Authority in those days (Kotak)[163].

They asked Kotak if he could start an Asian radio programming section for them because they had to make a commitment in their licence application that they would provide some programming to cater for the tastes and interests of the Asian population in Leicester. They had a provision of a two-hour programme slot per week. The name of the radio programme Kotak[164] produced for Centre Radio was *Sabras*; he later used the same name when he started Leicester's Asian radio station *Sabras Radio*.

Tony Stoller was a former Chief Executive at the Radio Authority and he was behind the Access Radio pilot project - which later became the official community radio. He had also worked as a Managing Director for *Radio 210*[165], Reading. Stoller[166] explains that the local independent commercial radio stations contributed to the Asian radio programmes because of a self-imposed obligation to broadcast to ethnic minority communities in those days:

> "… so stations in, for example, Bradford, when they applied for the licence – in those days it was called a franchise – from the Independent Broadcasting Authority, they put in what amounts to a tender document, and that document was – tended not to be written by the people who ended up running the station, so it was highly aspirational and it committed them to quite a lot of things" (Stoller)[167].

According to the requirements of the Broadcasting Act 1973, each ILR service had to try to be effectively all things to all people within its coverage area, catering for a wide range of tastes and interests and providing output that would entertain, inform and educate listeners. Thus, under the 1973 Act and the limitations on the number of stations, there was never - until the breakthrough of the incremental contracts project - the possibility of establishing any station catering exclusively for a particular ethnic minority audience. However, in areas with relatively high ethnic minority populations, there was an

[163] D. Kotak, see Appendix 1.
[164] D. Kotak, see Appendix 1.
[165] *Radio 210* held the commercial radio licence for Reading, UK.
[166] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.
[167] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.

expectation by the IBA that, in order to satisfy the broad programming requirements of the 1973 Act, ILR stations in such areas should provide some programmes directed at these sections of the audience. Thus, during these years, ILR stations in areas with a significant Asian population did provide such output (Vick)[168]. However, with the introduction of the 1990 Broadcasting Act, the Radio Authority authorised the launch of national commercial radio (Lewis 2008), and thus, local radio programming output spread to more regional and then national level, which again created a gap to fill for local radio services, including the Asian ones. The schedules of the ILR stations had to be pre-approved by the Radio Authority; it had to check to make sure that those companies included a programme to meet that obligation. And according to Stoller[169], broadly it just happened:

> "… At the IBA (which later became the Radio Authority and then the Ofcom), we held the companies pretty much to the prospectus on which they had been awarded the contract. So if Bradford Community Radio - Pennine Radio had put into their application that they would be broadcasting something for the ethnic minority community, then we'd have expected them to do so. And I suspect that all of the stations in the main conurbations of England would have had that obligation. Not all of them, but most of them" (Stoller)[170].

The management of these ILR stations also tended to contract-out the sale of advertising during Asian programme sequences to the people running the programmes, who would be more in touch with businesses in the Asian community. As a result the future managers of stand-alone Asian stations were able to develop their commercial skills as well during these years (Vick)[171]. Some of the individuals who would later become pioneers in the development of stand-alone Asian radio stations, such as Don Kotak in Leicester and Suresh Joshi in the West Midlands, were heavily involved in the provision of Asian strands in the output of these "first generation" ILR stations (ibid)[172].

[168] D. Vick, see Appendix 1.
[169] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.
[170] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.
[171] D. Vick, see Appendix 1.
[172] ibid.

However, like the BBC, the ILR stations too had to face the same issues regarding understanding the content they were broadcasting for the Asian migrant communities because of the language issue. For example, Joshi family produced and provided a weekly radio programme *Geetmala* to Reading's *Radio 210* radio station. Stoller[173] who worked as a Managing Director for the radio station explains:

> "I remember that we hadn't, to be honest, the slightest idea what we were broadcasting, and I am quite sure that some dreadful things went on, which we didn't know about. Dreadful in terms of the broadcasting regulations, but it satisfied the obligation under the contract to the IBA" (Stoller)[174].

Paul Brown was the Head of Radio Programming at the IBA from 1978 to 2004 when Ofcom came into existence. He also worked as the chairman of the commercial radio trade bodies from 1995 to 2008, and he was also a presenter on Birmingham's BRMB. Brown[175] claims that the growth of Asian radio broadcasting has followed in sync with the development of commercial ILR from the mid-seventies onwards.

He recalls ILR's contribution in radio programming output for the Asian community:

> "When I was a presenter on BRMB from 1978 to 1980, there were a number of weekly Asian programmes on ILR services in major cities. These were often called *Geetmala* and were supported, I think, by national as well as local sales initiatives. In those days, broadcasting regulation required independent radio output to be non-generic, catering for a variety of musical and other tastes and interests. Arts, Country, Classical, religious, independent rock, dance, soul, folk, various hobby and Asian programmes were thus limited to a programme or two a week, normally in the evenings or at weekends" (Brown)[176].

To support what Brown says above and also, Salam[177] previously mentioned resentment about the limited radio programming output produced by the existing media, either the BBC or ILR, for the Asian migrant community during those early years of the 1970s,

[173] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.
[174] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.
[175] P. Brown, see Appendix 1.
[176] P. Brown, see Appendix 1.
[177] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.

Vick[178] reiterates how Asian shows were normally broadcast at off-peak periods when the potential audience for mainstream ILR output was lower: during the evenings on weekdays, or at the weekend. Thus, for Asian listeners, accessing their programmes was "appointment listening", rather like catching a favourite programme on TV, rather than something they could find whenever they turned the radio on (ibid)[179]. As a result, there was the beginning of a feeling of discontent within the Asian community members.

4.10 Conclusion

It can be seen that throughout the 1970s, BBC Local Radio expanded and developed its output for Asian community through its various local radio stations, including BBC Radio Leicester. Additionally, radio output catering to the Asian community was initiated and extended by ILR. However, there was more demand for such radio programmes in England. There was also a demand for various different timeslots, so that the programmes could reach a wider audience within the community. There was also a demand for more entertainment, and more programmes delivered in Indian regional languages (Kotak[180]; Sharma[181]). Also there was a positive impact of the development of ILR in the 1970s, which created a possibility of having independent local Asian radio stations for Asian migrant community members.

Thus, this need started getting converted into a demand. As a result, this need of having its own radio platform did convert into a demand for independent Asian radio services. As a result, Asian community groups started exploring having their own radio services to fill this gap in, by applying for incremental radio station licences during the 1980s. The next Chapter will closely look at the continuation of these developments of expanding the overall radio output for the Asian listener community during the 1980s. It will review the Independent Broadcasting Authority's initiatives of Incremental radio and the continuing campaign for Community Radio, including the Greater London Council's initiative of it's community radio unit in the mid-1980s.

[178] D. Vick, see Appendix 1.
[179] ibid.
[180] D. Kotak, see Appendix 1.
[181] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.

5. Chapter Five: 1981 – 1990:
Further radio initiatives - Precursor of separate Asian radio broadcasting

5.1 Introduction

The previous Chapter examined how BBC local radio as well as ILR began to consider catering to the Asian migrant listener community in large Asian populated areas on local levels by the mid-1970s. In 1977 the Annan Committee specified that the role of the media in multi-cultural Britain was important, and therefore asserted a significant responsibility that the broadcasters needed to carry by reflecting the variety of the views of the multi-racial society; they must consider how best they could cater to the varied tastes and needs of different cultures in programming output. It suggested that the broadcasters could help to increase an understanding of multi-racial society amongst the rest of British society by providing programmes about the ethnic minorities for the wider mainstream British audience. However, during this time, the BBC was going through a dilemma whether to continue broadcasting Asian radio programming or not, especially the language programming in Hindi, Urdu and other Asian languages. But from 1976 onwards, the BBC's annual conferences with representatives from BBC local radio stations and from the BBC's Asian Programmes Advisory Council helped the BBC in understanding the needs and demands of the Asian listener community of having Asian radio programming output. By this time, the BBC was trying to cater to the actual needs and demands of the local Asian community and was not relying solely on the assumptions of the station managers. It also started providing production facilities and training to enable the Asian community members, who were involved in radio broadcasting, to improve their production skills. Thus there was a positive change in terms of more integration across the BBC's radio programming output. At the same time, with the introduction of the Sound Broadcasting Act of 1972, ILR stations had also started to cater to the ethnic and Asian migrant listener community. The ILR sector was contributing to Asian radio programming output by broadcasting radio programmes for Asian migrant listeners in English and in Asian languages. The ILR stations also started looking at the Asian businesses as potential advertisers and thus started making available their advertising space for Asian businesses. However, by 1979, Margaret Thatcher's new

Conservative government promoted a market-led economy and competition from newer forms of media; it collectively encouraged the partial deregulation of ILR during the 1980s.

In this Chapter, we continue to look at the efforts made by the BBC and the continuous role of the IBA in contributing to Asian radio programming through its ILR stations. We also discuss the continued attention to race relations in the 1980s and the anti-racism initiative by the Greater London Council (GLC) through it's Community Radio Unit and the community radio projects in 1985. This chapter also reviews the incomplete Community Radio experiment during 1985-86. And furthermore, the IBA's experiment of Incremental Radio Contracts in 1989, which was prompted by the unsuccessful Community Radio experiment. Thus, in this chapter, we also discuss the IBA's initiatives of introducing Incremental radio contracts in 1989, to reach out to local and small communities including Asian community groups, who later established their independent radio stations catering to the Asian listener community. Thus, this chapter intends to discuss the development of all these further radio initiatives during the 1980s, which proved to be a precursor of subsequent separate Asian radio broadcasting in England.

5.2 The continued attention to race relations in the 1980s

During the 1980s, the black and Asian population of Britain reached over two million people, of whom about half were born in this country; a largely settled population of families for whom migration was mostly a memory of some fifteen, twenty or more years earlier (Braham et al 1992). Britain saw the worst urban riots in modern British history, in Brixton in South London in April 1981, and later again in September 1985. The Brixton riot of 1981 was a confrontation between the Metropolitan Police and protesters in Lambeth, South London England that involved up to 5,000 people in the area. TIME magazine called it Bloody Saturday[182], which resulted in injuries to police, and to members of the public[183], over a hundred vehicles were burned, and almost 150 buildings

[182] The article *Bloody Saturday* was published in the TIME magazine on 20 April 1981.
[183] A video documentary *Battle 4 Brixton part 6 of 6* was published on YouTube on the 27th anniversary of the Brixton Riots on 11 April 2008.

were damaged[184]. Ed West in his *Telegraph* article[185] explains how the Brixton riots in London in April 1981 created awareness about the country's multicultural nature - its multiculturalism. As a result, in order to prevent large-scale uprisings in the inner cities, the new Conservative government appointed Sir George Young as Britain's first minister for race relations; the aim was to encourage moderate minority leaders at the expense of the militants (West 2011).

However, there was anger, disagreement and confusion among those involved in what had become known as the 'race relations industry' as successive governments were apparently reluctant to take a convincing lead in race relations work, and was insulating the politicians from the needs of the people; it was more interested in immigration control than in racial harmony (Purves 1982)[186]. There was a strong resentment of the conviction growing in even the most moderate black leaders that government did not care. At this time, a number of bodies, including the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), lobbied for a major reorganisation of the administration of race relations policies and for a stronger central government lead (Solomos 1989). It was believed that Britain's racial tensions were a result of the disadvantages faced by ethnic minorities, which were fuelled by the consequences of individual prejudice. Therefore, the Government commissioned the Scarman report following the 1981 Brixton riots. Lord Scarman was appointed by the then Home Secretary William Whitelaw in April 1981, two days after the rioting ended, to hold an enquiry into the riots.

Lord Scarman's report on urban unrest and numerous other reports argued for a major radical programme of action to tackle the root causes of racial inequality (Benyon and Solomos 1987). The CRE joined the voices calling for a more positive stance from the Government. The CRE's proposals for change since 1985 recommended a number of basic changes to strengthen the implementation process, including "a clarification of the meaning of both direct and indirect discrimination, the setting up of specialist tribunals to

[184] The article *How smouldering tension erupted to set Brixton aflame* was published in The Guardian on 13 April 1981.
[185] Ed West's article *How the Brixton riots, 30 years ago today, handed power to the mosques* was published in The Telegraph on April 11th, 2011.
[186] Purves, Libby. "Race relations: 'It's the Government, they only pay lip-service'." *Listener* [London, England] 18 Feb. 1982: 2+. *The Listener Historical Archive*. Web. 12 June 2015.

deal with discrimination cases, which had the power to order changes to prevent a recurrence of discrimination, and a redefinition of the law to allow for more effective positive actions to redress the effects of past and present discrimination" (Solomos 1989, p.10). In its report on racial disadvantage (HMSO 1981), the Parliamentary Home Affairs Committee was "highly critical of the passive role of the Home Office, which it felt should play a more positive role in coordinating and assessing the government's policies for combating racial disadvantage" (Hammar 2006, p.119). But the Minister of State in charge of race and immigration matters rejected the notion that government should be responsible for monitoring race relations. Thus, much of the responsibility in terms of race relations policy was left to the CRE, but it had also a little success in promoting fair practices. In spite of its legal powers and powers of enforcement it has met considerable resistance (ibid).

The report on racial disadvantage also criticised the CRE's status saying that the Commission operated without any obvious sense of priorities or any clearly defined objectives. The Commission was criticised that it has no power to affect race relations in this country and to solve the problems of racial disadvantage, and yet it tried to do that; it takes upon itself the role of spokesman for what it interprets as the views of ethnic minorities, and prefers this role to its true one. Some of the press happily welcomed this parliamentary paper as bullet proof that mockingly dubbed the 'race relations industry' as useless and self-serving as they had always suspected (Purves 1982)[187]. The Commission was angry about this report; it stated that the Community Relations Councils have been used as a buffer between the establishment and the needs of the people, and every time there has been trouble, the government has always considered it as the responsibility of the Community Relations Councils to sort it out, where actually the government departments should have taken care of it years ago (ibid)[188]. The CRE reported that by 1987 it had published 39 formal investigations, but it acknowledges that their impact on discriminatory processes had been limited (CRE 1988). However, the relationship between the CRE and the government was an issue on an ongoing basis and its role

[187] Purves, Libby. "Race relations: 'It's the Government, they only pay lip-service'." *Listener* [London, England] 18 Feb. 1982: 2+. *The Listener Historical Archive*. Web. 12 June 2015.
[188] ibid.

remained marginal with respect to the basic agenda setting channels of mainstream departments (Solomos 1989).

5.3 Good education as a foundation of a multicultural society

At the same time, the government was firmly committed to the principle that all children, irrespective of race, colour or ethnic origin, should have a good education. It believed that education develops their abilities and aptitudes about a true sense of belonging to Britain. Therefore, the government appointed the Secretary of State's Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups in 1979 as the Rampton Committee[189]. It later became the Swann Committee under the leadership of Lord Swann to evaluate the educational scenario for children from an ethnic minority background, including Asian pupils, in Britain. In March 1985, the Swann Committee published its report[190] 'Education for All', which is known as 'The Swann Report'[191].

The Swann Report[192] drew on research from the six local education authorities to highlight the differential performance of West Indian children in relation to three other categories - Asians, Whites and All Other Leavers. It presented more sophisticated and differentiated research findings showing that though African-Caribbeans were achieving much lower results than whites, Asians and whites were achieving similar results. While continuing to recognise the impact of both individual racism and a more persistent climate of racism in the society, the Swann Report also shifted its emphasis away from the evident anti-racist strategies towards a form of inclusive multiculturalism, which aptly reflects in its formal title of the report[193], Education for All.

[189] DES (Department of Education and Science) (1981). West Indian children in our schools: Interim report of the committee of inquiry into the education of children from ethnic minority **g**roups (The Rampton Report). London: HMSO.
[190] DES (Department of Education and Science). (1985). Education for all: Report of the committee of inquiry into the education of children from ethnic minority **g**roups (The Swann Report). London: HMSO.
[191] ibid.
[192] ibid.
[193] ibid.

The Swann Report explains how British multiracial society would function most efficiently and harmoniously on the basis of diversity, and how multicultural education could enable such society:

> "Pluralism enables, expects and encourages members of all ethnic groups, both minority and majority, to participate fully in shaping the society as a whole within a framework of commonly accepted values, practices and procedures, whilst also allowing and, where necessary, assisting the ethnic minority communities in maintaining their distinct ethnic identities within this common framework" (ibid, p.5).

As a result, multiculturalism was being introduced in the education sector, supposedly to help teachers address the cultural diversity of the classroom. It concentrated on teaching children about religions, feasts, festivals, customs, food, dress etc. other than British. As mentioned in the Swann Report, it was clear that a good education needed to reflect the diversity of British society and indeed of the contemporary world, and thus, one of the broad aims of education should be "to help pupils understand the world in which they live, and the interdependence of individuals, groups and nations" (ibid, p.318).

In a multicultural society like Britain, a good education was needed in order to give every pupil "the knowledge, understanding and skills to function effectively as an individual, as a citizen of the wider national society in which he lived and in the interdependent world community of which he was also a member" (ibid, p.319). The government saw education playing a significant role in countering the racism, which still persisted in Britain, and which it believed created "one of the chief obstacles to the realisation of a truly pluralist society" (ibid, p.319). It could be said that the government was being over-ambitious by expecting education to take a lead in seeking to remedy racism. However, it believed that the education system and teachers in particular are uniquely placed to influence the attitudes of all young people in a positive manner as, "school was the one institution that everyone between the ages of 5 and 16 in Britain had to attend and whilst it could not compensate for the inequities of society alone, it did nevertheless constituted one major area of influence - and one which was susceptible to change" (ibid, p.319).

However, the educational charity Institute of Race Relations (IRR), which was formed in 1958 to promote, encourage and support race relations between different races in the UK, realised that the efforts to introduce multiculturalism in Britain were doing little to address increasing racism in society. The IRR was working as an advisor with regard to improving race relations and promoting knowledge on questions related to race relations at that time. According to Bourne (2015), the IRR thought that ethnic minorities did not suffer disabilities because of ethnic differences, but due to the differential weightage in a system of racial hierarchy. It believed that an ethnic or cultural approach to the educational needs and attainments of racial minorities would avoid the fundamental reasons such as racialist attitudes and racist practices in larger society and the educational system itself. Introducing multiculturalism through the educational system might have helped to change attitudes, but it firmly believed that such negotiation would still leave the racist fabric of the educational system unaltered, as education itself was seen in terms of an adjustment process, and not as a force for changing the values within a racialist society. Therefore, the IRR's concern was not centrally with multicultural multiethnic education, but with anti-racist education. It believed that "just to learn about other people's cultures, though, is not to learn about the racism of one's own; to learn about the racism of one's own culture, on the other hand, is to approach other cultures objectively" (Bourne 2015, para.3).

As a result, IRR produced three booklets, *Roots of racism*, *Patterns of racism* and *How racism came to Britain*, between 1982 and 1986 for young people. The aim was to educate and fill the gap about the origin of racism and immigration to the UK in slavery, colonialism and imperial endeavors. First, attempts were made not just to ban those books from schools and shops, but to close down the IRR, which was run by the Sri Lankan Ambalavaner Sivanandan who had coined the phrase "we are here because you were there" (Bourne 2015, para.2). But later these publications were reviewed in over twenty papers and magazines, especially those aimed at educationalists and teachers during 1982-83. They were bought in bulk by local education authorities and were reprinted six times later in 1985-86 (ibid).

Around this time, the Black Media Workers' Association (BMWA) was launched in February 1981. The aim of this autonomous organisation was to bring together members of Afro-Caribbean, Asian and African decent. This was a group of "people who met socially from time to time and who gradually became aware that the problems they faced as workers, either in the independent black media, or the mainstream white media, were capable of common expression" (Cohen and Gardner 1982, p.76). Feelings of isolation, frustration and the resulting alienation were transformed in the crucial rallying point, in keeping with its diverse and open nature of meetings attended by over 150 people from all walks of life (ibid). Activism has been necessary in the field of media as in other alternative movements, to gain a place on a government's policy agenda. The formation of the Community Radio Association (which later became the Community Media Association) in 1983 helped build a relationship over a long period with officials in the government department responsible for media and with successive regulators (Allen 2011). The CRA continuously campaigned for community radio including radio platforms for Asian communities. According to the Swann Report[194], the considerable attention devoted by the media to considering racial disadvantage and discrimination in the wake of the disturbances in some inner city areas during 1981, had clearly done much in bringing about the new climate of opinion. It believed that the key to understanding the concept of racism lay in creating a situation where people were willing and able to examine and appraise attitudes and practices, both their own and other people's, free from preconceived notions of superiority and inferiority, or "guilt" and "innocence" (ibid, p.10). There were two factors which were essential for prejudices initially to be formed and subsequently maintained and even reinforced - firstly, "ignorance, in the literal sense of lack of knowledge on which to base informed opinions and judgements, and secondly, the existence and promulgation of stereotypes of particular groups of people as conveyed by the major informers of public opinion most notably the media and the education process" (ibid, p.13).

What role did the mainstream radio play during this time to address these issues of race relations and integration? It can be said that the BBC and ILR were playing an important

[194] DES (Department of Education and Science). (1985). Education for all: Report of the committee of inquiry into the education of children from ethnic minority **g**roups (The Swann Report). London: HMSO.

role in terms of race relations and integration by catering to the ethnic minority listener community during this decade. We will now discuss the BBC's continuous contribution in catering to multicultural society by getting the Asian listener community involved in radio programme making.

5.4 The BBC's continued Public Service Broadcasting for the Asian community

This decade was quite a significant transition period within the BBC in terms of Asian radio programming, which had started since the 1960s. BBC local radio was based on an access principle because of the philosophy of the stations. However, the philosophy of BBC Local Radio changed as time went on. It became more professional and it developed an approach "as we don't want all these amateurs in a sense" (Bentley)[195].

By this time, the BBC started to get Asian community members on board in actual programme making, though on a smaller scale. Vijay Sharma started her career in the BBC with BBC Radio Leicester in the 1970s; by working as a presenter on its Asian radio programme *The Six O'Clock Show*. Sharma later became Head of The BBC Asian network. According to Sharma[196], Asian radio programming output across the BBC was grown gradually through the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. The development and the overall success of Asian radio programming were breeding success. According to Lewis & Jones (2006 in Lewis 2008), "involvement in programme making brings important gains in self- and peer-esteem and on the way highly transferable digital and communication skills are required, as well as the capacity for teamwork" (p.6). The development of Asian radio programming resulted in forming a fully devoted national radio service known as the BBC Asian Network, for the Asian listener community across the country. However, Don Kotak, one of the BBC Radio Leicester presenters for *The Six O'Clock Show*, who later established Leicester's Asian radio station Sabras Radio, doesn't agree with this. Kotak[197] doesn't approve of the BBC Asian Network as a national radio service for the Asian community in England, as he thinks that the BBC Asian Network is not representative of the audience it's trying to serve in its programme content.

[195] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[196] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[197] D. Kotak, see Appendix 1.

Kotak[198] explains:

> "We got our first Asian national radio station, which we desperately needed… though I didn't treat the BBC Asian Network as a national station. I thought that they were not truly national because they only joined up a few BBC local radio centres and called it national. You couldn't hear them in many parts of the country. So they were not a truly national station" (Kotak)[199].

During this time around 1979, the new Conservative government, led by Margaret Thatcher, focused on "promoting a market-led economy, declining audiences and advertising revenues, competition from newer forms of media and changes within the regulatory body itself, combined to encourage the partial deregulation of ILR during the 1980s" (Allen 2011, p.59). The role and purpose of public service broadcasting values were not really highlighted in Thatcherism. The new Thatcherite project was highly individualistic: it argued "public interest could only be secured by maximising the capacity of individuals to choose; and that government should seek to abandon controls, not exercise them" (Curran and Seaton 2003, p.207). This introduction of the Thatcher government and the growth of media technology created a more ambitious and assertive commercial radio industry (Wray 2009). The status of the IBA was as "an independent regulatory agency" (Allen 2011, p.59). The IBA had four basic functions with regard to ILR: "selecting and appointing programme contractors; the supervision of programme planning; control of advertising; and the transmission of programmes" (ibid, p.60).

While the UK was undergoing substantial political, social and cultural change, commercial radio was also going through a transformation. The desire to create radio for segmented audiences to increase revenue and ratings was becoming ever more urgent with the introduction of new communication technologies. However, at the same time, the obligations imposed by ILR's public service remit had a positive effect on ILR's content quality. The IBA's regulation obliged broadcasters and producers to hone their production

[198] D. Kotak, see Appendix 1.
[199] D. Kotak, see Appendix 1.

and programme research skills in a manner which was intended to match, so far as possible, the BBCs approach to programme-making (Stoller and Wray 2010).

According to Brown[200]:

> "Broadcasting regulation required independent radio output to be non-generic, catering for a variety of musical and other tastes and interests in those days' (ibid). This was the starting point of Asian radio programming in the independent commercial radio sector, and it developed parallel to the development of the ILR from the mid-seventies onwards" (Brown)[201].

5.5 The Independent Broadcasting Authority's (IBA) role

At the same time, there was evidence of the Independent Broadcasting Authority's (IBA) continuous role in contribution to Asian radio programming through its local independent commercial radio stations. The radio stations such as BRMB, Beacon Radio, Centre Radio, Radio 210 and Pennine Radio had provisions of a few hours a week of Asian language radio programmes[202]. The IBA's Asian radio programmes list[203] suggests that there were a limited amount of radio programmes available on independent radio stations for the Asian listener community in the 1980s. On BRMB radio, there was a one-hour Hindustani and half-an hour Bengali programme, which included requests, dedications and film music, and occasional items of information and coverage of events of specific relevance to Asians[204]. On Beacon Radio, there was a multi-lingual but mainly Punjabi programme of one hour and forty-five minutes having music and anecdotes. Centre Radio had a three-hour Hindi and Gujarati programme having music, dedications, interviews and competitions. Mercia Sound had a two-hour programme in Hindi and English; it was a music magazine programme. Radio 210 had a one-hour Hindustani language programme having music, dedications, what's on and film information. Only Pennine Radio had a one-hour radio programme every weekday; this programme had a wide range of items including news bulletins, music, interviews, and features on home safety, health and legal

[200] P. Brown, see Appendix 1.
[201] P. Brown, see Appendix 1.
[202] IBA/File R8036 - Ethnic Minorities, July 1982.
[203] ibid.
[204] ibid.

advice[205]. Thus, the IBA continued to contribute to Asian radio programming through its local independent commercial radio stations.

5.6 The Greater London Council's (GLC) initiatives

Despite the contribution from the BBC and IBA towards Asian radio programming, there was a growing sense that the ethnic minority groups were not generally well represented on mainstream radio. The black, Asian and other ethnic communities of London, were becoming increasingly critical of their perceived marginalisation in the media, which was alienating the communities they were supposed to address. During this time, the newly elected administration of the GLC began to have a significant effect on the trend towards more localised and often community-specific radio (Tsagarousianou 1999; Lewis and Booth 1989; Salam[206]).

Between 1981 and 1986 the GLC under Ken Livingstone pioneered a new strategy of making minority communities feel part of British society. It consulted with them, drew up equal opportunities policies, established race relations units, and dispensed millions of pounds in grants to minority groups (West 2011). The year 1984 was declared as Anti-Racist Year[207] by the GLC. Professor Jerry White in his article *The Greater London Council 1965-1986* claims that the Council's anti-racism agitation that was carried in London forced Londoners to think seriously about the consequences of living in a multicultural society and it probably changed behaviour for the better. At the heart of the GLC's anti-racist strategy were not simply the reallocation of resources but also a redefinition of racism. Racism now meant not the denial of equal rights but the denial of the right to be different (West 2011). The GLC's arts and media policy provided subsidies for the alternative cultural and media initiatives, which were entirely different from the mainstream ones. It encouraged minorities to express their own identity, live by their own values, pursue their own lifestyles and no longer get forced to adopt a British identity. The GLC established eleven Working Groups which started working in a number of areas, such as women, housing, trade unions, churches and religious groups, health, education,

[205] ibid.

[206] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.

[207] IBA Archive file: NEW/022. IBA/ LMA/LRB/LD/L/065/09920A, July 1984 – This is Greater London Council's Ethnic (Asian) Arts Sub-Committee report on the GLC Anti-Racist Year theme.

cultural activities, media, police, voluntary organisations and designers (to make posters for the publicity). These Working Groups were encouraged to do workshops to be able to support women and ethnic minorities. They were given the funding to encourage starting their own activities. A personal commitment by Londoners to participate in the 'London Against Racism' campaign[208] was requested for this Anti-Racist Year. Individuals and organisation were being asked to sign a pledge supporting the five aims and objectives of the campaign. These five points asked people to recognise that racism ran through all aspects of London, not to ignore or condone it; agree the fundamental right of all Londoners to enjoy a level of real equality, justice, freedom and security that currently does not exist; create conditions, at home, at work and in the community that make it impossible for racism to operate; join with others to fight the disadvantages common to them all and to examine, criticise, challenge and change the structures that perpetuate racism in organisations[209]. As part of this campaign, the GLC organised a migrants, immigrants and refugees conference 'Coming together for equal rights' on October 1984[210]. The GLC believed that migrants and refugees are among the most exploited and vulnerable sections of the population. Many thousands of them live in daily fear of deportation, internal immigration controls, passport raids, unemployment, low-paid menial jobs and racism and do not enjoy basic civil rights such as the right to vote, the right to free movement and the right to work where they choose. This has led them to the understanding that the migrants and refugees must gather together to fight this oppression[211]. Thus, the aim of this Conference was to bring migrants and refugees together to discuss these issues of common concern and to promote organisation that will lead to greater unity between communities in acting to change this situation[212]. It also displayed an exhibition of photographs about the lives of migrants, immigrants and refugees in London to provide a visual record of some of the communities participating in the conference[213]. The Asian Community Action Group (ACAG) applied for Grant of £1190 towards running costs to organise Asian community festivals of music and dance,

[208] ibid.
[209] ibid.
[210] GLC/ LMA/GLC/DG/PRB/8/2448, 1984, p.2.
[211] ibid.
[212] ibid.
[213] ibid, p.2.

and Asian dance and music workshops at schools[214]. The aim of ACAG was "to promote Asian culture in South London and to give the Asian community there the opportunity to express their artistic talents"[215]. The Ethnic Arts Sub-Committee decided to recommend a grant of £1350 for these activities[216]. The Media Working Group set up a monitoring exercise to look at the treatment of ethnic minority communities in London by the media[217]. According to Gilroy (2013), the declaration of London as an "anti-racist zone" and the announcement that 1984 was to be an anti-racist year showed that the struggle against racism would be a continual and primary focus of the GLC's work (p.181). By developing a dominant media policy, the GLC played an important role. Therefore, the GLC's initiatives between 1982 and 1986, under the leadership of Ken Livingstone to start its Community Radio Unit and its radio projects are very important in this context. These initiates helped create awareness of the importance and relevance of such community platforms for small communities including migrant communities in British multicultural society.

Through its commitment to anti-racist/sexist policies and the funding of community arts, the GLC created its Community Radio Development Unit in 1982. Simon Partridge was part of the GLC's Community Radio Development Project. Partridge[218] recalls:

> "When the community radio movement had got going in the early 1980s and, because getting access to the airwaves meant convincing the Home Office in those days that this was a legitimate political project or social project, you couldn't really avoid getting involved with government, either at national or at regional or local level. We knew that Ken Livingston's GLC was sympathetic towards radical people-orientated projects. One of our members Richard Barbrook had links with John McDonald in the GLC who was a left wing counsellor - he became an MP, as did several of the leading GLC counsellors, including Ken Livingston" (Partridge)[219].

[214] GLC/LMA/GLC/RA/GR/02/026, March 1984.
[215] ibid, p.1.
[216] ibid.
[217] IBA Archive file: NEW/022. IBA/ LMA/LRB/LD/L/065/09920A, July 1984 – This is Greater London Council's Ethnic (Asian) Arts Sub-Committee report on the GLC Anti-Racist Year theme.
[218] S. Partridge, see Appendix 1.
[219] S. Partridge, see Appendix 1.

There was no Community Radio Unit as such within the GLC at the beginning, but Partridge along with other members convinced the GLC to set it up. It was also known as the development project. According to Partridge[220], it was always difficult to find where radio fitted, as it did not fit in very happily with the Home Office, which had responsibility for the airways, so it became part of the GLC's Arts Policy Development Committee. As an important step forward, the GLC, under the leadership of Ken Livingstone, developed an "interventionist media policy from 1982 onwards, arguing that media impinged on several policy areas, including arts and recreation, and industry and employment" (Tsagarousianou 1999, p.58; Salam[221]).

The GLC initially encouraged only multicultural radio station projects, as it believed that there could not be a separate radio station having separate programmes such as the Asian or the Afro-Caribbean programmes, for separate ethnic communities (Salam)[222]. But later the GLC's radio projects for Asian and Afro-Caribbean communities facilitated these community groups in building the infrastructures, facilities and more importantly training, in order to make these community groups ready and equipped to apply for the future radio licences. Lewis and Booth (1989) states:

> "The Community Radio Development Unit became the best-resourced centre of information, advice, research and funding in the country. Its Local Radio Forum which met for the first time in October 1982 identified areas for intervention and research – the latter on foreign experience, frequency space in London and public attitudes to community radio – and Afro-Caribbean, Asian and other minority groups became prominent in the community radio debate as a result of GLC interest and funding" (p.106).

According to Salam[223], Indian and Pakistani groups, who listened to mainstream radio stations for music, chat shows and phone-ins, sport and general news, felt that there was little representation of the Asian community on mainstream radio stations and the

[220] S. Partridge, see Appendix 1.
[221] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.
[222] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.
[223] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.

programming was felt to be predominately White. According to Partridge[224], there was a very strong anti-racist approach within the GLC. It raised the profile of ethnic minorities and women within the GLC's development project.

Partridge[225] recalls:

> "I think what was interesting, at that point, was because of the lack of frequencies available, it became very clear that one could have a London-wide radio station catering for special interests but they would have to share a transmitter. One of the really interesting issues that I grappled with and I can even now remember some incredible meetings where I had, in a room full of people, there were Orthodox Jewish people, there were gay people, there were people from ethnic minorities, probably some feminists and the only thing they had in common, at a certain level, was they wanted access to a transmitter. I can remember some really hair-raising meetings where you wondered where the explosion was going to happen. People were coming from very different places and I think I saw our role as saying, 'Look, if we're going to get access to the airwaves, we're going to have to respect each other's differences'…so, there were inter-ethnic tensions as well" (Partridge)[226].

The GLC's Community Radio Development Unit was initially about influencing policy to encourage; however, it later became the third tier of radio. The unit wanted to influence policy and create the capacity to set up local radio stations in addition to the BBC and ILR stations. It was mainly for under-represented ethnic minorities groups in society. Salam[227] explains that this Community Radio Development Unit's idea was to have a multicultural radio project, and not specifically or separately to have Asian and Afro-Caribbean radio projects. The GLC had some grants available and it wanted to fund activities aimed at ethnic minorities. The issue was that the GLC was encouraging multicultural radio stations only as it thought that there cannot be a radio station having separate programmes for different ethnic communities such as Asian or Afro-Caribbean programmes; that was a debate going on during those years.

[224] S. Partridge, see Appendix 1.
[225] S. Partridge, see Appendix 1.
[226] S. Partridge, see Appendix 1.
[227] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.

According to Salam[228], the under-represented ethnic minorities in England were mainly the Asian community and the African-Caribbean community. These two biggest communities should be a priority as they are under-represented. The Asian community radio campaigners continuously fought for this and convinced the GLC that there was a need for separate radio projects for the Asian and Afro-Caribbean community in addition to the multicultural radio project. The GLC agreed and thus funded Asian and Afro-Caribbean projects as well. The Afro-Caribbean Radio project was set up in Brixton, the Asian Radio Studio Project was in Islington (Salam[229]; Lewis and Booth 1989).

Salam[230] strongly believes that:

> "The multicultural model would not have worked looking at the size and diversity of the ethnic communities, millions of people, many different languages within the groups, many different religions - multicultural is not going to work" (Salam)[231].

But according to Partridge[232], it wasn't just a debate about the multicultural model within the GLC; this is still an on-going debate in British culture about separation versus integration. Partridge[233] recalls:

> "I remember being worried about this. Is this becoming a mechanism for division and ghettoisation? There had obviously been some sort of black versus Asian conflict, as there was competition for limited airwaves. It's always quite difficult in these situations to separate out what you could call a technical issue from a socio-political issue. Also the South Asian community is homogeneous, so there are a few assumptions there, and so you are entering a very complicated socio-cultural field… And probably some word was coming down from the Home Office saying, look, we're worried about the possible division" (Partridge)[234].

[228] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.
[229] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.
[230] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.
[231] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.
[232] S. Partridge, see Appendix 1.
[233] S. Partridge, see Appendix 1.
[234] S. Partridge, see Appendix 1.

With reference to this conflict amongst the communities within the community regarding having different programmes for different communities in different languages rather than having a common multicultural model, BBC Radio London firmly believed that catering to these multicultural communities in the English language was the most suitable option.

In a reply[235] to the request of one of the Asian community members from London and also a correspondent for Banga Barta news Hakim Alkamal, BBC Radio London's Education Producer Keith Yeomans categorically states:

> "London's Asian population spans many language groups, and it would be hard to represent even the major ones fairly, in the time available each week. Conversations with educationalists and members of the Asian communities suggest that a high proportion of young Asians use English as their main language, and this is certainly borne out by the number of letters the BBC Radio London receives each week - more than those received by the previous Asian language programmes, and virtually all in English".

However, Salam[236] believes that when people listen to radio, they identify with their station, the station that plays their kind of music, or the station that broadcasts in their language and they are loyal to that. But on the other hand, the GLC's Community Radio Development Unit believed in the Multicultural model. It did the action research by going out and talking to people and seeing what they wanted, seeing how people would collaborate, although the key to the airwaves was held by the Home Office and not by the GLC.

According to Partridge[237]:

> "The Unit had already got some quite good contacts within the Home Office, but there was a political difficulty in terms of negotiating with the Home Office, which was quite a traditional government department negotiating with the radical left-wing bit of local government. It wasn't until quite a lot later that we did actually get access to the airwaves. We didn't actually do any broadcasting while I was there. On one level it was rather abstract" (Partridge)[238].

[235] The Listener (London, England). Immigrant programmes. Thursday, June 15, 1978; p.779; Issue 2564.
[236] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.
[237] S. Partridge, see Appendix 1.
[238] S. Partridge, see Appendix 1.

Therefore, as there was no access to the airwaves, multicultural radio having Asian, Caribbean and other ethnic groups sharing the frequency, was the policy of the GLC Community Radio team. Under the leadership of Ken Livingstone, the GLC introduced its four pioneering projects: a women's radio station, Asian Radio Studio Project (ARSP), Afro-Caribbean Radio Project (ACP) and Spectrum Radio. It budgeted more than £600000 to finance studios for four community radio projects to cover all of London. Much of the finance for these new radio projects had already been paid over to escape ratecapping, which came into effect in April 1985. The GLC accelerated these projects because it needed to spend a proportion of its reserves before the introduction of ratecapping. In normal circumstances the council would have wanted to spend a year researching the project before going ahead (Hewson 1985)[239]. Strongly committed to "anti-racist, anti-sexist policies", the GLC funded a variety of groups in the field of arts and community politics (Tsagarousianou 1999, p.58; Salam[240]).

Thus, the GLC authorised the building of studios for a women's radio station, an Afro-Caribbean station, an Asian radio studio, and a radio project for other ethnic minorities. The GLC money went towards building basic studios and also to finance the planning of the radio stations, but it was not going to pay for the transmitters. The GLC hoped that the community radio stations would become financially independent (Hewson 1985)[241]. However, all the four projects were told that they couldn't transmit any programmes until they are legalised.

Shirley Linden was the Head of the GLC's Arts and Media Policy Group. According to Linden[242], the council had no plans to take on the role of the running of the stations, but hoped that there could be changes in the regulatory rules surrounding radio, which would enable the new community stations to become a cross between the BBC and the Independent Broadcasting Authority. It was a responsible public action to start an experiment with these community radio stations. The GLC was looking at the regulatory

[239] David Hewson, Arts Correspondent. "Community radio stations to provide service for minority interest groups." Times [London, England] 21 Jan. 1985: 3. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 11 June 2015.
[240] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.
[241] David Hewson, Arts Correspondent. "Community radio stations to provide service for minority interest groups." Times [London, England] 21 Jan. 1985: 3. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 11 June 2015.
[242] ibid.

system, which could be introduced to choose between people competing for the licenses. The plan was to give money to the potential and interested applicants to build studios, but money wouldn't be provided to broadcast, as the GLC did not want to join the unregulated radio movement – it wanted these radio projects to be legitimate and genuine community radio stations (Hewson 1985)[243].

The GLC could not fund radio stations because nobody had a licence to broadcast, and there were no licences around. Being part of the GLC's short-lived Asian Radio Studio Project in 1985, Salam[244] recalls:

> "The only licences that existed were the national and local radio, independent local radio and BBC local radio, first and second tier, national and local radio. There was illegal pirate radio broadcasting, so the groups like RJR, DBC, Sina Radio for the Asian community, were broadcasting illegally, calling themselves community stations or pirate radio, but illegal. Obviously the GLC, as a publically funded body, was not going to fund these groups to broadcast illegally. And as there were no legal licences available, they could not fund radio stations. All they could fund were projects, which might eventually develop into radio stations when licences became available" (Salam)[245].

Discussions between the GLC and interested parties showed strong interest in community radio and criticism of the existing radio stations. These discussions had found unrest, especially with the existing stations' attitudes towards ethnic minorities and women. The programme policies of the new stations were planned independently of the council, but the groups were subject to some form of monitoring and scrutiny after they went on air (Hewson 1985)[246]. However, the Home Office was surprised by the GLC's move, as the above-discussed incomplete initiative by the Home Office on the new tier of radio stations had specifically emphasied that no one could be guaranteed a licence, including the GLC pilot projects or the existing unregulated radio stations.

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[243] David Hewson, Arts Correspondent. "Community radio stations to provide service for minority interest groups." Times [London, England] 21 Jan. 1985: 3. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 11 June 2015.
[244] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.
[245] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.
[246] David Hewson, Arts Correspondent. "Community radio stations to provide service for minority interest groups." Times [London, England] 21 Jan. 1985: 3. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 11 June 2015.

These projects were set up to facilitate training for the local Asian community to be able to use a community radio platform. Salam[247] recalls the initiation of the Asian Radio Studio Project:

> "We were going to set up radio studios for training, to train people, to train the Asian community in radio production, and to create a base, a talent base and a quantitative and qualitative mass of people so that when licences became available, we would have been ready to go. That was the idea. The chance of getting funding from the GLC to do it, obviously was very interesting, very attractive, so we were very interested in getting the funding to do the Asian Radio Studio Project and making it work. We were not officially allowed to broadcast, so we did not want to broadcast illegally, as in case we were then barred from having a licence, as the government made it clear that if anyone broadcast illegally, they would not get a licence. So we didn't want to be broadcasting illegally, but only to train people through this project. So we used the money to build studios in Islington, and that's where we were going to start training. Unfortunately, the GLC was closed down, and so the project couldn't work any further" (Salam)[248].

Thus, the GLC gave funding grants to build up the studios to train ethnic and Asian community members who were interested in starting their own radio stations. The Unit provided some studio workshops for ethnic and Asian community members (Partridge)[249]. Salam[250] was discontented with the GLC's multicultural strategy:

> "I will freely admit that the ARSP was a disaster, mainly because of splits within the group and the dubious agendas of some members, but also because I spent so much time fighting the strategic dirty war against the leadership of the Community Radio Association, who all had access to government ministers and civil servants who were preparing to offer licences for a 'third tier' of radio stations" (Salam 2013).

However, the important role played by the Asian Radio Studio Project in the development of Asian radio services in England cannot be overlooked. It was a pioneering project to train local Asian group members to be able to use a community radio platform. The first

[247] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.
[248] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.
[249] S. Partridge, see Appendix 1.
[250] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.

Asian commercial radio station *Sunrise Radio* eventually evolved through it in November 1989.

The Margaret Thatcher government dissolved the GLC in March 1986. Thatcher saw the GLC as a left-wing organisation that was politically opposed to what she wanted for London. According to March and Olson (1983), politicians frequently advocate administrative reorganisations but then fail to deliver. But the execution of the GLC was different. The GLC leader Ken Livingstone's interferences on issues of World War and peace were considered outside the constitutional sphere of councilors. The Conservative Party Manifesto of May 1983, a government White Paper produced in October 1983, and public statements by Patrick Jenkin, appointed Secretary of State for the Department of the Environment (DoE) after the 1983 General Election, all asserted that the GLC was administratively redundant (O'Leary 1987). They claimed that the GLC was "wasteful and unnecessary tiers of government" and the GLC's abolition would "save money and streamline the cities" (ibid, p.194). As a result, the plan was implemented and the GLC was dissolved in March 1986. Therefore, with the abolition of the GLC, its Community Radio Unit's initiatives were also terminated abruptly in March 1986. For these five consecutive years, the GLC was committed to support ethnic and Asian community through its media policy (Lewis 2008).

However, it can be seen that some of the GLC's Asian Radio Studio Projects applied for the incremental radio contracts experiment in 1989 and were eventually successful in obtaining incremental radio licenses. Thus, the GLC's objective to help local Asian community groups in setting up a radio station and to facilitate training to be able to use a community radio platform was fulfilled. Therefore, the GLC's Asian Radio Studio Project played an important role in future Asian radio services. The Community Radio Unit therefore was also dissolved. This unit gave advice and funding to various ethnic and minority groups in London "to assist the creation of radio workshops, to commission research and to increase public understanding of the possibilities of community radio" (Lewis 2008, p.9). Therefore, until the abolition, the GLC's Community Radio Development Unit became the best-resourced centre of information, advice, research and

funding in the country[251]. Its Local Radio Forum identified areas for intervention and research. It later researched into the radio frequency space in London and public attitudes to community radio (BRU 1985). Subsequently, "Afro-Caribbean, Asian and other minority ethnic groups became prominent in the community radio debate as a result of GLC interest and funding" (Lewis and Booth 1989, p.106).

5.7 The beginning of the community radio experiment

By the mid 1980s, interest in community radio was such that the Conservative government allowed for a network of experimental stations using low-powered VHF transmitters. This idea, too, undoubtedly resulted from pressure within the community media movement. Drawing together the existing community radio operators - student and hospital closed circuit networks and radio workshops for example, the Community Radio Association (CRA - the renamed COMCOM) used several conferences and feasibility studies to highlight the benefits of non-commercial community radio (Shingler and Wieringa 1998; Hind and Mosco 1985). Thus, during this time, the community radio lobby had intensified. The Home Office had started receiving many representations calling for a community service. As a result, by 1984 the Government appeared keen to introduce what would be a new third tier of radio licensing in the UK "which would have established a new tier of deregulated commercial stations, operated for an experimental period by the Home Office, not the IBA" (O'Malley 1988, p.39). At the end of 1984, the Conservative government planned its own community radio experiment paving the way for this new tier of radio stations that would legalise community radio stations and at the same time replace the unregulated radio stations. In January 1985, Home Secretary Leon Brittan announced his intention "to enable community radio to develop as soon as possible" (Stoller 2010, p.158). It envisaged two types of community radio stations. These two possible concepts were canvassed, with the aim of broadening the diversity of consumer choice by providing services distinct in character from those available from the BBC and IBA. The first would have a wider reception area but be based on providing a narrow spectrum of interest, usually defined on ethnic grounds. It was of the

[251] IBA/LMA/GLC/RA/GR/02/024, February 1985 - This is Greater London Council's Ethnic (Asian) Arts Sub-Committee report on the possible grant for the Asian Community Action Group to encourage the practice and appreciation of the Asian cultural arts.

neighbourhood concept with a service radius of 5 kilometres. The second concept was of the community of interest, which envisaged stations with a service radius of 10 kilometres broadcasting to, for example, an ethnic group or those interested in a particular type of music. This second idea was of small neighbourhood stations that the Home Office saw as "weekly newspapers of the air" (Hewson 1985)[252].

The term community radio had already been identified and discussed in 1965 by Rachel Powell in her pamphlet 'Possibilities for Local Radio'[253], which was published by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at Birmingham University (Mowitt 2011). Powell's essay was widely circulated and commented on. Among the commentators was Raymond Williams who called it a detailed and imaginative account of what local broadcasting could really do if it could be, from the beginning, unambiguously a social service (Striphas and Hayward 2013). According to Partridge (1982), by 1979, the Community Communications Group - COMCOM as it became known (Lewis and Booth 1989, p.106)[254] - had drawn up a Community Broadcasting Charter, which described the function, process and structural aims of community radio. According to this Charter, Community Broadcasting needed to serve recognisably local communities and/or communities of interest, having a non-profit distributing nature, having its general management and programming policy made by a Governing Board which would be democratically representative of the various interests in the community and thus provide with this democratic, non-profit structure, a service of information, education and entertainment, and enable the two-way communication of diverse opinions; it would also provide equal opportunities for women, and for ethnic and other significant social minorities in its programming as well as its employment policy (ibid).

[252] David Hewson, Arts Correspondent. "Community radio stations to provide service for minority interest groups." Times [London, England] 21 Jan. 1985: 3. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 11 June 2015.
[253] Rachel Powell's twenty-two page essay *Possibilities for Local Radio* was published in December 1965 as the Centre's first Working Paper.
[254] According to Lewis and Booth (1989), in 1979, COMCOM published its Community Broadcasting Charter, adapted from the American NFCB's (National Federation of Community Broadcasters) station membership rules. This charter has since been modified by the Community Radio Association. The Community Radio Association later became Commedia - The Community Media Association.

The intention of this community radio concept was that "the stations would have been subject to the minimum of regulation consistent with the public interest" (Green Paper on Radio: 1987, p.14). In January 1985 Home Secretary Leon Brittan announced his intention to support community radio to develop. Stoller (2010) in his paper[255] states that the Home Office officials were keen to try out new media projects, and Brittan was especially enthusiastic about it. Brittan's personal enthusiasm got reflected through the language used in the Home Office press statement published in January 1985, which was personal especially for official documents of that period:

> "…I have for some time been interested in the idea of community radio and am anxious to provide the opportunity for its development…we now know what spectrum will be available to the UK, in what timescale, so that it will now be possible to establish what assignments could be devoted to community radio … It is most commonly seen as representing a third tier of radio quite distinct from those services provided by the BBC and the IBA" (Stoller 2010, p.8).

However the IBA believed that ILR stations were already providing an effective formula for local community radio. Then in July 1985, Leon Brittan announced plans for an initial 21 community radio stations, ranging from the Shetland Isles to five stations in London, for what was to begin as a two-year experiment. The Home Office [Ministry of the Interior] intended that these community radio services would be very largely unregulated, even in terms of their commercial revenues. Stoller (2010) states that the first signs that the idea might not have been fully thought through came with subsidiary technical regulations for the new stations, issued in September, which were "so strict that even the BBC or the IBA could not meet them" (Stoller 2010, p.9). The Home Office received a total of 245 applications for the 21 licences by the revised closing date of 31 October 1985. The number and quality of applications suggested a strong potential for services, which appealed to very local or specialised interests, for example, services, which met the needs of the local community including the ethnic minority communities, or those for whom English was a second language. A panel was set up to select the first stations, which submitted their recommendations to the Home Secretary early in 1986. But then

[255] Stoller presented a paper *Independent Local Radio in the Eighties* at the 'No Such' Symposium at Bournemouth University in January 2010.

there was a silence for few months. Stoller (2010) questions "if the government was unhappy with the panel's recommendations, which leaks said favoured ethnic minority services, and if the anguish of the ILR stations did worry the government" (ibid, p.9).

This proposed community radio experiment project had received a huge response. It showed the need and desire of the ethnic communities including the Asian community to start its own mother-tongue radio platform during that period. According to Lewis (2008), "community media can make a significant contribution to social inclusion, community engagement and regeneration" (p.6). It can be noticed, "the enthusiasm for the proposed community radio experiment project reflected in the applications suggested that the demand was there" (Green Paper on Radio 1987, p.14).

At the same time, there had been dissatisfaction within many minority communities after the riots in Brixton, Toxteth, and Peckham. It was also rumoured that there was a division within the cabinet and opposition from the Foreign Office, having the concerns over the public order aspect of community radio and about broadcasting by enemies of the state (Stoller 2010; Wray 2009). As a reaction to this, there was an uncertainty whether to continue with this experiment or not. Therefore, it was thought that this community radio experiment could be safely postponed, until it could be considered within the broader picture. As a result, Douglas Hurd, who had taken over as Home Secretary in September 1985, issued the announcement accordingly in June 1986. Therefore, the project did not continue. The community radio campaigners were outraged, calling it, "an example of insensitive incompetence, the indefinite postponement of the experiment in community radio was a terrifying example of political incompetence by the government. To start a scheme, to encourage widespread participation and then, on dubious grounds, ditch the whole effort at the last moment is almost incredible" (Stoller 2010, p.10). Although this scheme was abandoned, some of the applicants later applied for the incremental contracts and subsequently started the incremental radio stations (Barbrook 1992). I will be discussing these incremental radio contracts later in this chapter.

At the same time, Asian community group members were proposing to broadcast in mother tongue languages to be able to reach to Asian community. At the beginning of this

chapter, we discussed how BBC local radio stations were in the same dilemma whether to produce and air radio programmes in Asian languages or not, to avoid any trouble. From the late 1970s onwards, the BBC's annual conferences with representatives from the BBC local radio stations and from the BBC's Asian Programmes Advisory Council discussed the needs and demands of the Asian listener communities and had helped the BBC to understand the need of Asian radio programming output. Therefore it was trying to cater to the actual needs and demands of the local Asian community through its local radio programming output. However, during the 1980s, there was still a concern of language broadcasting, which was expressed to the ethnic minority groups in a meeting with the Home Office and the Community Radio Association (which later became Community Media Association).

The Community Radio Association had a series of meetings with civil servants and the Minister in the Home Office who had responsibility for Media, David Mellor in 1985-86. One reason the government was nervous and reluctant about letting Asian stations on air was the *Khalistan Nationalist Movement* in India, which was causing the Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi lots of political trouble. The Indian government was putting pressure on the British government to curb *Khalistani* propaganda and activists in the UK (Salam)[256]. So the British government was worried how would they monitor if the Asian radio group were not broadcasting inflammatory political content, as at that time, the unregulated radio station *Radio Caroline* was broadcasting pro-Khalistan messages; it was a Sikh political group broadcasting pro-Khalistan programmes in Punjabi. As a result, the government, CRA colleagues and GLC officers expressed doubt about letting Asians have their own stations.

[256] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.

But according to Salam[257], why would somebody who is holding a responsible licence allow such things on his or her radio; he argues:

> "We felt that we should in fact have priority since we were the most under-represented groups in British society. Also mother tongue broadcasting was necessary… there was a lot of money in Asian radio broadcasting… the people who got the money in the community in the eighties were first generation who were connected to their community, so that generation of listeners didn't want English language broadcasting, they wanted mother tongue broadcasting… Hindustani language was an idea because they all knew Hindustani… and therefore, we felt that we should provide a service to older listeners, maintain the culture and give the stations the chance to build a commercial base, as it was the older generation who had the businesses and money to advertise on these stations" (ibid)[258].

Similarly Kotak[259] emphasises that by the 1980s, there was a desperate need for an independent separate Asian radio service in the country:

> "There was a strong sense of localness involved in the medium of radio, which the BBC Asian Network couldn't provide to the local Asian listener community spread across the country" (ibid)[260].

So, there was a frustration growing within the industry and within the listeners, especially amongst the ethnic minorities. Salam started doing a radio show on Greater London Radio (GLR) in 1987. It was a magazine programme called *Asian London*, having guests talking about anything and everything. There were news items, which could be of interest to Asian people in London. If there were national events, incidents that affected the Asian community in London, then it would be there in this radio magazine. Also there was lots of music, as this radio show wanted to reflect all tastes; it played film music, bhangra, the Asian rap music and it also hosted new artists. However, Salam[261] states that the majority of the show's listener audience wasn't Asian because GLR was at that time, a rock music

[257] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.
[258] ibid.
[259] D. Kotak, see Appendix 1.
[260] ibid.
[261] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.

station. Thus, the majority of the traditional Asian community in London was not listening to GLR. So there was a need for having a separate radio station catering to the Asian community in London. There was Sina Radio, which later became Sunrise Radio, in West London, which was broadcasting illegally but in Punjabi and Hindi. The Asian community who would have listened to GLR were people who were born and educated here, who would be in their mid-twenties; they would be culturally westernised although connected close to their roots, and would identify completely as Asian, would speak mother tongue, but be a British citizen. This is why, the whole idea about having this community's own independent radio station had to happen (ibid).

Salam[262] recalls:

> "I was in London then, and Radio London hardly reflected the diversity of London at all. It was a major problem for them, which they acknowledged, finally. But there was no culturally specific programming. If there was anything, it was one hour. If you look at the TV scene, I grew up with things like *Nai Zindagi Naya Jeevan* (New Life), one hour on a Sunday, or half an hour on a Sunday. That's the Asian programming. And there were no black or brown faces anywhere else on TV. The ethnic community members never made programmes. So, there was very little amount of programming for the ethnic audience" (ibid).

The argument presented here by Salam[263] could be supported by the audience survey undertaken by the Broadcasting Research Unit (BRU), which demonstrates the similar notions. This survey[264] was undertaken in the Greater London Area in connection with the GLC's Community Radio Development Project between January and April 1985 (BRU 1985)[265]. This project encompassed two surveys: a London-wide survey and a survey of two boroughs of Haringey and Enfield. These two surveys were carried out in the light of certain views about the relationship between attitudes to Community Radio and location within London. One of the primary intentions of the whole of the BRU's work was to provide an intelligent context within which policy could be formulated. This survey

[262] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.
[263] ibid.
[264] The survey report was published by the BRU in 1985 as 'The Audience for Community Radio in London'.
[265] ibid.

notably confirmed that there was actually a role for Community Radio to play, though the forms which that role would take were inevitably complex; what was certain was that different people, in different places, want different things from any new service. Thus, this result significantly articulated the need for a Community Radio service from these surveys (BRU 1985). In this survey, geographical, ethnic-based and interest-based communities were recognised and two strands of attitudes towards community radio were identified: "inclusive and exclusive" (BRU 1985, p.S/12; Scifo 2011). The inclusive attitude envisaged integration and the sense of belonging in each community. It intended that the community is defined by its geographical boundaries and that everyone in the community should work together regardless of their ethnic and cultural differences. On the other hand, the exclusive attitude envisaged that community is defined by culture and ethnicity and that, within a geographical boundary, each group should maintain its distance from the other, and therefore, that each group of interest will have its own radio station (BRU 1985).

This survey reflected a major concern about representation – people in an area being given a chance to express their views and to question their representatives. It showed a demand for regular current affairs programmes, in which representatives of all the major interest groups in this area could discuss how recent events affect the community; a great deal of programme time in Community Radio should be devoted "to discussion shows with local people about issues of concern to the community" (BRU 1985, p.43). This survey brought up the views that the national media presented a stereotypical picture of different ethnic groups and that was harmful to community relations; it suggested that Community Radio could "possibly break these stereotypes with its contribution in eradicating all forms of prejudice in this area" (BRU 1985, p.45).

This survey also expressed "the issues relating to local control through local representation" (BRU 1985, p.65); local control is the only way "to ensure the clear representation of the different interests of groups in this area; and the producers, engineers, technicians, editors, the staff of the Community Radio station should live in the area; and that all the programmes should have local people as either the presenter or the D.J." (ibid, p.65). The demand for exclusive radio stations also emerged through this

survey. It suggested that "each ethnic minority should have a separate station, as white people are well enough catered for in the media, and what is needed are stations catering exclusively for different ethnic groups, as different ethnic groups do not have enough in common to share in the control of a Community Radio station" (BRU 1985, p.67).

There was also a demand for local training. It was expected that Community Radio should "provide training facilities for local people in all aspects of radio, from presentation to production; and that radio should not be left in the hands of the commercial companies or the national bodies such as the BBC" (ibid, p.68). It can be noticed that control was the vital issue emerging through this survey, which proved that "there was a broad consensus against the existing authorities, and for local control" (ibid, p.69).

At the same time, the then Conservative government had introduced fresh legislation, which was designed to deliver a more flexible, modern and commercially oriented independent broadcasting system towards the end of the 1980s. It made clear that it intended to abolish the IBA, with whom its relations had become very strained, and set up a new regulatory regime. According to Vick[266], the IBA was very focused upon retaining a continuing role of responsibility for commercial television under a new identity. ILR had come along much later than ITV, and was much less important in revenue and prestige terms. It had also struggled commercially during periods of economic recession, and therefore, it was always given much lower priority than television in the strategic planning of the Radio Authority.

5.8 Incremental radio contracts and Asian radio broadcasters

As the discussions with the government continued, the radio division of the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA), which had always maintained a fierce independence and strong feeling of pride, began to fear that its future interests were being neglected by the IBA's top brass and that it needed to take the initiative to demonstrate its commitment to the future development of independent radio (ibid)[267]. The government was uncertain

[266] D. Vick, see Appendix 1.
[267] ibid.

about introducing community-based local radio. The 1987 Green Paper reveals this uncertainty:

> "We do not know the extent of the audience for such services. But the enthusiasm reflected in the applications, and the impact of some pirate radio stations, suggest that the demand is there… Community radio should be introduced through the UK, finding its place side by side with existing local commercial stations under a new form of light regulation" (Home Office 1987, p.14, 27).

At the same time, in January 1988, the news came through from the Home Secretary about the demolition of the IBA:

> "After careful thought we have concluded that it would be right to establish a new Radio Authority, with radio at the centre of its attention. The IBA has earned our respect and gratitude for its development of local radio services under the duties laid upon it 15 years ago. But it has major challenges ahead of it in the field of television. We have judged that it would not be sensible to ask the IBA at the same time to take on the task of developing a new and greatly expanded radio system, operating under a new and much lighter set of rules" (Green Paper on Radio, 1988b).

IBA's Director General John Whitney commented in the IBA press release:

> "We regret the Government's announcement of its intention to remove regulatory responsibility for radio from the IBA" (Green Paper on Radio, 1988a).

Also, in the late 1980s, a number of would be radio station owners were pressing the government for a change in the licensing process and rules, so that they could provide more generic or locally focussed commercially funded radio services (Brown)[268]. Under the pressure to respond to this demand, the IBA's Radio Division came up with the idea of an experiment of additional radio services.

[268] P. Brown, see Appendix 1.

Without waiting for further government initiatives, the IBA introduced this new form of community radio service called incremental radio stations (McCain and Lowe 1990; Stoller 2010; Blackmore 1989; Brown 1988). Since these new stations "would increase choice, they would be referred to as 'incremental' stations" (Starkey 2015, p.114). So, these stations were called incremental because these were additional in the areas where independent local radio stations already existed and that too, strongly. They were considered viable (McCain and Lowe 1990). With the help of Community radio Association, the Association of Broadcasting Development and the Trade Press, the IBA plan was highly successful, generating 540 letter of inquiry as a response to the Green Paper in the late 1988 for some possible 20 licenses (Brown 1988); it confirmed "the view that the time was now right for major change" (Home Office 1988, p.37).

Paul Brown and David Vick were both working at the IBA's Radio Division. Brown[269] and Vick[270] both proposed that the IBA should advertise new radio services. As a result, the IBA decided to advertise the incremental - additional - radio contracts. They proposed that these services should be "confined within existing ILR areas" (Stoller 2010, p.173). At the same time, the 1988 White Paper proposed to restructure all broadcasting in Great Britain featuring new independent national networks and independent local stations. It proposed that the new independent local stations "must be able to demonstrate financial viability, local audience demands and the extent to which the proposed services would enhance the range of programming and diversity of listener choice" (Home Office 1988, p.37). It was against this background that the "incremental" concept was born (Stoller[271]; Vick[272]; Brown[273]). It was mainly David Vick who coined the term 'incremental', as each new station would represent an increment - small increase - in the existing ILR provision in an area. They were 'additional' stations in the areas where ILR stations already existed (Stoller)[274].

[269] P. Brown, see Appendix 1.
[270] D. Vick, see Appendix 1.
[271] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.
[272] D. Vick, see Appendix 1.
[273] P. Brown, see Appendix 1.
[274] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.

These radio stations were allowed for a more specialised and more localised service. The crucial point was the identification by Brown[275], that the detailed wording of the 1973 Act concerning the all things to all people requirements of ILR were with reference to an area, but not to an individual station. Thus, if any new ILR stations could be introduced within an existing ILR area, the statutory requirements would relate to those stations collectively, but not necessarily to each station individually (ibid). For the first time, ILR stations were to face straight competition within their permit areas from these new additional radio stations. Also, this was the first time; radio contracts were to be advertised "with a specific programming remit" (Stoller 2010, p.174). They were either going to be 'community of interest stations' or 'small geographical community stations'[276].

Up to that point, the idea had been to have only one commercial radio licence in each area. So these incremental radio licences were introduced by the IBA to provide extra specialist stations for areas with an existing commercial radio station[277] (Vick[278]; Stoller[279]). Vick[280] explains that Paul Brown in the IBA persuaded his radio colleagues, and then the IBA hierarchy, that it would be permissible to advertise contracts for new community-based services provided that they were wholly contained geographically within existing ILR coverage areas. Despite the misgivings of the IBA's Director General, the Radio staff was given the go-ahead to put this proposal to the Home Office, who were delighted to find a way of moving forward with innovative radio development and rapidly gave the scheme a green light (ibid).

By December 1988, the IBA received an approval from the Radio Authority for the advertisement of a total of 21 licences. It then published advertisements inviting "letters of intent" to provide the new radio services (Stoller 2010, p.174). The IBA being the broadcaster under the law of the time advertised these contracts for the potential radio contractors, and thus satisfied IBA's duties. By doing this, the IBA also enabled itself to

[275] P. Brown, see Appendix 1.
[276] IBA, Incremental Local Radio Contracts – letters of intent, November 1988.
[277] IBA (1989) *Independent Local Radio Incremental Contract Specification*, London: Independent Broadcasting Authority.
[278] D. Vick, see Appendix 1.
[279] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.
[280] D. Vick, see Appendix 1.

become more adventurous and to try to prompt illegal radio broadcasters to go legal (Brown[281]; Vick[282]; Stoller[283]). Thus, this initiative to license these incremental radio stations in 1989 began at the time of the IBA facing closure and being changed as the Radio Authority.

The selection of locations for the incremental services was informed by several factors; among the most significant was the awareness of keen prospective applicants to run stations in those areas, and/or the existence of defined communities who could clearly benefit from the introduction of new services directed specifically at their largely-unmet broadcasting needs. Vick[284] recalls:

> "The IBA decided that 21 new contracts should be advertised, specified as being either for 'more localised but clearly-defined communities within existing areas' (e.g. towns such as Sunderland, within the existing Tyne and Wear franchise area; or Stockport, a sizeable town within the Greater Manchester ILR area), or for 'communities of interest'. This principle that new stations should either be 'more localised' or 'more specialised' than the established ILR services also guided most of the development, which I subsequently initiated at the Radio Authority" (ibid).

The idea of communities of interest mainly signposted the possibility of introducing services aimed at clearly defined ethnic minority groups. By this time, illegal radio broadcasting had strongly increased. Therefore looking at the new radio contracts as an opportunity to cease illegal radio broadcasting, in 1988 Home Secretary Douglas Hurd announced that "anyone convicted of illegal broadcasting committed after 1 January 1989 would be banned from holding an ILR or community licence for five years" (Stoller 2010, p.175).

By April 1989, the IBA had awarded franchises for this new form of radio station in the UK. These stations primarily aimed to serve ethnic populations in metropolitan areas

[281] P. Brown, see Appendix 1.
[282] D. Vick, see Appendix 1.
[283] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.
[284] D. Vick, see Appendix 1.

(McCain and Lowe 1990). Stoller[285] explains how the IBA's incremental Radio contracts initiative encouraged Asian community groups to apply for radio service licences:

> "… They were incremental stations because they were additional in an area to - which already had an independent local radio station. So there were stations in London, in Birmingham, in Manchester… in Leicester and in Bradford. So these were full scale, ordinary commercial radio stations. And these were successful commercial radio stations with a small public service remit, not very much, which broadcast, for the Asian stations, in Asian language, quite often a range of languages, quite often not only a single language… quite a few of those were full time Asian language services" (ibid).

Several ethnic-based stations of the illegal radio movement, stimulated by the deregulating of the broadcasting policy framework, were interested in getting radio broadcasting licenses in 1989 (Vick[286]; Stoller[287]; Scifo 2011). Thus, one of the specified aims of these incremental stations was to allow illegal broadcasters the chance to become legal broadcasters. The IBA advertised 21 new incremental radio licences for more specifically defined communities, "of which seven were identified as ethnic" (Starkey 2015, p.114). These licences were to be "advertised in five blocks between January and May 1989, evaluated and recommended by a sub-committee of the Authority, with all the awards ratified by the summer or early autumn" (Stoller 2010, p.175). Thus, the incremental radio contracts by the IBA were the solution to the demand of the potential community groups who were willing to run radio services to provide local and commercially funded radio services, including the ethnic and Asian radio services.

So, Asian community groups were interested in applying for these incremental radio contracts. Therefore, some of the biggest ethnic minorities in England such as Asians, Greeks and West Indians applied for the incremental radio contracts (Lewis and Booth 1989). Apna Radio, Eastern Melody, Midland Asian Community Radio, Multi Sound Radio, Sound of Bradford Ltd. were amongst the applicants for the incremental radio contracts who received a tremendous support and recommendations from the local

[285] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.
[286] ibid.
[287] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.

community members as well as from the local politicians to start community radio services[288].

Some of these Asian applicants were later successful in starting radio stations that attracted funding from their own ethnic group's businesses (Lewis and Booth 1989). The first of these new incremental radio stations to begin broadcasting in October 1989 was Sunset Radio, which were a mainly Black music radio service aimed at Asian and other ethnic communities in Greater Manchester. Sunset had emerged from a publishing company of the same name set up in 1982, to publish a Black magazine containing ethnic news. The first major article commissioned by the magazine was written by one of the founder directors of the company, Mike Shaft. The article examined the questions of the "absence of a Black radio station in the United Kingdom"[289] (p.2). The impact of this article was considerable and let to Shaft addressing the Radio Festival held in Manchester in June 1984. Subsequently, a lengthy article on Black radio was published in the 'Broadcast' magazine. Thus, gradually Mike Shaft continued to pursue the issue of the lack of Black radio. As a result, it became evident that "Greater Manchester warranted a radio station catering for its sizeable ethnic community of Asians, Chinese, Africans and West Indians"[290] (p.2). Therefore, in its application[291] under the "community of interest" category, the main applicants of Sunset Radio Chairman, Clive Lloyd claimed, "although the area had been well served by both BBC and IBA stations, there have been growing gaps in the radio market" (p.1). Lloyd had further mentioned that there were a growing number of inhabitants of ethnic descent living in the Manchester area, and hence, it had been long felt that "existing radio services failed to reflect their interests and needs both, in terms of news, community affairs and music, whether Asian or Afro-Caribbean"[292]. The application strongly stated that Sunset Radio could provide these ethnic minorities of Greater Manchester "with a distinct, professional and commercially viable Community of interest radio station that would significantly increase consumer choice" (p.1). Thus, to

[288] IBA Archive file: A/D/0480/28: 1989, A/D/0474/34: 1989.
[289] IBA Archive file: Sunset Radio Application, 0480/28: 1989.
[290] ibid.
[291] ibid.
[292] ibid.

fill this gap, Sunset Radio was awarded an incremental radio contract and started broadcasting successfully in October 1989. It went into bankruptcy in October 1993.

Another Asian radio station, named Sunrise Radio, was awarded an incremental radio contract. It began broadcasting from Southall for the Asian community of West London in November 1989. As Stoller (2010) states, Sunrise Radio continued to be a "considerable commercial success" (p.175). Thus, Sunset Radio and Sunrise Radio were the outcomes of this development of Incremental radio services, which were catering to the more localised and specific communities in their respective areas (Brown[293]; Stoller 2010).

A total of 266 applications were received for the total 21 experimental incremental contracts, having a few from the Asian community groups such as Apna Radio, Radio Watan, Eastern Melody, Midland Asian Community Radio, Multi Sound Radio, Sound of Bradford Ltd[294]. Radio Watan was one of the IBA's Incremental radio contract applications[295] submitted in March 1989. In this application, the applicant Iftikhar Sheikh who was a former Pakistani film producer and the Community Radio Association's Treasurer, mentioned that after working at BBC Radio Manchester in the Asian unit as a volunteer for two years, it felt that the time allocated by the BBC for the Asian programming, which was once a week, was not sufficient to entertain the Asian community as there were a lot of issues to discuss and problems to solve - and thus there was a demand for radio for the Asian community who was left out by the other local radio stations because of their culture, religion, traditions and customs[296]. Sheikh almost single-handedly put together a 'community of interest' station. Through the incremental radio station application, he had plans to broadcast to the whole of London, providing cheap ILR-style programmes in ten different languages for the city's ethnic minority communities including the Indian and Pakistani communities (*The Listener* 1984)[297].

[293] P. Brown, see Appendix 1.
[294] IBA Archive file: A/D/0480/28: 1989, A/D/0474/34: 1989.
[295] IBA Archive file: Radio Watan application 0480/28: 1989.
[296] ibid.
[297] Communities on the air. *The Listener* (London, England), Thursday, June 14, 1984; p.31; Issue [2862].

Vick[298] explains that among these keen prospective applicants were groups who had been active in the community radio movement, especially those with a commercial orientation and also those which had proved an audience demand by broadcasting as illegal, unregulated radio stations to particular interest-groups. The latter gladly ceased their illegal broadcasts in order to apply for contracts to broadcast legitimately through the 'incremental' scheme. Good examples of the latter are London Greek Radio (LGR), a hugely popular unregulated radio station for the Greek Cypriot community which went on to win a time-share of an incremental service in Haringey (North London) and Sunrise Radio, which had similarly proved the demand for an Asian station in and around Southall while broadcasting as the illegal Sina Radio and went on to be the successful applicant for the incremental contract for Hounslow and Ealing (West London)[299].

Thus, in total, the IBA awarded 21 incremental radio licences across the country[300][301]. Asian community groups succeeded in getting radio broadcasting contracts. Sunrise Radio was launched in November 1989 to broadcast first for West London's Asian community, then across Greater London and the Midlands. It was the first 24-hour Asian radio station to begin in Britain. Around the same time, Sunrise Radio acquired a contract for a sister station in Bradford to cater to Yorkshire's growing South Asian community. London Greek Radio (LGR) got a licence for North London. On the AM dial, Spectrum International, a multicultural station, formed by activists of different ethnic communities, got a licence in June 1990 (Scifo 2011).

Vick[302] explains that the incremental contracts awarded in 1989 included stations directed both at specific ethnic minority audiences, such as Sunrise Radio and LGR and others with a more multi-ethnic, multi-cultural approach, notably Spectrum Radio, with a remit to serve a number of different ethnic groups in Greater London on a time-share basis and Harmony Radio in Coventry. Others, such as Choice FM in Brixton and Sunset Radio in

[298] D. Vick, see Appendix 1.
[299] ibid.
[300] IBA (1988) IBA Unveils Plans for New Radio Stations, London: Independent Broadcasting Authority.
[301] IBA (1988a) *IBA Outlines Plans for ILR Incremental Contracts*, London: Independent Broadcasting Authority.
[302] D. Vick, see Appendix 1.

Manchester, were aimed primarily at African-Caribbean listeners but also attracted a younger white audience through their music content. Vick[303] States:

> "We at the IBA were keen, in the incremental project, to experiment with a good range of different types of station, conscious that some ideas would work more successfully than others. Some stations did fail, through commercial incompetence, e.g. Airport Information Radio, for Heathrow and Gatwick, as they were not able to sustain a viable service" (ibid).

Thus, the IBA was keen to help this largely overlooked but significant listener community. Vick[304] explains:

> "There was a discrete section of the UK population, which was being very poorly served by the BBC and by the constraints imposed on the commercial radio sector, which deserved much better, and my strategy was based on this" (ibid).

The demand for "alternative" radio, and alternatives to the services offered by the BBC and IBA contractors, was clearly demonstrated (*The Listener* 1984)[305]. Asian radio services had a tremendous potential to be popular, due to the size and proven enthusiasm of their potential audiences. They were confident they could be commercially viable because of the entrepreneurial acumen of their management and the vitality of the advertising market among Asian businesses. Sunrise Radio proved an exemplary pioneer in this respect, by starting and extending its coverage to the Greater London area. Later during the 1990s, the Radio Authority introduced further Asian services in places such as Birmingham, Bradford, East Lancashire and North Manchester and Leicester (Vick)[306].

[303] D. Vick, see Appendix 1.
[304] D. Vick, see Appendix 1.
[305] Communities on the air. *The Listener* (London, England), Thursday, June 14, 1984; p.31; Issue [2862].
[306] D. Vick, see Appendix 1.

Vick[307] explains:

> "Apart from my confidence in the potential popularity of Asian radio services and of the social need for them, I was also motivated by a genuine dismay at the inadequacy of the provision for Asian listeners on BBC local radio, which had a more overt remit to cater for the needs of all types of minority interest than did commercial radio. The BBC only really developed its Asian radio programming, through the Asian Network, long after stations like Sunrise Radio had proved the demand for such output. I remember having a heated argument with the BBC's then Head of Local Radio, Mark Byford, castigating him for the feebleness of the BBC's provision at that time. Commercial services stepped into the vacuum left by the BBC, and demonstrated the existence of a large unserved audience" (ibid).

5.9 Conclusion

Thus, these radio initiatives were a precursor to separate independent Asian radio broadcasting. The success of ethnic groups attaining the incremental radio contracts resulted from years of lobbying instigated by the Community Communications Group - COMCOM (Lewis and Booth 1989). Tsagarousianou (2002) discusses that these groups managed to feature their "tradition of service" prominently in their radio licence applications (p.219). Importantly, Tsagarousianou (2002) observes how their "community-based genealogy" was used as an asset, but their commercial logic and positioning in the ILR sector, was dominant in their policies given that their perspective audience was described as "eminently marketable" in their applications to the Radio Authority; this demonstrates "how the idiom of community can be used as a vehicle for the success of commercial logic in the ethnic community media sector" (Tsagarousianou 2002, p.220 in Scifo 2011). Further groups targeting the Afro-Caribbean and Turkish community in London followed this first wave of ethnic broadcasters. According to Richard Barbrook (1992), who was one of the GLC members, these incremental stations were the "forerunners" of the "hundreds" of new stations envisaged under the 1990 Broadcasting Act[308]. For many years, pressure groups within the Conservative party had demanded the reorganisation of British radio broadcasting along American lines. In their view, listeners would prefer a choice of many different stations operating under

[307] D. Vick, see Appendix 1.
[308] IBA (1989a) *IBA Extends Listener Choice in Radio*, London: Independent Broadcasting Authority, p.1.

deregulated market competition, rather than the limited number of regulated channels offered by the existing radio system[309] (Barbrook 1992). These existing incremental contracts were converted into incremental licences once the Radio Authority was established. This led to a considerable increase in the number of local and regional commercial radio services across England. Out of all of this, Asian radio proved to be a considerable generic success. It shows the increasing pressure, need, desire and demand that there was during this period, which eventually led the Asian community to start independent radio stations.

[309] Adam Smith Institute (1984) *Omega Report: Communications Policy*, London: Adam Smith Institute.

6. Chapter Six: 1991 – 2004:
More experiments towards the beginning of Asian radio broadcasting

6.1 Introduction

In the last chapter, we discussed how Asian community groups were encouraged to start experimental incremental radio stations during the 1980s. The various developments, including the GLC's initiatives in the mid-1980s to identify the need of multicultural London and then subsequently providing grants to motivate ethnic community groups in the London area to start various activities including potential community radio projects. The unfinished community radio experiment during 1985-86, and later the experiment of Incremental Radio Contracts strategically planned by the IBA in the year of 1989, helped Asian community groups understand the potential and power of the community-oriented, community focused medium of local radio.

All these initiatives hugely encouraged Asian community groups and made them realise that this could be their ultimate route to establishing themselves in local Asian community groups, in wider British society as well as in the British media. Asian community groups realised the importance of the power of this tool of radio in reaching out to its community to inform, educate and entertain either in English or in the mother-tongue languages. At the same time, the BBC and ILR continued to cater to the Asian community in England through its radio programmes. However, during the 1990s, some of the equations within existing mainstream radio changed mainly after the introduction of the Broadcasting Act 1990. Also, the introduction of Restricted Service Licences (RSL) by the new Radio Authority, who superseded the IBA, brought a different dimension to community radio broadcasting during the 1990s; it ultimately showed Asian community radio enthusiasts a real hope of having community radio transmissions for as little as a 28-day period. This RSL model was very successful within the Asian community and has continued until today. Many of today's Asian community radio stations actually started their journey with this RSL experiment by testing the waters. The decade of the 1990s was of significant importance in terms of getting the Asian community on air through its own radio broadcasts via the incremental radio contracts or the RSLs mainly.

This Chapter discusses this exciting development by looking at the continued development of incremental radio contracts, the pioneering RSL experiment, as well as the Asian radio programming on the BBC and ILR. It will also continue to look at the status of British society during the 1990s in terms of race relations, migration and integration.

6.2 The implications of the Broadcasting Act 1990

The Broadcasting Bill published in December 1989 later developed as the Broadcasting Act in the 1990s. For those who were hoping for an independent tier of not-for-profit radio in the UK, they all had "seemed lost with the passage of the 1990 Broadcasting Act" (Stoller 2010, p.313). To understand the implications of the Broadcasting Act 1990, it would be necessary to go back a little and understand the context to the introduction of this Act. The Thatcher government was dedicated to the philosophies of privatisation, deregulation and free market. It commissioned a report under the chairmanship of Professor Alan Peacock in 1985. It was hopeful that the Peacock Committee might recommend the abolition of the licence fee and recommend advertising on the BBC. However, the Peacock Report published in July 1986 did not propose advertising on the BBC, in fact many of its proposals influenced the reshaping of the broadcasting policy landscape and the restructuring of regulatory structures in commercial broadcasting (O'Malley and Jones 2009). The committee put forward a number of proposals for replacing the present system of financing the BBC, however, it rejected the proposal of the BBC possibly getting funded wholly or in part by advertising and concluded that the licence fee should remain as the principal source of funding for the BBC. The committee's view was that the present system of public service broadcasting had provided the best means of securing diversity of choice and programmes of quality, and thus should remain as it is with some necessary amendments (BBC Financing 1986)[310]. The report faced a considerable resentment by both the Opposition and much of the television industry. However, despite that resentment, there were indications that at least some of Peacock's general philosophy was becoming increasingly regarded as the common sense

[310] BBC Financing (Peacock Report) 1986, HC Deb, vol 100, cc1180-93.

of debate on television policy and that… some of its recommendations were increasingly being seen as inevitable (Goodwin 1998).

The committee had recommendations for Radio as well. It recommended that the BBC should have the option to privatise Radio 1, Radio 2 and its local radio in whole or in part. It proposed that "IBA contracts should be awarded by a competitive tender, with the IBA required to make a full public and detailed statement of its reasons if it decided to award a franchise to a contractor other than the one making the highest bid" (BBC Financing 1986, cc1181)[311]. After the Peacock Committee Report was published, it took almost two and a half years for the government to decide how to respond to the report and its recommendations. In November 1988, the government presented its own detailed plans for reform of the Broadcasting system. The Secretary of State for the Home Department, Douglas Hurd, published the White Paper *Broadcasting in the 90s: Competition, Choice and Quality* (Home Office 1988[312]). In the late 1990s, the moderately deregulatory Broadcasting Act completed its legislative passage, for which the main target was the "comfortable duopoly" of the BBC and ITV/Channel 4 (Euromedia Research Group 2004, p.263).

Thus, the Peacock Report led to the Broadcasting Act 1990 (Peacock Report 1986). This Act led the closure of the existing IBA and was replaced by the Independent Television Commission and Radio Authority, which are now replaced by Ofcom; this act is known as a strategy of deregulation to commercialise British television due to the increasing pressure from the advertising industry for having new broadcasting outlets. The guiding principle of this report was that deregulation would encourage competition that would eventually spread competence and efficiency to widen consumer choice. The aim of the Act was to reform the entire structure of British Broadcasting (Stoller 2010).

[311] BBC Financing (Peacock Report) 1986, HC Deb, vol 100, cc1180-93.
[312] The White Paper *Broadcasting in the 90s: Competition, Choice and Quality* was published by the Home Office on 7th November 1988; it was the Government's plans for the broadcasting legislation presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

6.3 Race dimensions

By this time, the levels of racial integration achieved by Britain were little better. For the first time, in the 1991 census, questions about the ethnic origins were included. It can be said that the ethnic minority community was becoming more visible by this time. In August 1992, according to the *Sociology* Professor Goldthorpe and Marshall, class and race were still a significant issue in Britain as it was in the 1980s; it was common ground among social commentators that "Britain had not done much to liberate Britain's Blacks and Asians" (Marwick 1996, p.389). Ethnic minorities were not spread evenly across the country. The London borough of Brent had the highest proportion in the country. Also Brixton and Notting Hill had substantial black populations. West of London, North of London, and also the West Midlands had heavy Asian populations. At this time, "the ethnic minority population, forty seven percent of whom had been born in Britain, was young and growing" (Social Trends 1994, p.25 in Marwick 1996). Subsequently, Asians were highly represented in employment. There was integration of ethnic minorities into the major sectors of the labour market. On the positive side, there were fewer incidents reported about "police provocation" and there was a beginning of the close consultation between police and ethnic communities (Marwick 1996, p.391). Also the numbers of the Black and Asian community members were increasing in police forces, in local government establishments and many other walks of life, including sports such as football and athletics.

However, according to Jones (1982), racial attitudes in Britain were "part of the national characteristic of insularity and a continuation of attitudes from the long period of colonial rule" (p.7). The incidents of violence continued to take place, in which members of ethnic minorities were involved and suffered as victims as they were in the eighties. Thus, the rioting still continued, but according to Marwick (1996), "it was usually White-inspired", often multi-racial and only occasionally motivated purely by the grievances of a racial minority (p.391). There was also a rise in violent racist attacks in particular on Asians, and "the high tensions, exploited by the British National Party (BNP), particularly in areas of inadequate housing" (ibid, p.392). These riots continued until the mid-1990s, which saw the Brixton riots in the 1995 after the death of a black young person in police custody. There was a peaceful protest outside Brixton Police Station. However, with

several hundred people involved, the protest got converted into a riot resulting in damage to property and vehicles in the area (Marwick 1996). Thus, Britain continued to be a country of conflict, demonstrations and riots in terms of race relations until the 1990s.

However, in the late 1990s "there was a growth of Asian communities in Britain" (Social Trends 1995, p.222 in Marwick 1996). At the time when the Broadcasting Bill was first proposed, the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) started holding discussions with ethnic minority groups and individuals to determine the impact of this Bill on race relations. Since its formation in May 1978, the CRE had published and discussed the importance of the media in promoting good race relations and equal opportunity in multicultural Britain. The CRE had also sponsored many conferences to understand the impact of the Broadcasting Bill on race relations and the role of the media (CRE 1990).

According to a CRE conference report (1990), there was a genuine concern that the "race dimension was not being taken into full account, and that there was little available information on the extent and content of community radio and the increasing number of new ethnic incremental stations" (ibid, p.1). The CRE commissioned the Community Radio Association (CRA) which was working in the field of community radio as well as ethnic radio, to do background research "to establish the state of play of ethnic radio and particularly of new incremental stations just coming on air which were licensed by the IBA before the new legislation" (ibid, p.1). The research was carried out by conducting a series of semi-structured interviews with some of the key people involved in the radio industry. Those included the station managers of the new ethnic incremental stations as well as relevant officials in the Home Office and the IBA.

This research demonstrated two key issues. One of them was the cultural and sociological complexity of the issues. It showed that the minority cultures, which might find radio as a tool to express their needs, were not static entities. It showed that the needs of the first generation to settle in the UK were not the same as those of the second and third generations, particularly when it came to the primary language of expression, which clearly was of significance on radio. It also demonstrated that "ethnic minorities also wanted representation on mainstream broadcasting channels" (CRE 1990, p.2). It also

showed that Asian communities could gather much more resources in the absence of any significant sums of public money, which indicated that a "market-led- minority radio system would be titled towards the Asian community" (ibid, p.2). That said, the research revealed an overwhelming desire and enthusiasm on the part of the minority stations consulted, for radio services under their own control, pointed by one of the responses in this research as "ethnic programmes in mainstream broadcasting are poorly-funded, poorly-produced and often poorly-presented" (ibid, p.2). The interviews with officials from the Home Office and the IBA revealed that there was only basic liaison between those concerned with race relations and broadcasting matters. This was compared with other developed countries such as Australia, USA and Canada as well as some parts of Europe, where minority broadcasting was seen as an important aspect of multi-culturalism and as such considered worthy of substantial public subsidy and official attention (ibid).

Through this research, a couple of issues surfaced. The issues were related to the sustainability, access to the airwaves, formats of the radio programmes, balance between the programming content and the business aspect. The reports questioned:

> "If the Afro-Caribbean community would be able to command the resources to win and sustain purely commercially funded radio stations; If a predominantly commercial system could provide equitable access to the airwaves for smaller minorities; If the range of programmes which commercial formats could happily encompass or afford would be ready to include the more expensive speech-based programmes like public information, news, documentary and drama; And finally, would the new ethnic stations adequately reflect the grass roots of the communities concerned or would they be focusing only on the richer and business elements" (CRE 1990, p.2).

Another important issue was identified regarding training. This research emphasied that there was an absence of adequate training to be able to use radio medium by the ethnic minority community and thus, there was a need for such training. The commission held a conference in June 1990 in London with a hope that it would explore further the issues highlighted in the research. Subsequently, it would come up with some suggestions for an additional investigation and possible solutions. The main issues discussed at this conference were regarding the new Broadcasting Act 1990 and the new Radio Authority,

how they were both likely to affect radio provision for ethnic minorities and in this situation, what plans the BBC had in place, being a Public Service Broadcaster, to represent and serve Britain's ethnic minorities. As Cottle (2000) explains, this was not just because it had a responsibility to meet the needs of all the licence payers, but also because the BBC is one of the key institutions through which people form a picture of the kind of society Britain is, whether it is inclusive or exclusive.

The conference also heard the experiences of the people who were involved in radio for ethnic minorities, which it thought could help make plans for the future. The wide-ranging discussions of the conference demonstrated the importance ethnic minorities give to community and incremental radio stations. Two major points emerged from this conference. Firstly, it underlined that 'good race relations and equality of opportunity in Britain depend on the creation of understanding between ethnic minorities and the majority community'; and achieving this understanding depends on "the extent to which ethnic minorities are given the opportunity to obtain information, entertainment and cultural satisfaction" (CRE 1990, p.3).

The conference also came up with a significant viewpoint that "Black people would wish to see a more diverse, more representative, more accessible and more accountable broadcasting system, which respects the rights, and reflects the interests, of all citizens, including those who work in the industry" (ibid, p.3). Earlier the CRE had made similar recommendations in its report[313] that special attention should be paid to improving and expanding existing programmes for the Asian listener community (Anwar 1978) in order to increase the diversity and representation to cater to the wider interests and tastes of the ethnic communities. Salam's[314] statement, that there was a feeling that the ethnic minority groups were under-represented as there was a little representation of the Asian community on mainstream radio stations and the programming was felt to be predominately White, supports this. Thus the topic of the stereotype images and lack of representation of the black and ethnic minorities on the British media had constantly been in debate.

[313] CRE had published a report *Who tunes in to what: a report on ethnic minority broadcasting* on ethnic minority broadcasting in 1978.
[314] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.

6.4 The Radio Authority in power

With the introduction of the Broadcasting Act 1990, the separate Radio Authority was established in January 1991, which was responsible for radio services outside the BBC. It was the first time such a regulatory body had been set up in the country to look after radio services exclusively. The Radio Authority was intended to be a regulator of all radio broadcasting services in Great Britain excluding the BBC. This included local and national commercial radio as well as the regulation and licensing of student and hospital broadcasting and Restricted Service License (RSL) stations. Peter Baldwin became Chief Executive of the Radio Authority and was joined by the senior IBA Radio Division members Paul Brown and David Vick (Stoller 2010).

The Radio Authority was intended to be a "light touch" regulator, but over a period of time, commercial broadcasters wanted a further reduction in regulations (Street 2006, p.223). The Broadcasting Act 1990 encouraged the Radio Authority to ensure more commercial radio stations at local and regional level. Chris Scoble, who was working as Under Secretary at the Home Office, had an overall responsibility for the Broadcasting Bill 1990 before it became an Act. Scoble (in CRE 1990) thought that the most significant fact about the radio sections of this Bill was that they would open up new opportunities for the provision of local radio stations of various sizes and programming content.

During this transition, there was a key issue to be dealt with. It was the transition issue for the companies who were acting as contractors to operate franchises and provide programmes to be broadcast by the IBA transmitters. They now needed to be licensed themselves running their own transmission arrangements. Stoller (2010) explains that this involved a complex contractual shift and finding a basis for selling the IBA transmitters to the companies. The Broadcasting Act 1990 eventually allowed all the existing service providers to continue to operate under their contracts with the IBA. Thus, it created a special provision for the Radio Authority to continue as the broadcaster from January 1991. All the ILR companies moved to licences with effect from 1 January 1991, which was the formal starting date for the Radio Authority (ibid).

The slow progress of the new broadcasting legislation left the IBA with some practical constitutional difficulties to resolve. Before the Radio Authority came into power in January 1991, the Government authorised a Shadow Radio Authority (SRA) in the 1990s to manage this shift. SRA did a large amount of work, which was different from what the outgoing IBA was doing. SRA's responsibilities included taking care of the practicalities of establishing the new Radio Authority. That included "placing new licensing procedures for both ILR and INR services, working out on frequency planning, to devise ownership rules and to draw up codes to govern programming and advertising" (Stoller 2010, p.202).

Also, there was quite a lot of ambiguity regarding the nomenclature of the new system of the Radio Authority. There was a discussion about calling the new radio services Independent Radio (IR) or just sticking to the existing names of ILR and INR. Peter Baldwin and David Vick recommended calling the new radio services ILR and INR. They also proposed "the term community could be used only for non-profit-distributing and highly localised radio" (Stoller 2010, p.203).

With regard to the frequency spectrum, the Broadcasting Act gave freedom to the Radio Authority which equipped the Radio Authority to allocate to three national commercial radio services and any number of local radio and Restricted Service Licences (RSL) covering special event radio (CRE 1990) including Ramadan and other Asian festivals. We will discuss the RSL services, which played an important role in starting the Asian radio services, later in this chapter.

The new licence awarding process was different from the IBA's licensing processes. In the new licensing system, the Radio Authority made its own selection of localities to license, it did its own planning of the frequencies in a consciously competitive arrangement with the BBC (Stoller[315]; Stoller 2010). According to Scoble (in CRE 1990), the Radio Authority decided to carry out an unusual hunt by doing the "letter of intent" exercise to decide the strength of interest in providing particular services (ibid, p.7). After analysing these expressions of interest, the Radio Authority would issue advertisements

[315] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.

by stating the proposed coverage area of the licence to invite applications. The applicants were expected to send their programming proposals demonstrating their intention to cater for local taste and interests, along with the business plan and their proposed transmission arrangements, as the new stations needed to possess and operate their own transmitters, so the Radio Authority had no obligations on that front (CRE 1990; Stoller 2010).

The Radio Authority now had much more "statutory direction about the selection criteria" to award local radio licences (Stoller 2010, p.206). The radio licence applications were not going to be considered on the competitive tender basis with the highest bid winning. The plan to decide whom to award the radio licence to was based on a few criteria. Firstly, the applicant needed to have adequate resources to maintain and sustain the service throughout the licence period. Secondly, the applicant would be catering to the tastes and interests of their targeted listener audience. Thirdly, the proposed radio service would broaden the range of programme available in that locality. This last condition was crucial as the government was aiming to provide a strong benefit to community radio and especially "to sub-sets of it like ethnic radio" (CRE 1990, p.7). Therefore, now there was no need for any local consultation before awarding the licenses, no more public meetings were required and the process was more "paper-based" (Stoller 2010, p.206).

The Radio Authority was determined to follow the statutory selection criteria outlined in the Broadcasting Act 1990. The Act emphasised:

> "While determining whether or to whom to grant the local licence in question, the Authority had to consider the matters regarding the ability of each of the applicants for the licence to maintain, throughout the period for which the licence would be in force, the service which he proposes to provide; the extent to which any such proposed service would cater for the tastes and interests of persons living in the area or locality for which the service would be provided; the extent to which any such proposed service would broaden the range of programmes available by way of local services to persons living in the area or locality for which it would be provided"[316].

[316] Broadcasting Act 1990 section 105.

Thus, the ILR was changing from being a broad "alternative service of radio broadcasting", it was now going to exist only because of the availability of sufficient resources to provide that service which would be catering to the tastes and interests of local people. Therefore, the Radio Authority "set its face against in any way prescribing the type of service it aspired to license in any locality; it was for the applicants to determine which type of service would best meet the statutory criteria and apply accordingly" (Stoller 2010, p.206).

The Broadcasting Act 1990 required that the Radio Authority should protect the format of the service as proposed originally in the radio station's application. The Act required that the character of the licensed service, as proposed by the license holder when making their application, was maintained during the period for which the license was in force, that it would not narrow the range of programmes, thus, it would not substantially alter the character of the service[317]. Regarding the regulation of programming and advertising, the Radio Authority founded its procedures. It introduced a concept of "promises of performance" that formed an important part of the license to broadcast (Stoller 2010, p.208). This meant that the radio stations could alter the content of the programming and advertising only in agreement with the Radio Authority. The stations were also required to self-regulate the content of the programming and advertising as per the Radio Authority's codes, so the routine policing of promises of performance was done on an exception basis by the Radio Authority staff, but it was chiefly made effective by the stations themselves (ibid).

In establishing a new framework, the Radio Authority was specifically required to "facilitate the provision of services, which could offer a wide range of programmes designed to appeal to a variety of tastes and interests and to ensure fair and effective competition in the provision of such services" (CRE 1990, p.6).

[317] Broadcasting Act 1990 section 106.

Vick[318] of the Radio Authority was confident that Asian radio services would be popular under this new framework, due to the size and proven enthusiasm of their potential audiences during the incremental radio contracts in the late 1980s. At the same time, the new framework under the Radio Authority's regime did not have to follow the public service broadcasting philosophy (CRE 1990). According to Stoller[319], the new Broadcasting Act in 1990 did away with any such obligation on the radio services, so they no longer had to fulfil a public service remit. But, they still had to do what they said they would do in their licence.

Stoller[320] explains it by giving an example:

> "… So if you were Avtar Lit, and you applied and won the Sunrise Radio licence to cater to the Asian community in England, then you had to broadcast Sunrise Radio; you couldn't suddenly change your mind and broadcast the top forty European stations… so there was that obligation" (ibid).

Also the new framework did not set out to make any distinctions in local licences as to size of coverage area, or to the broad nature of the service, whether it was a commercial radio or community radio. Thus under this new deregulated system, there was flexibility for the licensing authority to respond to audience demand. According to Scoble (in CRE 1990), since there was a vast amount of diversity in local communities across the country, the Government thought "it would be pointless to try to determine rigidly the pattern in which its services would be provided" (ibid, p.7). It hoped that this approach would make sure that the use of the available spectrum is made in the interests of the listener rather than that of the regulating Radio Authority or some predetermined policy plan. It was confident that there was no danger that radio for the ethnic community would not be overlooked under this new system.

There was quite a lot of debate in terms of the funding of the new community radio services. The Government had clarified that under a new, deregulated, non-public service

[318] D. Vick, see Appendix 1.
[319] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.
[320] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.

broadcasting system; it would not provide taxpayers' money to these radio services. However, it identified that there were a number of potential methods of funding open for community radio to take advantage of that could create the possibility of generating revenues through advertising and sponsorship. In addition to advertising and sponsorship, voluntary subscriptions within the community of the station's targeted serving area could also be of help to reduce the financial burden. The Government believed that at this early stage, it was learning from the foreign experience in the area of community radio and the sustainability issues – the Community Radio Association (CRA had done substantial research work in this area to understand how community radio services were run in countries such as Canada, where ethnic and multi-cultural radio was long established. However, Scoble (in CRE 1990) stressed "there was a difficulty and a danger of being misled by attempting to introduce and replicate governmental or regulatory models from one country to another" (p.9). The Government believed that the broader environment in broadcasting is so often created by the "social, cultural, geographical and political background of each individual country, in other words, broadcasting systems are inclined to be culturally specific" (ibid, p.10).

According to Vick[321], the Radio Authority believed that these radio services would be commercially viable because of the entrepreneurial judgment of their management and the strength of the advertising market, including among Asian businesses. Therefore, it continued to facilitate the independent commercially financed Asian radio stations by introducing Asian radio services in places such as Birmingham, Bradford, East Lancashire & North Manchester and Leicester during the 1990s (ibid).

Vick[322] says:

> "I can't honestly say that my strategy was consciously related to the social situation of newly arrived migrants of the post-war period, beyond identifying that here was a discrete section of the UK population which was being very poorly served by the BBC and by the constraints imposed on the commercial radio sector, and which deserved much better" (ibid).

[321] D. Vick, see Appendix 1.
[322] D. Vick, see Appendix 1.

From the beginning of ILR in the early 1970s right up until the 1990 Broadcasting Act, there were mainstream full service stations providing a small amount of Asian language broadcasting. At the very end of that period, they began experiments with full time, full-scale Asian language services, which was quite innovative (Stoller)[323]. The idea was that the new independent community radio sector was not being introduced to replace existing BBC Radio, but to provide an alternative alongside.

6.5 Restricted Service Licences (RSL)

At the same time, there was another development of Restricted Service Licences (RSL) in British radio broadcasting, which strongly facilitated Asian radio broadcasting. In 1991 the Radio Authority developed mostly "short-term" Restricted Service Licences (Stoller 2010, p.160). According to the Ofcom annual report[324] published in the year 2000, Short-term Restricted Service Licences were usually licensed for a maximum of twenty-eight days, for a limited coverage area (a town or part of a city) and for a broad range of reasons. These RSL licences permitted local groups to broadcast to a very small geographical area, through low power transmitters, for a short period of time and were used by students, groups of ethnic minority communities, or by the arts or religious groups to run the stations usually for four weeks or so, often coinciding with a local event or festival (Street 2009). The majority of RSLs the Authority issued were for "special events" and other "special projects"[325] (p.3).

Susan Williams, who currently works at Ofcom, played an important role in administering the RSL scheme at the Radio Authority at that time. Williams[326] recalls that short-term RSLs, usually for a maximum of 28 days, were typically awarded for 'trial' services to groups preparing to apply for a commercial or community radio licence, or for special events (Williams[327]; Stoller 2010; Street 2009).

[323] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.
[324] RSL Annual Report, May 2000, Ofcom.
[325] ibid.
[326] S. Williams, see Appendix 1.
[327] ibid.

Williams[328] recollects:

> "In the early 1990s, we typically licensed a few hundred services a year, and about one third were for trials and the remaining two-thirds for special events" (ibid).

Amongst these, quite a number of stations were Asian language services, these were full-scale radio stations. These were up to twenty-eight days, with a small coverage, for a defined purpose or for an event. These were especially popular during the Ramadan[329] period each year (Williams[330]; Stoller[331]; Vick[332]).

Williams[333] recalls the first RSL application for the Ramadan period:

> "In around 1992, we had an application for the first service to broadcast for the period of Ramadan. It was for a service called Fast FM in Bradford, the service did very well, and over the next few years spawned many copies" (Williams 2015).

According to Stoller[334] too, Ramadan radio stations became the most sought after commodity of all, thus there was an outpouring of Ramadan radio. The Radio Authority rarely agreed to RSLs that exceeded the 28-day limit, but some exceptions were made for Ramadan RSLs. "Ramadan, which is followed by the celebration of Eid, typically lasts for 32 days, and so, in 2000 the Radio Authority licensed sixteen RSLs for Ramadan for a slightly extended period"[335] (Ofcom 2000, p.6). The growing Muslim community groups were quite impressed with the RSL services and thus very much attracted to running such radio services during Ramadan. Also, there was "great community prestige to be garnered, and good commercial prospects too" (Stoller 2010, p.315).

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[328] S. Williams, see Appendix 1.
[329] Ramadan is the ninth month of the Islamic calendar, and is observed by Muslims worldwide as a month of fasting during the hours of daylight.
[330] S. Williams, see Appendix 1.
[331] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.
[332] D. Vick, see Appendix 1.
[333] S. Williams, see Appendix 1.
[334] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.
[335] RSL Annual Report, May 2000, Ofcom.

Williams[336] recollects:

> "One group pointed out that as Ramadan and Eid taken together covered a period of 32 days, a 28-day RSL was insufficient. As a result, we agreed to license such services for a 32 day period" (ibid).

Stoller[337] thinks that the whole process of licensing was "fascinating". The Radio Authority introduced a "daily rate" tariff in September 1997. Prior to this, a flat rate 28-day licence fee was charged. With the introduction of this new tariff system, the groups wishing to run a short project, or to cut costs, could opt for a shorter period by paying a lower fee. It resulted in the subsequent increase in demand for RSLs of a short duration, after the change to the fee structure. These very short broadcasts were generally requested for special event projects including festivals and the community projects for "religious purposes"[338] (p.5). However as Williams[339] recalls:

> "There was rivalry between competing groups, and, as an application fee of £200 secured a place in the draw, we had a number of applications that were clearly linked – ideally each was supposed to be from a separate individual and group. Such things were very hard to prove, but some groups complained bitterly about people 'gaming' the system" (ibid).

Thus apparently, due to the limited availability of frequencies for RSLs, there was "great competing demand for quite scarce licences" (Stoller 2010, p.316). As a result, there was huge competition in acquiring these RSLs licences within Asian community groups themselves. RSL licences were usually offered, "on a first come, first serviced basis, but for Ramadan licences this began to be impracticable" (ibid, p.316). Gradually, this competition for these small-scale temporary local licences became so fierce that they had to be awarded by lottery (Vick)[340]. Stoller[341] supports what Vick has said about the fierce

[336] S. Williams, see Appendix 1.
[337] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.
[338] RSL Annual Report, May 2000, Ofcom.
[339] S. Williams, see Appendix 1.
[340] D. Vick, see Appendix 1.
[341] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.

competition. Stoller[342] believes that there were conflicting interests like there are in any community; he explains how the licences used to be awarded at the Radio Authority:

> "… The community groups could apply up to a year in advance. So, on the day of the result of announcing the licences, there would be people waiting outside the door with their applications. And, in the end, the Radio Authority had to resort to a balloting process. But Ramadan radio and other similar short term RSL radio services for usually Asian religious festivals such as Vaisakhi[343] became a very significant feature of broadcasting" (Stoller)[344].

Williams[345] agrees what Vick and Stoller say about the fierce competition:

> "The RSLs for Ramadan continue to be run and competition in some places is fierce. We would only licence one per area, but due to FM availability we might not had managed to license them everywhere - for example, we may get applications from Bradford, Leeds, Keighley, Huddersfield, Dewsbury etc. in West Yorkshire, but might only had sufficient suitable FM for 2 or 3 services" (Williams)[346].

At the same time, advertising played an important role with regard to the RSL radio services. As discussed earlier, it has been indicated that incremental Asian radio services were "market-led-radio system, having much more resources in the absence of any significant sums of public money" (CRE 1990, p.2). According to Williams[347], advertising featured heavily in the RSL radio services, and anecdotally by what was heard, some radio services had a high turnover. The RSLs were more likely to be run by entrepreneurial individuals, although some were run from mosques or Islamic societies. Many raised funds for a variety of charities during the service (ibid).

[342] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.
[343] Vaisakhi is an important harvest festival celebrated by Sikhs and Hindus in India.
[344] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.
[345] S. Williams, see Appendix 1.
[346] S. Williams, see Appendix 1.
[347] S. Williams, see Appendix 1.

Due to the competition, the Radio Authority moved to a ballot for Ramadan RSLs, but even that attracted "complaints of favouritism" (Stoller 2010, p.316). Williams[348] agrees what Vick has said about the Radio Authority awarding the RSL licences by lottery.

Williams[349] explains:

> "As a result, in such cases we at the Radio Authority decided that we should hold a draw as the fairest way to award in competed-for areas, subject to applications satisfying all the requirements set out in the Notes of Guidance" (Williams)[350].

It can be seen that the number of licences the Radio Authority issued each year since the beginning of the RSL licences scheme from the year 1991 gradually increased. The year 1991 saw only 178 licences whereas it increased to a total number of 318 in the year 1995. By 1997, it almost doubled the number of licences issued at the beginning of the decade to a total number of 350 licences.

Over this decade, the Radio Authority licensed a total of 3,049 RSLs[351]. According to the report[352], a total of 464 RSL services were licensed in 2000, out of those, 339 licences, which were 81% of the total RSLs, were issued for coverage of "special events" (p.3). In 2000, for the first time, the Radio Authority licensed more RSLs for religious purposes than for any other special event. A total of 74 licences were issued and this figure represents 16% of the total number of licences issued[353]; "of the 74 religious broadcasts, 41 were by Christian groups, eighteen were by Muslims, fourteen by Sikhs and one by Hindus" (ibid, p.4).

[348] S. Williams, see Appendix 1.
[349] S. Williams, see Appendix 1.
[350] S. Williams, see Appendix 1.
[351] RSL Annual Report, May 2000, Ofcom.
[352] ibid.
[353] RSL Annual Report, May 2000, Ofcom.

Williams[354] remembers:

> "We also started to get applications for the periods in the religious calendar too, such as, Hajj, Muharram and Milaad. We licensed a number of Sikh services in some parts of the country as well, for example in Leicester. However, it was the services for the Muslim population that really took off" (Williams)[355].

It was considered as the "only mass-audience broadcasting licences, which could be issued to individuals" (Stoller 2010, p.314). By 2000, "the demand for short-term RSLs had arisen"[356] (Ofcom 2000, p.13). It was interesting to note that it was demand for licences of a shorter duration that had raised the most, since the conception of the RSL scheme. A year in advance opening date for the receipt of applications "risked stampede" (Stoller 2010, p.316). On 29th November 1999, the Radio Authority received 16 applications for Ramadan, which commenced on 29th November 2000, out of which 6 were for the Bradford area alone[357]. In 2001, a total of 23 RSL licences were issued to cover Ramadan and Eid celebration between 16th November and 16th December 2001, which was the highest number in that decade. At the same time, there was a Sikh celebration of the birth anniversary of Guru Nanak Dev Ji in November 2001. So, to ensure the fairness and equality between the Muslim and Sikh community groups that year, it was necessary for the Radio Authority to set aside the rule of one licence per locality[358]. Later, Ofcom "wisely took the RSL regime and its style from the Radio Authority largely unchanged, and to protect it while attention was inevitably drawn to community radio" (Stoller 2010, p.317).

Hence, this new sector of RSL radio services became an established independent short-term local radio sector, having groundbreaking effect on radio broadcasting. This helps to underline the importance of RSLs for coverage of events, and other special projects such as educational initiatives. Also, "the increase in demand from religious groups, and youth and community projects, was also noteworthy"[359] (Ofcom 2000, p.13).

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[354] S. Williams, see Appendix 1.
[355] S. Williams, see Appendix 1.
[356] RSL Annual Report, May 2000, Ofcom.
[357] Short Term Restricted Licences; Annual Report 1999, Radio Authority.
[358] ibid.
[359] RSL Annual Report, May 2000, Ofcom.

This development clearly demonstrated that there was the potential for this type of Asian religious radio broadcasting on a full scale (Stoller)[360]. Later, this RSL experience provided an important grounding to the Asian radio stations that were granted a full-time community radio licence from 2005 onwards. Ethnic minority communities, such as Muslim religious groups, continued to use the RSL services during the religious Ramadan period. Hindu religious groups used RSL services during Diwali festival period. For the last years of the Radio Authority, before Ofcom took over, it licensed "450 RSLs in the year 2002, and 492 in 2003. Even after the arrival of licensed community radio in 2004, RSLs continued as a strong part of the radio mix, staying at almost 500 each year" (Stoller 2010, p.315).

6.6 The BBC's continued role as a Public Service Broadcaster

As discussed in the previous chapters, the BBC was producing radio programmes since the 1960s, for the Asian migrant community settling in different parts of England. BBC local radio stations made a significant contribution in this area, getting local communities involved in the programme making in the 1970s. However, with the introduction of the commercial radio sector, the choices for listening to the Asian radio content increased for Asian listeners. Especially *Geetmala* on Birmingham's ILR station BRMB, London's LBC and Reading's ILR station Reading 210 soon became popular amongst Asian listeners. Also, with the introduction of incremental radio contracts, the Asian radio broadcasting enthusiasts realised the potential of this unique medium of radio for their own community. The further development of RSL radio services supported this enthusiasm, which resulted in having more choices and options for Asian listeners who were also now becoming aware of the possibility of listening to the music which they grew up with and getting news about their homeland as well as the place where they had settled in this country. They were getting used to such radio programmes.

Due to these increasing avenues for Asian radio listeners, the BBC was further expanding its Asian programming output in some parts of England, especially in the regions with a large Asian population. There was also a realisation within the BBC that "there was a

[360] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.

large and important section of the audience which it was ignoring" (Lewis and Booth 1989, p.85). The former Managing Editor of the Multicultural Programmes Department, Narendhra Morar, has stated that multicultural programme making has had a "long and controversial history" (Morar 1995, p.2). The BBC's Multicultural Programmes Department was set up later in 1991 bringing together the previously separate Asian and African-Caribbean Units at BBC Pebble Mill Centre in Birmingham. Four years later in September 1995, it was announced that the Department was to be separated; an Asian Programmes Unit would continue to produce and commission programmes at Pebble Mill, while an Executive Producer would oversee the commissioning of programmes for the African-Caribbean audience from Manchester. Owen Bentley, who had initiated the weekly radio show *The Six O'Clock Show* in the 1970s on BBC Radio Leicester for Leicester's Asian listener community as the Station Manager, was then in control of all of the Midlands local stations. According to Bentley[361], the big difference was that BBC local stations normally had one programme a week due to the access radio principle around the country. However, one programme a week was not enough especially in the areas having large numbers of Asian inhabitants.

Bentley[362] explains:

> "There was a recognition that the way radio works is not in terms of a 15-minute programme or a 30-minute programme on a Wednesday evening. If you want to get an audience and if you're running a station, you do want to get an audience. If you're a presenter you want an audience as well. And then your way of getting an audience is to be consistent. You have a breakfast show that runs all the way through the week and you have an evening show that runs through the week" (Bentley)[363].

Therefore, first of all the BBC decided to have this programme across the week. Sharma[364] says that the Asian programming output across the BBC was incremental and it grew organically from the 1970s through to the 1990s.

[361] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[362] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[363] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[364] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.

Sharma[365] recalls:

> "… First, there was *The Six O'Clock Show* on Monday and Thursday and *Milan* on Tuesday. These programmes were doing really well. The station was getting a lot of response to these programmes. The BBC was very much pleasantly surprised. As a result, the BBC started *The Six O'Clock Show* from Monday to Friday, so already it became one hour show every day" (Sharma)[366].

According to Sharma[367], as Asian programming started expanding gradually and successfully, by 1996, "it was like a station within a station doing almost about 80 hours a week" (ibid). Sharma was appointed as Education Producer in 1987, with the responsibility for these trends of growing Asian radio programming output. She was responsible for the youth programme, for the Asian programme and for the African Caribbean programme on BBC Radio Leicester. Sharma facilitated, and thus witnessed, the actual expansion of Asian radio programming content, which was produced for, and later, by the Asian community members. After taking up this role as Education Producer, which also included the responsibility of looking after the Asian programme on BBC Radio Leicester, Sharma started looking for the ways of further expansion of this programming output, by not only producing them during the weekdays, but also by producing them over the weekends.

Sharma[368] recalls:

> "At that time, the Asian programming output was from 6pm till 8pm and then 6am till 9pm. Then it was increased till midnight. So it was six hours a day. We then started it on weekends, first only in the evenings, and then increased it by starting from 2pm in the afternoon. It later became Saturday and Sunday - all weekend programming, starting with religious programmes in the morning" (Sharma)[369].

[365] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[366] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[367] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[368] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[369] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.

It was an interesting expansionary mode then. Whilst this was going on at the BBC Radio Leicester, similar developments were taking place at the BBC Radio WM[370][371] as well. Since the introduction of this local radio station for the Midlands in 1979, by following the BBC Radio Leicester's lead, BBC Radio WM introduced a similar daily Asian show (Sharma)[372]. As a result, BBC Radio Leicester joined forces with BBC Radio WM in Birmingham to establish the *BBC Midlands Asian network* (Bentley)[373].

Eventually, in October 1988, the *BBC Midlands Asian network* was launched on BBC Radio WM and BBC Radio Leicester with a combined output of 70 hours per week. Within a decade, by 1996, BBC Radio Leicester was doing around 80 hours a week and BBC Radio WM was doing around 60 hours a week. It was "substantial programming happening in the region" (Sharma)[374]. At this time, Bentley got heavily involved with the *BBC Midlands Asian network* and became their consultant. Bentley[375] confirms that at this time, Asian radio programming supporters "wanted to make a real statement about Asian broadcasting and to give the people the opportunity of always finding it" on air (ibid).

In 1996, the station was re-launched as the *BBC Asian Network* 1996 as a separate channel on AM. This was the beginning of the *BBC Asian Network* (Sharma[376]; Bentley [377]). Sharma was appointed as the Editor of this new radio station. That is when the *BBC Asian Network* name came into existence (Sharma[378]). This development resulted special programmes for minorities, or single one-off programmes getting squeezed out, their output had to be accommodated within the sequence programming (Bentley)[379].

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[370] BBC WM was first started as BBC Radio Birmingham on 9 November 1970. Now known as BBC WM 95.6, is the BBC Local Radio service for the West Midlands, South Staffordshire, north Worcestershire and north Warwickshire.
[371] 'BBC WM - 40th anniversary' *BBC News Online* (BBC Birmingham), 8 Nov 2010. In November 1981 Radio Birmingham changed its name to BBC Radio WM (the 'radio' was later dropped to give a better reflection of the area it covered - the West Midlands, south Staffordshire, north Worcestershire and north Warwickshire.
[372] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[373] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[374] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[375] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[376] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[377] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[378] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[379] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.

With the launch of the BBC's Asian Network, the BBC was expanding its Asian programming output. After being appointed as Editor of the Midlands Asian Network in 1996, the Asian Network team brought Asian programming from Leicester and from Radio WM all together, so it could be heard in the entire Midlands. By that time, the Network was also available on medium wave frequencies in Derby and Nottingham. The next step for the Network was to expand into some of the cities in Northern England. Therefore, the Network was extended to South Yorkshire, West Yorkshire, the North and the North East, by covering cities with huge Asian population such as Manchester, Sheffield and Leeds. The Network was then expanded to Peterborough and then into Three Counties Radio, which was covering Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire. The Network was then rolling out on medium wave frequencies in different parts of the country, but all around the Asian Network.

Greg Dyke's appointment as the Director General in January 2000 brought a turning point in the Network. Sharma[380] recalls:

> "Greg Dyke came to visit us in Leicester and he said, you guys are so big, you should be part of the national network. You have outgrown of local radio now. And therefore, we were then moved into national network radio" (Sharma)[381].

Behind every innovative decision, there is usually a revolutionary person in an institution. Greg Dyke is a good example of that. David Frost had interviewed Greg Dyke on the "BBC Breakfast with Frost" show[382] in 2001 after Dyke completed one year as the BBC Director General. In this interview, Dyke had admitted that the BBC and the make-up of the staffing of the BBC at particularly the management levels were too white for the multi-cultural society of Britain. He was trying to change that as he predicted that roughly half the London population would be non-Anglo-Saxon white in 15 years time. Hence, he believed that the BBC being a large public broadcaster had to reflect that, not just on

[380] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[381] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[382] David Frost had earlier interviewed Greg Dyke on the 'BBC Breakfast with Frost' show when Dyke was appointed as the BBC Director General to talk about his plans for the first year of his new appointment. After one year, Frost interviewed Dyke again to review that first year.

screen, but also in the workforce. Therefore, he thought that the best person for the job must be appointed and that didn't mean that they were going to be predominantly white, as he thought that there was enough talent out there, hence, he strongly believed that there should be a fair proportion of people from all sorts of different ethnic backgrounds in the BBC (ibid). Perhaps that was the reason why Dyke encouraged the BBC Asian Network's efforts in catering to the Asian listener community. As a result, the BBC Asian Network was launched as a national station on DAB in 2002. There was appetite amongst the Asian community. By this time, the Asian Network was producing programmes from Leicester, Birmingham and London, and it was constantly rolling out in different areas nationally (Sharma)[383]. However, according to Kotak[384], there was a desperate need for an Asian radio station nationally, but he didn't feel that the BBC Asian Network was a national station, as it was just a joint network of a few BBC local radio centres. Also, it couldn't be accessed to listen to in many parts of the country.

By the 1990s the BBC's Multicultural Programmes Department was "no longer simply a vehicle for educating ethnic minorities or to tackle racial problems. Its productions were high profile, mainstream with wide appeal" (Morar 1995, p.8). As discussed earlier in Chapter two, the production of multicultural programming had undoubtedly undergone a process of evolution and development reflecting "assimilationist, race-relations, multicultural and anti-racist agendas" (Cottle 1998, p.300). However, the proportion of multicultural programming output produced and by which producers - White or Asian - within the BBC could still be argued. Although the volume and range of different programmes had generally increased since 1965 until the late 1990s, the ratio was still low. Cottle (1998) presents the facts that the BBC's multicultural programming was "less than one hour per week, only 19 hours of in-house productions, 50 percent programmes transmitted on Saturday mornings and all programmes broadcast on BBC2" (p.300). So there was a gap in the provision of the multicultural programmes for the Asian migrant community in England. At the same time, there was a need for having programmes produced by the Asian community members themselves in their mother tongue languages.

[383] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[384] D. Kotak, see Appendix 1.

BBC local radio and the ILR stations played an important role in creating that platform for the Asian migrant community.

6.7 Mother-tongue radio programmes and Localness

When introduced in 1973, independent commercial radio was local at first. It was introduced as the local radio platform, which was independent from the then monopoly broadcaster the BBC. But the 1990 Broadcasting Act introduced the separate regulator for radio, the Radio Authority, which authorised the launch of national commercial radio (Lewis 2008). This change forced the creation of more need for having local independent radio services including the Asian radio services focusing on the local Asian communities in the areas having Asian population in England. Although the Asian community very much appreciated local programming on BBC local radio stations, there was a continuous demand for it. When BBC Radio Leicester's programmes joined with Birmingham's BBC Radio WM programmes to become the BBC Midlands Asian network, it was fairly local. But when this Network went national by becoming the BBC Asian Network, it proved much, much more difficult. It was assumed that most programming for the Asian community was to come from local radio. So the BBC Asian Network was not really able to address the issue of mother tongue radio programming output as that was left up to the local stations. Also, it would have been up to the local management of BBC local radio, which had its original philosophy of getting very little interference from the top, and thus having a freedom of choosing what to produce and broadcast on BBC local radio. The decision about whether BBC local radio stations should broadcast in mother tongue languages or not, was being made by the local stations, and not by anybody else (Bentley)[385].

By this time Asian radio programming output solely depended on the BBC's local radio station managers. As discussed in chapter three, the local BBC stations were given the responsibility of responding to the need of the Asian community for specific language programming. As the local radio stations developed, members of the Asian community

[385] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.

started making programmes (Bentley)[386], as more numbers of BBC local radio stations were producing programmes for the local Asian communities in their areas[387]. They all had different points of views about radio programming in mother tongue languages. One of the BBC local station managers thought that language programmes could be done better at a national level[388], whereas another BBC local station manager strongly supported the idea of having language programming. One of the station managers did not consider languages programmes as a good idea, fearing it would not help integration, but would keep the Asian community as a separate community'[389]. Another BBC local station had a programme policy, which did not cater for minorities in specific time slots, but by keeping such topics within the existing programming output[390]. There was an on-going fear amongst BBC local radio station managers who were not convinced about having separate language programmes mainly produced for the Asian migrant communities, as they believed that it may not help the Asian community integrate, but on the contrary, it would increase the gap in the society by keeping the Asian community isolated from the rest of the society. Also, by the introduction of ILR stations and the RSL initiatives the BBC had started handing over its responsibility of catering to the specific local communities to these ILR stations informally (Stoller)[391].

However, at the same time, the dynamics of language broadcasting was changing as the Asian listener community was growing. In the early years of the Asian migration to England, the objective of some of the Asian radio programmes was mainly educational, aimed at mothers and children at home, to teach them the English language in their own language and for providing them with the information they needed and ultimately helping this newly-arrived Asian migrant community to settle in England. But by the 1990s, after 20-30 years of the Asian migration movement, in addition to the first-generation Asian migrant listeners, there were now the second-generation listeners, who were born in

[386] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[387] BBC WAC, File RWMM/AAC HQ Unit, Summary of BBC Local Radio Programmes for immigrants, August 1972.
[388] ibid, p.2.
[389] BBC WAC, File M2/37/2 - 1969 to 1973 – A report of the BBC's Asian Programmes Advisory Committee – Local radio for immigrant communities, p.1.
[390] BBC WAC, File RWMM/AAC HQ Unit, Summary of BBC Local Radio Programmes for immigrants, August 1972, p.3.
[391] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.

England and whose mother tongue, in a way, was English (Sharma)[392]. During the early period of the 1960s and 1970s, the focus was mainly on the migrant population who were the first generation and English was not their first language. At that time, it was all about helping new migrants settle down by giving them essential information. But as time went on, more political issues started attracting attention. These issues included the integration process by the migrant community getting into the mainstream of education, politics and media (Sharma)[393].

Thus, the need of having the Asian radio platforms was still there, but for some additional reasons – not just for the information and education, but for entertainment as well, both in mother tongue languages and English. Radio helps "to create a sense of belonging for the new communities who have settled in Britain by providing special programmes for ethnic minorities, whether by language teaching or by providing cultural entertainment" (Page 1983, p.163). So it was still important for BBC local stations to be able to serve the Asian listener community.

By the 1990s, there was also recognition that Asian migrant communities have identities, culture, language and religion, which started reflecting in the radio programming. At the same time, the radio programming was not just about newly arrived Asian migrant community anymore. It was about first generation migrants, second-generation migrants; and it was almost beginning to look at the settled communities (Sharma)[394]. There was a difference between having a national radio service for the whole Asian community across the country and a local radio service for the Specific Asian community residing in a very specific area of the country, where the Asian community members themselves could access the radio station not just by listening to it, but by participating in its actual programme making.

[392] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[393] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[394] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.

According to Sharma[395]:

> "The Asian migrant community had made England as their home; their children were born here and were going through schooling. No way were they going to go back to their country of origin. They were British citizens and they were getting on with their lives here. I think the success of the *BBC Asian network* laid in the fact that it recognised the changing demography and how to represent it and how to capitalise on that and how to make sure that radio is relevant to people's lives. So radio was talking about what was happening in people's lives here and now – it was contemporary" (Sharma)[396].

Bentley[397] thinks that the national network served a different function by catering to the Asian target audience nationally, whereas "local radio services served the local needs" of this community (ibid). However when the *BBC Midlands Asian network* started, BBC local radio stations reduced broadcasting Asian programming content. One of the justifications for that was that the *BBC Asian Network* was set up. It was also a resource for local programming as there was a unit to broadcast some programme highlights from the local stations that were producing Asian radio content. It also broadcast the BBC World Service news in Asian languages. But when the *BBC Midlands Asian network* became the national *BBC Asian Network*, that service to provide the Asian radio programmes for the local Asian community was ended. Some station managers in BBC local radio felt that as there was an option of Asian radio programmes that people could actually listen to, they were not sure if their Asian radio programmes were doing any good and thus were doubtful about the purpose of BBC local radio stations doing these programmes (Bentley)[398]. Thus, there was a diminution of programming, mainly because of the sheer amount of programming that was being accessed on local radio.

Bentley[399] agrees that almost all the Asian radio programming has its origin back in BBC Local Radio because they were the first ones to actually introduce Asian radio programming. As these developments evolved over the years, the Asian radio scenario has necessarily changed. During the 1990s, the government believed that ILR stations,

[395] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[396] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[397] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[398] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[399] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.

especially the incremental radio stations, were serving the purpose of being the community radio stations "with the added benefit that they made no demands on the public purse – there seemed little need for anything else" (Stoller 2010, p.313). By this time, the Radio Authority had a mixed legacy of alternative radio services. Hospital and student radio services, which used to be licensed by the Home Office, were now going to be licensed by the new Radio Authority.

The Radio Authority also had the responsibility of the Restricted Service Licences (RSLs), which was "one of the striking of all innovations by the Radio Authority in the early nineties" (ibid, p.313). These independent local incremental and RSL radio services essentially built up a foundation for the community radio concept at the beginning of the 2000s.

6.8 Re-emerging community radio movement

Community radio campaigners and unregulated radio station activists were constantly battling "against the regulatory and technical constraints" (Lewis 2008, p.7). Though the Conservative government abandoned the plans for a community radio experiment in the late 1980s even before the services had commenced, the idea of community radio re-emerged on the policy agenda after the 1997 election of the Labour government. The effort to establish an independent community radio sector had been "undermined by the extremism of its proponents, which marginalized it from the seventies onwards, and then let down by its supporters in the government when they abandoned the community radio experiment in 1986" (Stoller 2010, p.313). The successful involvement of the smaller stations in their local communities in the early years of BBC local radio and of ILR was also one of the reasons for the slow recognition of the case for community radio in the minds of the authorities. However, later "the abandonment of this involvement by mainstream radio provided a strong part of the rationale for the campaigners for a community radio sector" (Lewis 2012, p.28).

In the early 2000s, the idea of Access Radio - Community Radio was again being discussed. The agreed-upon definition of a community radio service was that of a station run as a small-scale neighbourhood project, either as a community of geography or

interest. There was a growing awareness that ILR had become commercial radio, and thus "was abandoning just those elements in its local involvement which were to be the chief staple of Access Radio" (Ibid, p.321). The Radio Authority recognised that 'the wide range of broadcasting through the possible introduction of a new Access Radio sector would be able to flourish within Access Radio[400] (Ofcom 2000). Some of the existing RSL operators had expressed their interest in Access Radio. However, many RSL applicants supported the Radio Authority's view that, if Access Radio was to go ahead, it must not jeopardise the highly successful RSL schemes, and that short-term RSLs should have priority in the allocation of frequencies[401] (Ofcom 2000; Stoller 2010). So, the concept of Access Radio was under discussion. Before we discuss this new community radio service and the pilot project of the Access Radio experiment, it would be important to understand the concept of Community Radio itself.

6.9 The concept of Community Radio

Community itself is an adaptable concept. It can be defined by geographical boundaries as well as by shared common interests. Roberts (1979) defines a community "as a group of people who, having become aware of a problem – through the tensions caused by it – learn about its circumstances and then form a commonly agreed upon objective to overcome it" (p.11). So, there is no "universally accepted definition of the word community as applied to community radio", although place usually appears on the list as a significant factor; but so are communities of language, ethnicity, gender, generation, sexual orientation, and topic of interest (Browne 2012, p.153). Universities have been pivotal in the early development of radio broadcasting technologies and later in the founding of community radio stations in a number of countries. According to McCain and Lowe (1990), Community radio often arises "as a response to a perception that commercial radio cannot serve the needs of small populations" (p.94). These stations have "extended and challenged the range of radio output for listeners and frequently offer a rich and varied content not offered by commercial stations" (Gordon 2012, p.364). It is valued for its ability to correct the distortions inherent in majority-controlled media.

[400] RSL Annual Report, May 2000, Ofcom.
[401] ibid.

Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada (2002) argue that the term community radio is often used rather loosely and ignores the key principles of community ownership and control. A radio station may provide a platform for dialogue and communication for the development of its community, but that does not mean the community will participate and decide for themselves on changes that affect their lives and become active in implementing them. Community radio caters to the more compact and close-bound community unlike mainstream radio, which has a wider community target audience, including many compact, small-scale communities. The strength of non-commercial community radio exists in its participatory nature. Community radio exists "to serve listeners for whom certain types of radio programming and certain viewpoints are otherwise unavailable, in other words, it is an alternative" (Browne 2012, p.154). Community radio is the communicative equaliser bringing the power and potential of media production and participation to more people and their communities, regardless of social stature. It is characterised by a large population of active and connected citizens, communities of interest, geography and a substantial shift from the mass associated with mainstream media (Foxwell 2012). The notion of community "reproduces at the local level the same claim for consensus as does nation on a larger scale" (Lewis 1984, p.139). Therefore, community radio is cherished for its ability to bridge in the gap between the community and the mainstream radio.

However, the global growth in community media outlets in the recent years indicates that the aggregation of the local and discrete instances of communication may well be termed as "community mass media which empowers citizens to challenge and subvert traditional mainstream mass media organization and practices through the production of their own media" (Foxwell 2012, p.133). According to Chignell (2009), community radio stations place a priority on their relationship with an identified community and attempt to satisfy the perceived social and cultural needs of that group. Thus community radio can be differentiated from mainstream radio. Community radio is a "great communicative equalizer bringing the power and potential of media production and participation to more people and their communities, regardless of social stature" (Foxwell 2012, p.134). Browne (2012) claims that a community radio station can be conceptualised either as a platform for views generating from the community, or it can be seen as a source of

information for the community. Community segments either come to the station in order to communicate among themselves or between other segments in society. Community media is characterized "by a large and global population of active and connected citizens and communities of interest and geography, a substantial shift from an undifferentiated mass associated with mainstream media" (Foxwell 2012, p.134). The programming of community radio stations may consist of "music, foreign languages, political viewpoints, call-in shows and other formats and usually includes community member produced material, although actual amount varies considerably among stations" (Browne 2012, p.154).

Community radio exists to serve a listener for whom certain types of radio programming and certain viewpoints are otherwise unavailable, that is why it is called an alternative media. The listener community of community radio services participates actively in the radio station and often produces their own programmes. Audience reception is the "consequence of production processes, which encourage active participation either as a volunteer, a listener or a member of the community which the stations fosters and supports" (Foxwell 2012, p.146). Most of the radio stations provide training to volunteers in technical skills as well as presentation techniques in producing a programme. Few community radio stations develop a set of guidelines for the presenters to follow, in order to be sensitive and respectful while addressing delicate issues of gender or religious belief etc. (Browne 2012). Community radio "does not target its audiences to sell to advertisers; they produce programming for target audiences" (Foxwell 2012, p.146).

Though community radio stations often promote themselves as community-oriented, not all radio stations give freedom to its volunteer producers to design their own programmes. According to Browne (2012), community stations usually claim to know the audiences they attract, but their information often is impressionistic or anecdotal and is based upon conversations among station staff and volunteers, comments from family and friends, listeners telephone calls and comments made at station public meetings. These sources, while useful, may under-represent or over-represent certain groups within the community and completely miss out the views of others. The idea of producing programming for specific targeted audiences "fundamentally alters the relationship between media and

audience and between the production of media texts and their reception by the audience" (Foxwell 2012, p.146).

The earliest experiences of community radio go back more than half a century, to the Miners' Radios of Bolivia, which were instrumental in pressing for better working conditions for tin miners. This was the first recorded case of radio broadcasting being used by a sector of society to improve its socio-economic status (Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada 2002). It can be said that this initiative was motivated by poverty and social injustice. UNESCO sees community radio as a medium that gives a voice to the voiceless that serves as the mouthpiece of the marginalized and is at the heart of communication and the democratic processes within societies. With community radio, citizens have the means to make their views known on decisions that concern them. Community radio catalyzes the development efforts of the underprivileged segments of societies, by sharing timely and relevant information on development issues, opportunities, experiences, life skills and public interests (Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada 2001).

As discussed earlier in Chapter Four, the Community Communications Group (COMCOM) had described the function, process and structural aims of community radio in its Community Broadcasting Charter in 1979. This Charter encouraged Community Broadcasting to serve recognisably to the local communities and/or communities of interest, to provide a democratic, non-profit structure, a service of information, education and entertainment, and enable the two-way communication of diverse opinions; by providing equal opportunities for women, and for ethnic and other significant social minorities in its programming as well as employment policy (Partridge 1982). Compared to this definition, the Radio Authority set out a definition of Access Radio in May 2001 for the purposes of the pilot access radio projects[402]. It specified that to be considered for a pilot scheme licence projects must demonstrate evidence of social gain and/or public service aims by being a small-scale neighbourhood scheme designed to serve a

[402] Radio Authority, Letter of Intent, May 2001.

community of interest; it needed to be funded either by a mixture of commercial and non-commercial funding or through non-commercial funding alone, but not exclusively by commercial funding, and thus, it needed to be not-for-profit or non-profit distributing; and targeted at, and focused on serving the specific neighbourhood or particular community of interest in question by providing opportunities to allow the widest possible access among those within the target group to the operation of the radio service. Hence, it can be concluded that the Radio Authority and COMCOM definitions were very similar; the Radio Authority's definition was almost a subset of the COMCOM charter, even after 22 years.

Community radio's main objective is not to make a profit. It does not target its listeners to sell to advertisers; its main aim is to cater for its 'target' audience. This intention fundamentally alters the relationship between media and audience and between the production of media texts and their reception by the listeners. According to Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada (2002), its programmes are based on community's participation and reflect the special interests and needs of the community. It deals with the issues of the community within its own cultural context, in order to help the community develop socially, culturally and economically. In community radio, audience reception is the consequence of production processes, which encourages active participation either as a volunteer, a listener or a member of the community, which the stations foster, and support (Foxwell 2012).

Radio can be categorised according to how it is motivated. According to Hendy (2013), community radio could be smaller in scale than mainstream local radio, and therefore it can be closer to its listening community, and it is also more participatory than mainstream, staffed more by volunteers drawn from the listening community rather than professionals, and run for the benefit of the local community rather than specifically to make a profit for shareholders. There was an underlying feeling that, as all people paid a licence fee for the BBC, it had a greater obligation to accommodate minority tastes.

However there was a sense that minority ethnic groups were not generally well represented on mainstream radio. The Asian listener community, which listened to

mainstream radio stations for music, chat shows and phone-ins, sport and general news, felt that there was little representation of the Asian community on the mainstream radio stations and the programming was felt to be predominately white (Salam[403]; Bentley[404]; Sharma[405]; Kotak[406]). It was important to be represented in mainstream broadcasts, either radio or television, because they were considered to be the most influential of the media. Hargrave (2002) explains that the reasons for wanting increased and better representation in mainstream broadcasting included demonstrating a sense of belonging within British society; fostering a better understanding of ethnic cultures among other communities, including the White population; allowing their children to identify with positive representations of people from their communities. Only BBC Radio Leicester was called more multicultural than most, with a greater mixture of presenters and music from different backgrounds (Hargrave 2002).

It is interesting to note that the concept of the community radio service draws a clear difference between local radio, whether it is commercial or public service radio, and community radio. As mentioned earlier while discussing the role of the BBC by producing programming content for its target audience, it was really very important who was making these programmes for the Asian community (Salam[407]; Bentley[408]; Sharma[409]; Kotak[410]). BBC local radio might have produced for their local communities, very importantly, the concept of community radio was strongly based on the ethos of the radio service ran by the community. The strong aspect of any community radio is the way it is run and managed. Unlike other types of radio broadcasting, community radio is run by the active participation of the community itself. According to Partridge (1982), the essence of community radio lies in participation. Hence the community participation was the significant aspect of this community service.

[403] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.
[404] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[405] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[406] D. Kotak, see Appendix 1.
[407] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.
[408] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[409] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[410] D. Kotak, see Appendix 1.

According to (Street 2006), this idea of the new community radio service was based on the form of short-term Restricted Service Licenses, which were widely used in the 1990s, by students, by the arts or religious groups including of ethnic minority communities, to run the stations usually for a short period of 28-days, often coinciding with a local event or festival. By 2001, there were 423 short-term RSL radio services licensed by the Radio Authority[411]. Out of them, 75 licences, which were a total of 18%, were for Youth and Community projects compared to the previous year when a total of 58 licences were issued for this purpose.

By the end of the 1990s, it was becoming increasingly apparent to the Radio Authority that ILR services were "diluting the localness of the commercial sector" (Stoller 2010, p.318). Therefore, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) and ministers suggested that they would welcome a move from the Radio Authority to re-open the community radio issue. There was scepticism within the Radio Authority about DCMS's idea about the community radio medium. However, the Radio Authority members "were presented for consideration with a draft submission to the DCMS, which envisaged taking the radical step of establishing a new third tier of non-commercial private radio" at their annual conference in November 1999 (ibid, p.318). The momentum towards finally realising the significance of community radio began at that time. The Radio Authority noted that the number of RSL radio services might have been increased due to several community groups operating RSLs to demonstrate their suitability in the hope that they might get selected in the Access Radio experiment. That was the case, as it can be noticed that all of the fifteen access radio groups selected to participate in the pilot experiment of Access Radio project had conducted an RSL radio service broadcast previously.

The need and demand of RSL radio services was ever growing and the community radio Access Radio experiment and the third-tier Community Radio were the "consequences" of it (Stoller 2010, p.317). Therefore, it would be interesting to understand how this Access Radio project initiated access to wider community groups, including Asian community groups.

[411] Radio Authority, RSL Annual Report 2001, 2001, p.7

6.10 Access Radio - initiating access

The Radio Authority's approach for community radio was new and envisaged this new non-commercial radio medium "to assist in the broader aspects of education, social inclusion and social experimentation" (Stoller 2010, p.318). The idea of this potential Access Radio was completely different than the mainstream radio services at that time. According to Stoller (2010), Access Radio was to be "a third tier of services, fundamentally different in nature and scope from existing BBC and ILR stations" (p.318).

Therefore, in June 2000, the Radio Authority approached this new idea with enthusiasm and recommended to the government an experiment with Access Radio as a precursor to establishing the full-scale third tier of community radio. Its proposals in detail suggested the shape which community radio was to take in the parliamentary orders, which followed the unspecific provision for community radio in the eventual Communications Act[412] (Stoller 2010). The White Paper, published in December 2000, recognised the success of RSLs and "specifically sought views on whether the benefits of community radio would justify greater public intervention" (ibid, p.319). There was a strong notion that this new tier of radio would "serve communities and special interest groups whose needs were unmet by the BBC and commercial stations", and thus it would provide "opportunities for those who could not find a niche in mainstream broadcasting, thus some communities of interest would really benefit from having their own radio service" (ibid, p.320).

The government recommended this pilot project. Tessa Jowell, Secretary of State for Media, Culture and Sport said that access radio could play a part in tackling social exclusion (Wood 2002). This reflects in the Radio Authority's principles set up for this pilot project. There were nine principles fixed for the pilot radio services, so that this experiment followed the approach, patterns and structures set by the Radio Authority. The Radio Authority's Chief Executive, Tony Stoller, set them out in a speech at the Celtic Radio and Television Festival in March 2001. The first principle was that the pilots should be operated as not-for-profit services in their defined neighbourhoods with clear public service content responsibilities. Secondly, these pilot experiments should contain

[412] Communications Act 2003, section 262.

examples and cases of socially reformative and educational links, as well as of training and development of local community capacity. Then, these pilots were expected to cover a wide range of localities to reflect the diversity. Also, at least some of the pilots were expected to be aiming at communities of interests within their localities "with the intention of establishing their role in serving minority groups and sustaining minority linguistic cultures" (Stoller 2010, p.321).

As the government was fully convinced with the potential of this concept of Access Radio, it announced the setting up of community radio stations as a pilot scheme for a period of one year in 2001. As a result, the Radio Authority introduced the Access Radio project in its pilot phase, which later became an official community radio sector in the UK. "Letters of intent to run the pilot stations were invited on 24th May 2001, and by the closing date of 29th June 2001, nearly 200 applications had been received" (Stoller 2010, p.321). Thus, this pilot project received a massive response. The Radio Authority established a sub-committee, which worked along with Radio Authority's staff Tony Stoller and Susan Williams to scrutinise these applications on the lines of the Radio Authority's previously discussed principles for the potential community radio services (Stoller 2010; Stoller[413]; Williams[414]). Out of these applications, a total of 16 applicants were chosen as the Access Radio Pilot group covering the whole of the UK. These stations were urban and rural, religious and ethnic, mainstream and marginal, both on FM and AM and also both on full-time and short-time basis. These 16 radio services "encapsulated the nature and range of community radio aspirations as they had evolved over the previous 15 years" (Stoller 2010, p.322).

The pilot Access Radio services had been launched by August 2002 with a yearlong licence initially. In terms of catering to Asian community groups, access radio provided an opportunity for Asian community groups to test the waters to see if they would be able to sustain a regular independent radio service for the Asian community in future. The Asian community was feeling themselves "to be marginalised by most of the mainstream media and welcomed the opportunity provided by Access Radio" (Everitt 2003, p.44).

[413] T. Stoller, see Appendix 1.
[414] S. Williams, see Appendix 1.

This pilot project included a few of the Asian services such as Awaz FM[415] in Glasgow, Desi Radio[416] in Southall, and Radio Faza[417] in Nottingham (Williams[418]; Everitt 2003; Lewis 2012; Stoller 2010; Street 2006). Awaz FM saw itself "as a much needed channel of communication between Glasgow's Asian community and the public and voluntary sectors" (Everitt 2003, p.44). It was a regular RSL radio service initially launched in 1997. The main aim of this service was to provide entertainment as well as news and information about community issues. The project leader Javed Sattar claimed that Awaz FM was not only filling a gap in entertainment and cultural provision, but was also giving the local authorities, public and voluntary sector "an avenue of access to a somewhat isolated Asian community, with which they found it difficult to communicate effectively by other means" (ibid, p.44). Another Asian radio project of this pilot project was Desi Radio, which wanted "to reconcile the different religious and social strands of Punjabi culture in Southall" (Stoller 2010, p.322) through its Panjabi Centre. The Punjabi Centre was formed in 1988 as a discussion group, which aimed to learn more about the local cultures of the Punjab region in India and Pakistan, by including all the religious traditions of Sikhism, Islam and Hinduism. Its main concerns were the caste system, political disputes and religious barriers (Everitt 2003). This group decided to take advantage of the RSL radio service opportunity and decided to launch a radio service without any radio broadcasting experience.

Thus, this radio service established a unique example of using radio medium not only to help integration within broader British society, but also to encourage integration in the communities within the Asian community itself. The third Asian project in this Access Radio project, Radio Faza in Nottingham, was an alliance between the Asian Women's Project and the Karimia Institute. These two community organisations came together to run this radio station under the Access Radio project in partnership. This service aimed to help community development through this service, especially by addressing the social and

[415] Awaz FM in Glasgow serves the Asian population in Glasgow by broadcasting in Urdu, Punjabi and English.
[416] Desi Radio service is run by the Punjabi Centre for the Punjabi community of Southall, London to cherish the Punjabi culture and language.
[417] Radio Faza was a partnership between a Muslim community group and an Asian Women's Project in Nottingham.
[418] S. Williams, see Appendix 1.

economic exclusion of Asian women from society and mainstream services through positive action (Everitt 2003).

According to Steve Buckley in (Wood 2002), the Government's draft Communications Bill 2002 was accompanied by the draft Communications Bill - the policy which highlights a number of benefits which could arise from Access Radio stations. It suggests that very local community based radio could help "to increase active community involvement, and local education and social inclusion projects"; and these radio stations could also fulfil the demand "for access to broadcasting resources from specific communities, whether based in locality, ethnic or cultural background or other common interests" (ibid, p.7). They all were successful in their own ways. They "impressed visitors and observers by their combination of purpose and enthusiasm, recalling perhaps the smaller of the first ILR stations" (Stoller 2010, p.323). Most of these pilots later continued to broadcast as community radio stations. This experiment was intended "to test the sustainability of a separate tier of small-scale community radio services" (Everitt 2003, p.4).

This pilot radio service was intended to serve the local community by making the provision of sound broadcasting services to individuals who were otherwise underserved by such services; by facilitating discussion and the expression of opinion; by making a provision, either by means of its programmes or otherwise, of education or training to individuals; and by encouraging a better understanding of the particular community and by strengthening links within it[419] (Stoller 2010). This experiment had various approaches with regard to governance, as it was believed that no single project could be replicated due to the diverse nature of the applicants. Also, there were a variety of fund-raising practices adopted by the pilots. Some projects managed to employ paid staff. On the other hand, most projects were relying mainly on volunteers by providing them with radio skills training as they thought, "complete professionalization may damage their voluntaristic ideals" (Everitt 2003, p.5). These pilot projects recruited many volunteers to provide them

[419] Community Radio Order 2004, SI 1944.

with radio and ICT skills training as they received a positive response from the communities.

These projects also attracted the communities which were otherwise not comfortable using the radio due to linguistic constraints:

> "Large number of people are disempowered and disheartened by an inability to use words fluently and confidently. Many languages, especially from the Middle East and the Asian sub-continent, which are seldom heard on radio in the United Kingdom, have been accorded substantial air-time" (Everitt 2003, p.6).

According to Bentley[420], mother tongue was always a major issue. The local Asian community said, "we want to hear our own language on the air" (ibid). While the BBC Asian Network was introduced to cater to the Asian listener community, and although it was broadcasting in various regional languages such as Bengali, Punjabi, Hindi and Urdu, it was still a national network. Though this national radio service "gained audience across the country, and made it accessible to an Indian shop keeper in Aberdeen or in the Shetland Islands too, as it was going on Digital Audio Broadcasting (DAB), it lost some audience in its local areas where it had once been the local station. There was still a need and demand for the local Asian radio services in their own languages" (Bentley[421]; Salam[422]; Sharma[423]; Kotak[424]). Notably, the Access Radio project helped in encouraging volunteers to use their own language and style, which was otherwise not possible for them. For its Access Radio licence, Awaz FM's 40% of the total output was in the Urdu language, 30% in Panjabi, and the rest of it was in English language. Desi Radio was aiming to enhance the status of the Panjabi language (Everitt 2003). Desi Radio "articulated a cultural and linguistic philosophy, which sought to reconcile the different segments of Panjabi society and to place its culture in appropriate balance with Western modernity" (ibid, p.44). It mainly broadcast in Panjabi, though also in English

[420] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[421] O. Bentley, see Appendix 1.
[422] S. Salam, see Appendix 1.
[423] V. Sharma, see Appendix 1.
[424] D. Kotak, see Appendix 1.

occasionally. It aimed to provide community information and news services, by addressing community issues mainly.

For ethnic communities, community radio cannot be constrained as a tool of entertainment in their own language, but can also be a means of education and information, which can lead to their development. It is a medium of participatory communication. As Meadows and Foxwell (2011) state, these culturally diverse local broadcasting services have the potential to play a significant role in reaching specific audiences for specific purposes, including providing information that might contribute to improving the state of community emotional and social well being. Therefore, community radio has a potential to use it as a tool for social development. Similarly, the aim of Access Radio was to assist the social integration process, which later remained the significant feature of the third tier broadcasting service of community radio. The concept of "social gain had appeared in the original Radio Authority submission to the government", and later, after testing it in the Access Radio pilot project, it was "cherished in the parliamentary order that enabled the start of community radio" (Stoller 2010, p.321).

This project also highlighted an important new aspect of communities of interest, which was lacking until then in the radio medium. Radio had always concentrated on the aspect of communities of place, either nationally or locally. Radio's listener community was defined by the physical space that it occupied in the 1960s and 1970s by the community development pioneers. This pilot project adopted both of these approaches - communities of interest and communities of place. Therefore, it also reflected the cultural diversity within wider British society.

The Radio Authority tried to manage these pilots as well as their evaluation with utmost transparency. It appointed an independent evaluator Professor Anthony Everitt. Everitt evaluated this project positively. As mentioned earlier, while summarising the different approaches of the diverse applicants of this pilot project, he remarked precisely about the Asian group pilots by stating Awaz FM in Glasgow sees itself as a much needed channel of communication between Glasgow's Asian community and the public and voluntary

sectors. Desi Radio wishes to reconcile the different religious and social strands of Panjabi culture in Southall… and an alliance between the Asian Women's Project and the Karimia Institute to run Radio Faza in Nottingham (Everitt 2003). While explaining the idea behind initiating this Access Radio experiment in Everitt's *New Voices* (2003), Stoller (2010) states that the experiment "would build on the achievements of short-term licences in getting ordinary people involved in larger numbers in making radio, by offering an entire new sector within the medium where access would be the raison d'être' meaning the reason for being" (ibid, p.2). Thus, Stoller thought that the sound-broadcasting spectrum needed to be utilised for specific social gain, especially in areas of ethnic, cultural and social deprivation (Everitt 2003).

Everitt found a strong evidence of "its capacity to attract numerous volunteers, often form disadvantaged backgrounds, and train them in broadcasting and other transferable skills and have been favourably impressed by the active engagement with Access Radio of many kinds of local institution and agency" (Everitt 2003, p.3). In Chapter Four, we discussed the audience survey[425] undertaken by the Broadcasting Research Unit (BRU) in April 1985 to explore the attitudes towards community radio especially in the multicultural London area. One of the primary intentions of the BRU's research work was to provide a strong context and base to formulate a policy towards community radio (BRU 1985). This research had also remarkably confirmed that there was a significant role for community radio to play. Similar to Everitt's suggestions, this research had also identified two components of communities: geographical, and ethnically interest-based communities. Therefore, it had identified and envisaged two strands of attitudes towards community radio "inclusive and exclusive" (BRU 1985, p.S/12; Scifo 2011). It had also demonstrated a major concern about representation on radio for the people being given a chance to express their views and to question their representatives. It had demanded that a great deal of programme time in community radio should be devoted "to discussion shows with local people about issues of concern to the community" (BRU 1985, p.43). The BRU's research result also expressed the views that the national media presented a stereotypical picture of different ethnic groups and that was harmful to community

[425] The survey report was published by the BRU in 1985 as 'The Audience for Community Radio in London'.

relations; it suggested that Community Radio could "possibly break these stereotypes with its contribution in eradicating all forms of prejudice in this area" (ibid, p.45). It had also expressed the issues relating to local control through local representation as it identified that the local control is the only way to ensure the clear representation of the different interests of groups in this area. It had also demonstrated the demand for exclusive radio stations suggesting that there was a need for stations catering exclusively for different ethnic minority groups, as they are not enough served by the existing media. There was also a demand for local training. It suggested that community radio should provide "training facilities for local people in all aspects of radio, from presentation to production; and that radio should not be left in the hands of the commercial companies or the national bodies such as the BBC" (ibid, p.68). In March 2003, Everitt produced a report *New Voices* that was an evaluation of 15 Access Radio projects. Everitt stated very strongly and favourably "this is not radio simply for the people, but by the people" (Stoller 2010, p.324).

In this evaluation report, Everitt strongly recommended that the existing licences should be extended as soon as the second reading of the communications bill made that constitutionally possible. As a result, the government extended the scheme in December 2002. Everitt strongly claimed, "Access Radio promises to be a positive cultural and social development and should be introduced as a third tier of radio broadcasting in the United Kingdom" (Everitt 2003, p.8).

Everitt's (2003) evaluation concluded that:

> "The pilot projects were "delivering on their promises of social gain… they are building a good track record of fostering employability, especially among people suffering from disadvantage and social exclusion… by recruiting and training new volunteers to enhance their powers of linguistic expression and personal self-confidence… boosting of community spirit… and by contributing to the improved delivery of public services… by informing hard-to-reach groups… and thus helping to improve and develop communication between local government, the education sector and other public services and the communities they serve" (ibid, p.151).

6.11 Conclusion

It can be emphasised that the similar issues of access, participation, representation, training, employability, social exclusion, social gain, social development, linguistic expression, self-confidence, community spirit and a need for a separate independent not-for-profit community-oriented radio platform for the Asian community were being identified and discussed by the community radio campaigners, British and Asian radio enthusiasts, Asian community groups and race advocacy organisations since the 1960s. As discussed in the Chapter Three, the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), since its formation in the 1970s, had consistently encouraged the same notions to promote good race relations and equal opportunity in multicultural Britain by making a positive use of radio. Especially while debating the stereotype images and lack of representation of the black and ethnic minorities on British media, it had published a report[426] recommending that special attention should be paid to improving and expanding existing programmes for the Asian listener community, in order to increase the diversity and representation to cater to the wider interests and tastes of ethnic communities (Anwar 1978).

Through its consistent efforts to promote and foster good race relations and equal opportunities in multicultural Britain by making a positive use of radio, the CRE had published a report[427] in which it recommended that a greater diversity of representation was needed on local radio advisory councils and that the location of any new stations should reflect the concentration of ethnic populations. This report came up with a significant viewpoint that "black people would wish to see a more diverse, more representative, more accessible and more accountable broadcasting system, which respects the rights, and reflects the interests, of all citizens, including those who work in the industry" (CRE 1990, p.3). It had also come up with a significant viewpoint that "black people would wish to see a more diverse, more representative, more accessible and more accountable broadcasting system, which respects the rights, and reflects the interests, of all citizens, including those who work in the industry" (ibid, p.3).

[426] CRE had published a report *Who tunes in to what: a report on ethnic minority broadcasting* on ethnic minority broadcasting in 1978.
[427] The Commission for Racial Equality organised the conference *Radio for ethnic and linguistic minorities* in 1990, and published a report of this conference, which is *Radio for ethnic and linguistic minorities – prospects in the 1990s.*

Everitt identified the similar needs and notions in his evaluation report in 2003. The need for better access, participation, representation on radio, and thus the need for having a separate, independent radio platform for the Asian listener community was consistently identified and expressed during the 1970s, 80s and 90s and it was still intact after these years in the 2000s. Everitt's evaluation revealed the interest and demand for such community radio services targeting large numbers of people including ethnic minority communities who are "disempowered and disheartened by an inability to use words fluently and confidently" (Everitt 2003, p.6). Everitt recorded that "many languages, especially from the Middle East and the Asian sub-continent, which are seldom heard on radio in the United Kingdom, accorded substantial air-time" during the Access Radio pilot project (ibid, p.6). Therefore, Everitt in his evaluation predicted that this third tier of British radio would ultimately prove itself to be "one of the most important cultural developments in this country for many years" (ibid, p.3).

Everitt recommended "Access Radio should become a permanent third tier of not-for-profit radio for communities in the UK" (Stoller 2010, p.323; Everitt 2003). The Access Radio experiment demonstrated the ability of regulators and broadcasters to innovate and experiment. Everitt's recommendations became the basis for the 2004 Community Radio Order and its implementation by the current regulatory body, Ofcom (Lewis 2012).

In 2004, after over 25 years of campaigning by grass roots and specialist interest groups, the first fulltime licenses were advertised by Ofcom, to run for five years. By the summer of 2005 about 20 licenses had been awarded, with a rolling program of further awards being made in the following year. This was a shift from Access Radio to Community Radio. This was "radio as social action once again, mirroring in a new time the aspirations of independent radio in the seventies and eighties" (Stoller 2010, p.325). It created a new possibility of developing a new sector of independent community radio "to achieve local social good" (ibid, p.325). Ultimately, this was the beginning of the full-fledged Asian radio broadcasting in England.

7. Chapter Seven: Findings and Conclusion

The aim of this final chapter is to conclude the research by drawing on the key findings. This study was set out to explore the evolution of Asian radio in England covering the time period from 1960 until 2004. This is primarily historical research, with the backdrop of the migration of the Asian population to England from the 1960s. The scope of the research is mainly the BBC, the Incremental Local Radio initiative and Restricted Service Licences, up to the beginning of Community Radio in 2004. The geographical scope of this research is England to keep the focus intact by considering the relevant developments in England. This research critically examined the role of the BBC and the IBA/Radio Authority/Ofcom in catering to the Asian migrant listening community in England through its radio programmes from 1960 till 2004. It studied if and what was the need for having radio programmes specifically catering to this community to help them settle in to their new country of arrival. It explored the BBC's philosophy behind initiating programmes for these Asian migrant listeners. It examined how radio medium was used to follow the BBC's fundamental ethos of educating, informing and entertaining each license fee payer, including the Asian migrant community population. This research also studied how the ILR services contributed to Asian radio programming. Subsequently, this research examined the overall development of the exclusive, separate, independent Asian radio sector in England.

This research also aimed to address the developments surrounding Race Relations during that time, which influenced and supplemented the development of radio output for Asian listener migrants in England. It examined the post-war period of the 1960s and 1970s, which was a major phase of Asian migration from the Indian Sub-continent and East African countries to England to seek employment and for re-settlement due to the industrial labour shortage and political actions. It studied Asian migration; race relations and tensions; efforts towards the integration; struggle, campaign, need and demand for having special provision of radio programmes; and the ultimate outcome of the beginning of independent Asian radio in England.

The research aimed to examine three main research questions evolving around the development of Asian radio in England. It investigated how Asian radio broadcasting began and developed in England since the 1960s with the beginning of the major Asian migration. It covered the period until 2004, when the Community Radio sector was introduced, providing a prospect for Asian community groups to start their own Asian radio stations in England. It explored the inaudible and invisible need, which transformed into a strong and convincing demand from the Asian community to have its own separate independent Asian radio platform. It also analysed how Asian radio programmes provided a platform for the Asian listening community while settling in to the English society.

As this research emphasises historical developments and milestones of the BBC and IBA, the archives of the BBC and the IBA are the backbone of this research. Due to non-existence and unavailability of the audio archives of Asian radio programmes of this research period, I have used written archives of the BBC and the IBA extensively. To further support and supplement this research method, I have used in-depth interview analysis as my second research method for this study. As a direct consequence of these two methods, the study encountered a number of limitations, which need to be considered. The major limitation with regard to using archives as a research method was the availability and accessibility of the audio archives relevant to this research area. The BBC's local radio stations did not preserve the audiotapes of Asian radio programmes broadcast on BBC local radio stations since the 1960s. This presented a big challenge for me, as it did not give me a wide variety of options for listening to these programmes; however, I managed to get a digitised copy of *The Six O'Clock Show*, which helped me to get a gist of such programmes during that early period. The other challenges, with regard to using the in-depth interviewing method, were interviewees' memory, bias and availability. I have tried to consider these elements carefully while reviewing archives and conducting interviews. I have tried to bring in a balance by selecting a wide range of archives and interviewees to cover various significant aspects associated with Asian radio broadcasting in England.

This historical research is therefore significant as it uncovers the evolution of Asian radio, which is a solid foundation of Asian radio broadcasting in England today. It aimed to

address the vital developments, significant milestones and unspoken silent issues, which shaped this revolutionary and not-so-easy journey of Asian radio in England. It reviewed the tireless determined campaign and the movement behind it. It examined the themes of need, demand, access, involvement, representation, integration and linguistic expression, which strengthened the need to have separate independent Asian radio services in England. This thesis affirms the following conclusions as the fundamental developments and milestones in the evolution of Asian radio from 1960 to 2004 in England:

Firstly, it can be asserted that there was an obvious need for having radio programmes to serve the newly arrived Asian community, especially in the early years of their settlement in the 1960s and the 1970s in England. The post-war period starting from the 1960s saw a major peak of the migration of the Asian population to England. This migration started to bring a change to the existing media, including BBC radio and ILR. There were two different aspects of the relationship between this migrant community and media in England. The first worrisome aspect was the way Asian migrants were projected by the media and the second aspect was the opportunity this community had of using the media to adjust and settle in their new country of arrival. There was a tradition of Asian language radio programmes through the BBC's Overseas Service, but it was for Asians living in Asian countries. There were no radio programmes targeted at the newly arrived Asian migrant community living in England. The Asian migrant community needed such programmes mainly to get information and advice in their mother-tongue languages on the issues related to their daily life while settling in England. This was especially necessary for the first generation of these Asian migrants as English was not their first language. At the same time, this language broadcasting was crucial not only to those who were ignorant of the English language, but for many Asian migrants who could speak English fluently and confidently as they longed for Asian mother-tongue language radio programmes as "cultural reinforcement" (CRE 1990, p.21). Hence, it became a necessity of having radio programmes to serve this newly arrived Asian community in England.

Although the Asian migration to England was not a new phenomenon in the 1960s, it can be claimed that the post-war economic boom clearly amplified this proportion of migration, which caused an influx of Asian population migration in the major industrial

cities of England. It showed the importance of having radio programmes specifically centered on the issues relating to the newly arrived Asian migrant community not only for the benefit of this community, but also with the twofold objective of educating the wider British society about this new community settling in England. The aim was to integrate the migrants and to improve race relations. It can be claimed that the first initiatives of starting radio programmes for the Asian listening community were taken by the radio stations in those cities where there was a large Asian migrant population, such as Leicester and London. Similarly, the first few Asian radio services began in those cities where there were a large number of Asian migrants, such as London, Leicester and Manchester. Hence, I believe that the post-war period was crucial in the history of British radio broadcasting with the rise of Asian migration to England. This major Asian migration subsequently influenced British radio programming output significantly, resulting in the awareness of better race relations and integration.

Secondly, it can be asserted that the importance of radio medium was identified during this time. There was not much recognition of the diversity and plurality of values that existed in British society in the 1960s. Therefore, a general consensus developed throughout all levels in England, which regarded the Asian migration as a "problem" (Husband 1975, p.18). For a tolerant, diverse society like England, there needed to be an understanding amongst the communities in the society. In England, good race relations and equality of opportunity depended on the "creation of understanding between ethnic minorities and the majority community" (CRE 1978, p.51). Hence, in the early 1960s the British government began to put pressure on the BBC to create programmes that could help assimilation.

It can be argued that initially the BBC was not convinced in creating separate provision for the newly arrived Asian migrants as it assumed that such programmes could intensify racial conflicts and tensions. However, the government continued to lobby for immigrant programmes. It believed in the idea that efforts in language and cultural education were needed to facilitate the integration of this Asian community in England. At the same time, the government wanted to educate the British community more sympathetically about the Asian community through multi-cultural education through the media and education

sector. In multi-ethnic societies, media plays a significant role in educating both the minority and the majority population; the aim of the government was to use radio to play this role.

I believe that this impulse of the government enforced the BBC in creating a special provision for this Asian migrant community. As a result, the BBC started producing radio programmes catering specifically to this community, first through its Immigrants Programmes Unit and later through its local radio stations in the 1960s and 1970s. The ILR stations also started contributing to Asian radio programming by the mid-1970s. Therefore, it can be asserted that the BBC and the ILR played important roles as mediators between these communities in order to introduce Asian culture to each other and at the same time to acquire key information for the local community as well as news from their homeland. In addition to information, education and advice, these radio programmes proved an important platform for entertainment purposes for this community. Thus, it can be claimed that, for the first time, Asian migrants in England were presented with a platform to cherish and share their own Asian culture and tradition, to discuss their own issues and prospects and a bridge to help to break down their isolation from the wider British community. Hence, I believe this was indeed a ground-breaking opportunity for this Asian migrant community for the first time after their arrival in England.

Thirdly, there were issues and tensions regarding the allocation of the time slots to the various Asian listening communities within the locality and also, the provisions for the Asian language radio programmes. The prominent Asian radio campaigners and broadcasters Salim Salam, Don Kotak and Vijay Sharma have addressed these issues. Although this was the case, I argue that it was only the BBC who first created the provision to cater to the needs and demands of this Asian migrant community in the 1960s and 1970s. Thus, the acknowledgement must be given to the BBC, who initiated the radio programming output to cater to the Asian migrant community to help them while settling in to their new home in the 1960s and 1970s. However, it can be confirmed that there was no sufficient and positive representation of the Asian community on the BBC or on ILR during the 1960s and 1970s. Therefore, although the Asian migrant listening community acknowledged the BBC's initiative of Asian programming positively, it certainly started

yearning for more radio provision.

By this time the BBC, ILR as well as the Asian community members, started understanding the importance of getting Asian community members involved in the actual programme making on its local radio stations. I claim that as the Asian community members became actively involved by participating in the actual radio broadcasting, they themselves were in control, depicting the real picture and not the stereotyped image of the Asian migrant community. This is how the Asian community members started their active participation in radio programme making in the 1970s. BBC Radio Leicester's *The Six O'Clock Show* is an example of this pioneering innovative development in the 1970s. Hence, I am asserting that *The Six O'Clock Show* played a significant, indeed pioneering, role in the evolution of Asian broadcasting in England. The IBA was inspired by BBC radio's provision for the Asian community in the 1970s and 1980s, and thus began catering to this community through local radio programming output.

It can be seen that throughout the 1970s and 1980s, BBC Local Radio and the ILR expanded and developed output for Asian community through various local radio stations, and as a result, the Asian community benefited from these wider developments of local radio. During these early years, the production of multicultural programming had undoubtedly undergone a process of evolution and development reflecting "assimilationist, race-relations, multicultural and anti-racist agendas" (Cottle 1998, p.300). However, there was still not adequate and appropriate representation of the Asian community on the BBC or ILR radio. There was discontent regarding the amount, frequency and timeslots of Asian radio programming output. Therefore, although BBC Local Radio and ILR developed its Asian radio programming output, there was more need for such radio programmes in England. I emphasise that by this time, this need started getting converted into a demand. The demand was to have more different timeslots, so that the programmes could reach more Asian listeners. There was also a demand for more entertainment and more programmes delivered in Asian regional languages.

It can be claimed that the need changed into a demand by the 1980s. The Asian community members started demanding separate British Asian radio services. A number

of would be Asian community groups were pressing the government for a change in the licensing process and rules, so that they could provide locally focussed commercially funded radio services for the Asian community living in various parts of England. Therefore, I am asserting that by this time, there was a strong willingness, and to some extent, pressure from Asian community members, to establish their own separate independent Asian local radio stations for local Asian communities in various regions in England. This resulted in starting a campaign for having separate British Asian radio services dedicated to the Asian community in the 1980s.

During the mid-1980s, the Greater London Council (GLC) believed that migrants and refugees are among the most exploited and vulnerable sections of the population. The GLC encouraged the Asian minority community members by supporting and funding Asian art and radio training projects. Under the leadership of Ken Livingstone, the GLC's initiatives of the Community Radio Unit and the Asian Radio Studio Project were very important in this context. Therefore, I agree with the prominent Asian radio campaigner Salim Salam that the GLC's Asian Radio Studio Project facilitated Asian community members in building the infrastructures, facilities and more importantly, radio training, in order to make them ready and equipped to apply for future radio licences. It was indeed a pioneering project to train local Asian group members to use a local radio platform, which eventually resulted in evolving England's first Asian commercial radio station *Sunrise Radio* in November 1989. It can be asserted that the GLC's objective of helping local Asian community groups in facilitating training to be able to use community radio platform was significant and it played an important role in future British Asian radio services. It also helped create awareness of the importance and relevance of such community platforms in Asian community groups. As a result, Asian community groups started exploring to introduce their own radio services, by later applying for the incremental radio contracts during the late 1980s. At this time, the audience survey[428] undertaken by the Broadcasting Research Unit (BRU) demonstrated similar notions; it significantly articulated the need for a community-focused radio service from these surveys. It suggested that Community Radio could "possibly break the stereotypes" (BRU

[428] The survey report was published by the BRU in 1985 as 'The Audience for Community Radio in London'.

1985, p.45). Therefore, it can be claimed that there was a demand for an exclusive radio station for a specific community including the Asian listening community.

Under the pressure to respond to this demand, the IBA identified and encouraged the possibility of creating additional Incremental Radio contracts to provide Asian community groups with an opportunity to establish their independent separate Asian radio services in the late 1980s. These incremental radio contracts encouraged Asian community groups to explore local radio platform for the local Asian community. The experiment of incremental radio helped Asian radio broadcasters test the waters, as it required the applicant to have adequate resources to sustain the radio service throughout the licence period. Furthermore, these radio services intended to cater to the tastes and interests of their local targeted listener audience. Additionally, these radio services aimed to broaden the range of radio programmes available in that locality; it was crucial as the government was trying to provide a strong benefit to ethnic radio (CRE 1990).

Hence, I claim that it was the IBA and its Radio Division who created the possibility of separate British Asian radio services, rather than just catering to this community through a few radio programmes on the existing British mainstream radio. I strongly believe that this innovative effort of the IBA in the late 1980s was extremely significant behind the British Asian radio services today.

Thus, it can be affirmed that the incremental radio stations of the late 1980s were the stepping-stones for later separate British Asian radio services. This research proves that Asian radio broadcasters applied to avail this opportunity and that they were successful in acquiring the incremental radio contracts. Therefore, I claim that that the incremental radio contracts successfully encouraged Asian radio broadcasters initiating local incremental Asian radio services. The development of incremental radio contracts made the Asian radio campaigners, practitioners and broadcasters believe that they could run such radio stations, and more importantly, such radio stations were the need of the Asian listener community in England during that time in the 1980s. The increasing pressure, need, desire and demand that was there during this period, eventually led Asian community groups to start their own independent British Asian radio stations.

Later, in 1991, the Radio Authority developed short-term Restricted Service Licences (RSL), "which further boosted the need for short-term Asian radio services especially during the festival period" (Stoller 2010, p.160). The RSL introduced the short-term radio station concept and it aptly fulfilled the need for short-term radio stations especially during the festivals of Asian community groups. I strongly believe that these RSL radio services reinforced the power and capacity of having separate British Asian radio services catering to the Asian listener community. Thus, it can be claimed that the decades of the 1980s and 1990s were significantly important in terms of getting the Asian community on air with its own radio services mainly through the incremental radio contracts and the RSL radio services.

By early 2000, the need and demand for RSL radio services was ever growing. The Radio Authority's Access Radio pilot project in 2002 and the beginning of third-tier Community Radio in 2004 were the outcome of it. The Access Radio project provided an opportunity for Asian community groups to test the waters to see if they would be able to sustain a regular independent radio service for the Asian community in the future. The Asian community was feeling themselves "to be marginalised by most of the mainstream media and welcomed the opportunity provided by Access Radio" (Everitt 2003, p.44). Everitt recorded that the languages from the Asian sub-continent "which are seldom heard on radio in the United Kingdom, accorded substantial air-time" during the Access Radio pilot project (ibid, p.6). Therefore, in his evaluation Everitt predicted that this third tier of British radio would ultimately prove itself to be "one of the most important cultural developments in this country for many years" (ibid, p.3). Thus, the creation of this new broadcasting sector in 2004, created a new possibility of developing independent Asian local radio stations; this development led to the beginning of full-fledged Asian radio broadcasting in England.

Thus, it can be stated that since the beginning of BBC local radio stations and ILR stations in the 1960s and 1970s, there were mainstream radio stations providing a small amount of Asian language broadcasting. By the 1980s and 1990s, there was an innovation of establishing separate, independent, full-scale British Asian radio services. This new independent local British Asian radio sector was not intended to replace the existing

mainstream BBC and ILR Radio, but to provide an alternative alongside, for the specific target audience of the Asian listening community living in England.

So it can be said that the development of British Asian radio broadcasting was started with the need to educate and inform the Asian community for better integration in their new country of arrival, however, it later became the need for genuine representation through the active participation by Asian community members. This development generated an interest and expectation that it subsequently changed into a demand for having independent Asian radio services. As a result, the Asian community groups started their own radio services to expand the provision and tap into the market.

Therefore, in the 1960s the BBC's initiatives including the IPU and BBC local radio were critically important in the subsequent development of Asian radio. The decision made in the 1960s to have separate provision for immigrants, which were debated at the time, was in fact the right decision. I am therefore challenging the views of Salim Salam who is highly critical of the BBC's provision of radio programming for Asian migrants. Similarly, the Asian radio broadcasters Don Kotak and Vijay Sharma have asserted that the existing radio programming provision in the 1970s was inadequate in proportion to the size of the Asian population in England. However, I am emphasising that this radio programming provision was at least the beginning of the community-oriented radio broadcasting for the Asian community in England. Therefore, I argue the BBC's provision was progressive and paved the way for the future establishment of Asian radio.

I claim that there were key people in the history of British media and the government who have created the history of Asian radio in England. The Managing Director of BBC Radio, Frank Gillard, widely regarded as the founder of BBC Local Radio, who identified the power of local radio for the possible empowerment of the local community and the BBC's local radio station managers, such as Michael Barton and Owen Bentley, who initiated and implemented that possibility have played liberal roles. David Vick, Paul Brown and Tony Stoller from the IBA/Radio Authority have played progressive roles. The GLC's Ken Livingstone, Simon Partridge and the GLC's Community Radio Development Project played a rebellious role in recognising the need and providing the

support to encourage local community radio project initiatives through its Community Radio Project and Asian Radio Studio Project. Asian community radio campaigners and broadcasters Don Kotak, Salim Salam and Vijay Sharma have played active roles in campaigning for Asian radio provision. CRE has played a crucial role throughout this development by providing guidance and at times a strong criticism on the mainstream radio's provision and role in catering to the Asian migrant community in England. I believe that without these initiatives, the evolution of British Asian radio broadcasting would not have been possible in England.

I believe that further research can be done to explore the need of such British Asian radio services in future, especially when the language issue can become irrelevant for future generations who are born here in England. However, it leads to another lesson from this thesis that is the great value of ethnic radio for newly arrived migrants and especially those for whom English is not their first language. As Britain faces increased migration from Europe and beyond, I suggest that radio, and especially ethnic radio catering to ethnic migrant communities, continues to play a significant role.

To conclude, today's British Asian radio is a result of the continuous need and demand for a separate independent radio platform, which helped the Asian migrant community in getting information, education and advice to be able to integrate in to English society. It can be emphasised that the issues of access, participation, representation, integration and linguistic expression, reinforced the need for a separate independent British Asian radio platform. I assert that these issues were identified, discussed and acted upon by British and Asian radio enthusiasts, radio campaigners and Asian community groups since the 1960s, which led to the creation of British Asian radio in England. This is the journey of the evolution of British Asian radio in England from 1960 till 2004, which is the foundation of British Asian radio in England today.

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Appendix 1 - Interviews with author:

Interview with Michael Barton (Former Manager of Radio Sheffield, and Controller BBC Local Radio) in January 2015.

Interview with Shujat Ali (Manager, Asian Sound Radio, Manchester) in May 2015.

Interview with Don Kotak (Owner and founder of Leicester's Asian radio station Sabras Radio) in September 2014.

Interview with Vijay Sharma (Former Head of BBC Asian Network) in September 2014.

Interview with David Vick (Former Executive at the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) in September 2014.

Interview with Paul Brown (Former Head of Radio Programming at the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) in August 2014.

Interview with Simon Partridge (Former member of the GLC's Community Radio Development Project) in June 2014.

Interview with Owen Bentley (Former BBC Radio Leicester Manager) in December 2013.

Interview with Tony Stoller (Former Executive at the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) in November 2013.

Interview with Salim Salam (Asian community radio campaigner) in July 2013.

Interview with Susan Williams (Current Ofcom Executive and former Executive at the Radio Authority) in May 2015.

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